

THE NORTHERN WORLD

Scots in the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth, 16th–18th Centuries

*The Formation and Disappearance
of an Ethnic Group*



By
Peter Paul Bajer



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Scots in the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth,
16th–18th Centuries

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Peter Paul Bajer



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Cover illustration: Front: detail of the wall memorial of George Forbes of Chełmno (c. 1757), The Assumption of the Blessed Virgin Mary Roman Catholic Church, Chełmno (photo by M. G. Zieliński) Back: detail of the Letters Patent confirming noble status of James Lindsay, issued by Robert Carnegie 3rd Earl of Southesk in 1680 (6 May 1680).
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This book is printed on acid-free paper.

For my parents

Dla moich Rodziców z wyrazami wdzięczności

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ABBREVIATIONS

AADDT	Archiwum Akt Dawnych Diecezji Toruńskiej, Toruń
AAG	Archiwum Archidiecezji Gnieźnieńskiej, Gniezno
AARP	<i>Album armorum regni Poloniae XV–XVIII saec.: Herby nobilitacji i indygenatów XV–XVIII w.</i> , edited by B. Trelińska. Lublin: 2001.
AAWO	Archiwum Archidiecezji Warmińskiej, Olsztyn
ACA	Aberdeen City Archives
ACL	<i>Aberdeen Council Letters</i> , Vol. 1 (1552–1633), edited by L. B. Taylor. London: 1942.
ACLeop.	<i>Album Civium Leopoliensium. Rejestry przyjęć do prawa miejskiego we Lwowie 1388–1783</i> , 2 vols, edited by A. Janeczek. Poznań-Warszawa: 2005.
ADPelp.	Archiwum Diecezji Pelplińskiej, Pelplin
ADZL	Archiwum Diecezji Zamojsko-Lubaczowskiej, Zamość
AFCh	Archiwum Fary Chełmińskiej, Chełmno
AGAD	Archiwum Główne Akt Dawnych, Warsaw
AKOOB	Archiwum Klasztoru O.O. Bernardynów, Lubin
AParEA	Archiwum Parafii Ewangelicko-Augsburskiej Św. Marcina, Cracow
APBTor.	Archiwum Państwowe w Bydgoszczy, oddział w Toruniu
APGd.	Archiwum Państwowe, Gdańsk
APKr.	Archiwum Państwowe, Cracow
APLub.	Archiwum Państwowe, Lublin
APPozn.	Archiwum Państwowe, Poznań
APWaw.	Archiwum Państwowe, Warsaw
ASAZ	<i>Album studentów Akademii Zamojskiej 1595–1781</i> , edited by H. Gmiterek. Warszawa: 1994.
ASK	Archiwum Skarbu Koronnego
ASUC I	<i>Album studiosorum Universitatis Cracoviensis</i> , Vol. I (<i>Ab anno 1400 ad annum 1489</i>), Kraków: 1887.
ASUC II	<i>Album studiosorum Universitatis Cracoviensis</i> , Vol. II (<i>Ab anno 1490 ad annum 1551</i>), (PPB: edited by A. Chmiel: Kraków, 1892.
ASUC III	<i>Album studiosorum Universitatis Cracoviensis</i> , Vol. III (<i>Ab anno 1551 ad annum 1606</i>), edited by A. Chmiel. Kraków: 1904.

ASUC IV	<i>Album studiosorum Universitatis Cracoviensis. Continens nomina studiosorum ab anno 1607 ad annum 1642</i> , Vol. IV, edited by J. Zathey and H. Barycz. Kraków: 1950.
ASUC V	<i>Album studiosorum Universitatis Cracoviensis. T. 5, Continens nomina studiosorum ab anno 1720 ad annum 1780</i> , edited by K. Lewicki and J. Zathey. Wrocław: 1956.
Bibl Czart	Biblioteka Czartoryskich, Cracow
BN	Biblioteka Narodowa, Warsaw
BSKER	Biblioteka Synodu Kościoła Ewangelicko-Reformowanego
BUW	Biblioteka Uniwersytetu Warszawskiego, Warsaw
CDGG	<i>Księga wpisów uczniów Gimnazjum Gdańskiego 1580–1814: Catalogus Discipulorum Gymnasii Gedanensis 1580–1814</i> , edited by Z. H. Nowak and P. Szafran. Warszawa-Poznań: 1974.
CSPD	Calendar of State Papers, Domestic Series
CSPF	Calendar of State Papers, Foreign Series
CSPMV	<i>Calendar of the State Papers and Manuscripts relating to the English Affairs existing in the archives and collections of Venice and in other libraries of Northern Italy</i> , 38 vols London: 1864–1911.
DAMKP	Kamianets-Podilskii Derzhavnyi Arkhiv, Kamianets-Podilskii (Ukraine)
DNB	Dictionary of National Biography
EFE	<i>Elementa ad Fontium Editiones</i>
EZAB	Evangelisches Zentralarchiv, Berlin
FHL	Family History Library
Gordon, "Diary 1635–1659"	<i>Diary of General Patrick Gordon of Auchleuchries 1635–1699, Volume I: 1635–1659</i> , edited by D. Fedosov. Aberdeen: 2009.
Gordon, "Diary 1659–1667"	<i>Diary of General Patrick Gordon of Auchleuchries 1635–1699, Volume II: 1659–1667</i> , edited by D. Fedosov. Aberdeen: 2011.
GSTABD	Geheimes Staatsarchiv, Berlin-Dahlem
gr	<i>grosz</i>

- Kowalski II Kowalski, W. "From Aberdeen to Poland: the Seventeenth Century Aberdeen Birth-briefs as a source for Scottish-Polish relations," paper presented to the Britain and Poland-Lithuania: Contact and Comparison from the Middle Ages to 1795 Conference, the Jagiellonian University, Cracow, September 15–18, 2005. Table II.
- KT "Księga Trzecia zboru w Wielkanocy 1664–1716," Archiwum Parafii Ewangelicko-Augsburskiej Św. Marcina, Kraków.
- KW "Księga Wtóra Kościoła Ewangel[icko] Reformowanego w Wielkanocy, zaczynająca się od roku 1637, Księga kościelna zboru Wielkanockiego y Lucianowskiego; sporządzona y spisana w roku 1637 [–1664?]." Archiwum Parafii Ewangelicko-Augsburskiej Św. Marcina, Kraków.
- LB Liber Baptizatorum (also: Chrzty, Taufen, Taufbuch)
- LC Liber Copulatorum (also: Heiraten, Trauw)
- LComm List of Communicants
- LICCr Archiwum Państwowe, Kraków, Akta miasta Krakowa, Libri iuris civilis Cracoviensis
- LICCr I *Księgi przyjęć do prawa miejskiego w Krakowie 1507–1572, Libri Iuris civilis Cracoviensis 1507–1572*, edited by A. Kiełbicka and Z. Wojaś. Kraków: 1993.
- LICCr II *Księgi przyjęć do prawa miejskiego w Krakowie 1573–1611, Libri Iuris civilis Cracoviensis 1573–1611*, edited by A. Kiełbicka and Z. Wojaś. Kraków: 1994.
- LM Liber Mortuorum (also: Zgony, Pogrzeby, Tote)
- LMAB Lietuvos Mokslų Akademijos Biblioteka, Vilnius
- LN Liber Natorum (also: Księgi Urodzin, Geburten, Nativitatis)
- LVIA Lietuvos Valstybės Istorijos Archyvas, Vilnius
- MDTGA *Metryka uczniów toruńskiego Gimnazjum Akademickiego 1600–1817: Matricula Discipulorum Torunensis Gymnasii Academici 1600–1817*, 2 vols, edited by Z. H. Nowak and J. Tandecki. Toruń: 1997.
- MGE *Die Matrikel des Gymnasiums zu Elbing (1598–1786)*, edited by H. Abs. Hamburg: 1982.
- MPAUK *Die Matrikel und die Promotionsverzeichnisse der Albertus-Universität zu Königsberg in Preussen 1544–1829*, 2 vols, edited by G. Erler. Leipzig: 1910.
- MPH *Monumenta Poloniae historica*, edited by A. Bielowski and the Akademia Umiejętności w Krakowie. Kraków: 1864–1893.

- MPV *Monumenta Poloniae Vaticana*, 8 vols, edited by J. Ptaśnik. Kraków, 1913–1950.
- MSC “Birth Brieves from the Registers of the Burgh of Aberdeen, 1637–1705.” In *The Miscellany of the Third Spalding Club*, Vol. 5. Aberdeen: 1852.
- MTSC “Testimonial book of Aberdeen. Testimonialis grantit be ye ballies sen ye last day of Merche 1589.” In *The Miscellany of the Third Spalding Club*, Vol. 2. Aberdeen: 1940.
- NAS National Archives of Scotland
- ODNB *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*
- OiRwP *Odrodzenie i Reformacja w Polsce*
- PRONI Public Records Office of Northern Ireland
- PRSP *Papers Relating to the Scots in Poland 1576–1593*, edited by F. A. Steuart. Edinburgh: 1915.
- PSB *Polski Słownik Biograficzny*, 44 vols, Kraków-Warszawa-Wrocław, 1935–.
- RGSS *The Register of the Great Seal of Scotland/Registrum Magni Sigilli Regum Scottorum*, edited by J. M. Thomson and J. B. Paul. Edinburgh: 1883. vols 5–11.
- RPCS *The Records of the Privy Council of Scotland/Registrum secreti sigilli regum Scotorum, 1545–1625*, 14 vols, edited by G. Donaldson. Edinburgh: 1877–1898.
- RSAMH Russian State Archive of Military History, Moscow
- SEWP Fischer, T. A. *The Scots in Eastern and Western Prussia*, Edinburgh: 1903.
- SIG Fischer, T. A. *The Scots in Germany: Being a contribution towards the history of the Scots abroad*. Edinburgh: 1902.
- SIS Fischer, T. A. *The Scots in Sweden*. Edinburgh: 1907.
- SPLC Bajer, P. *Scots in the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth 1569–1795* (database).
- SSKP *Spis szlachty Królestwa Polskiego*. Warszawa: 1851–1854.
- SSNE Murdoch, S. and Grosjean, A. *Scotland, Scandinavia and Northern Europe, 1580–1707* (database).
- TNA The National Archives
- VL *Volumina Legum: przedruk zbioru praw staraniem XX. Pijarów w Warszawie, od roku 1732 do roku 1782, wydane*. 9 vols, edited by J. Ohryzko. Petersburg: 1859–1889.
- zł złoty

CONVENTIONS AND GLOSSARY

To be consistent on the matter of spelling and nomenclature, I have used the following rules.

i. *Spelling of personal names*

With regard to personal names, I have used the modern spelling of names of the Polish royalty and dignitaries in Polish, that is, the Kings of Poland (with the exception of Henry of Valois):

Zygmunt II August for Sigismund Augustus	1548–1572;
Henry of Valois	1573–1574;
Stefan Batory for Stephen Bathory	1576–1586;
Zygmunt III Waza for Sigismund III Vasa	1587–1632;
Władysław IV Waza for Vladislav IV Vasa	1632–1648;
Jan Kazimierz Waza for John Casimir	1648–1668;
Michał Wiśniowiecki for Michael Wiśniowiecki	1669–1673;
Jan III Sobieski for John III Sobieski	1674–1696;
August II Wettin for Augustus II Wettin	1697–1704 and 1710–1733;
Stanisław Leszczyński for Stanislas Leszczyński	1704–1710 and 1733;
August III Wettin for Augustus III Wettin	1733–1763;
Stanisław August Poniatowski for Stanislas Augustus	1764–1795.

Similarly, I have used the German, Swedish, Ukrainian, or Russian form for the names of individuals belonging to each particular ethnic group.

When discussing Scotsmen and Scotswomen who established themselves in the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth I have used the modern Scottish spelling—spelling of their surnames as found in the original records are given in parentheses, as sometimes multiple versions of same can be found; for example, John Forbes (Fergis, Forbis), John Guthrie (Gutry, Guttry). The Christian names are given in English, unless the original spelling warrants inclusion. In such cases, the original spelling is given in parentheses: that is Nathaniel (Nathanël) Gordon. In both instances, subsequent mentions of a particular name are given in English.

ii. *Spelling of geographical names*

There is much confusion where placenames of the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth are concerned. The difficulties arise from their inherent

complexity—official names changed along with the ruling authorities; woefully inaccurate works of reference have been published in English; and strong censorship in the countries of the Eastern block from the mid-1940s to the late 1980s suppressed all former German names in all popular works of reference. The matter is further complicated by the existence of foreign versions of the most common Polish placenames, for example: Varsovia (Latin/Italian), Varsovie (French), Warschau (German), and Warszawa (Polish). Likewise, Gdańsk most often referred to in English as Danzig (using German spelling), was often referred to in sources as: Gyddanyzc, Kdanzc, Gdanzc, Danczk, Danczik, Dansick, Dantzke, Danske, Danskin, Daniskin, Danskyn. To avoid confusion in geographical names, wherever possible I have used the modern English equivalent, or the form most familiar to English-speaking readers; thus, Silesia for Śląsk, Ducal Prussia for Prusy Książęce, and Samogitia for Żmudź. On occasion this means preferring a Russian to a Polish, Byelorussian or Ukrainian form: thus Mogilev, not Mohilew; and Chernigov, not Czernichów or Chernihiv. Moreover, for city and town names, and as far as possible, I have preferred the form used by the ruling administrative power under which each centre lay during the period under investigation, that is, between the sixteenth and the eighteenth centuries. This is consistent, for example, with placenames appearing in the register of the subsidy for Charles II, king of England, which was paid in 1651 by the Scots (and the English) living in Poland.¹ Therefore, for places under Polish administration, that is, within borders of the *Korona* (the Polish Crown) Polish spelling has been preferred—thus Gdańsk not Danzig, Braniewo not Braunsberg. German spelling has been preferred for place names in vassal states of Poland-Lithuania inhabited largely by German-speakers, that is, East or Ducal Prussia and Livonia—thus Königsberg not Królewiec, and Memel not Klaipeda or Kłajpeda. Since Polish was the dominant language (in a political and administrative sense, if not numerically in some areas) in the Grand Duchy of Lithuania, I have preferred Polish spelling, rather than Lithuanian or Byelorussian, for most places (this is certainly reflected in the documents from the period).

¹ *Exactio decimae partis substantiarum a mercatoribus cateris/q/ue nationis Scothiae et Anglicanae hominibus in Regno Poloniae degentibus iuxta ordinationem constitutionis comitalis die mensis Decembris 1650 pro subsidio serenissimi magnae Britanniae regis laudatae. Expedita Radomii sub tempus tribunalis die 13 mensis Martii anno 1651.* Archiwum Główne Akt Dawnych in Warsaw (hereafter AGAD), Archiwum Skarbu Koronnego (hereafter ASK), ASK I 134, fols 1–39.

I have used a similar protocol in regard to placenames in present-day West Ukraine. Thus I have preferred Lwów to Lviv or Lvov, and Kamieniec to Kamenets. I have used Ukrainian forms for places in Eastern Ukraine. The following is a list of the most often used geographical names. The forms used in this work have been italicised.

Polish	German	Lithuanian	Ukrainian	Russian	English
<i>Barcin</i>	Bartschin				
Białoruś					<i>White Ruthenia</i>
Braclaw			<i>Bratslav</i>		
<i>Braniewo</i> formerly Brunsberga	Braunsberg				
<i>Brześć</i>			Brest Litovsk		
<i>Bydgoszcz</i>	Bromberg				
<i>Bytów</i>	Bütow				
Chocim			<i>Khotyn</i>		
Czernichów			<i>Chernigov</i>		
<i>Elbląg</i>	Elbing				
<i>Gdańsk</i>	Danzig				
<i>Frombork</i>	Frauenburg				
Inflanty	Livland				<i>Livonia</i>
<i>Kiejdany</i>	Kieydany	Kėdainiai			
Kijów			<i>Kiev</i>		
Kłajpeda	<i>Memel</i>	Klaipėda			
Kraków	Krakau				<i>Cracow</i>
<i>Krokowo</i>	Krockow				
Kurlandia					<i>Courland</i>
<i>Leszno</i>	Lissa				
<i>Lwów</i>			Lviv	Lvov	
<i>Łobżenica</i>	Lobsens				

Table (cont.)

Polishh	German	Lithuanian	Ukrainian	Russian	English
<i>Mokry Dwór</i>	Nassenhuben				
Małopolska					<i>Lesser Poland</i>
Mazowsze					<i>Mazovia</i>
<i>Ostroróg</i>	Scharfenort				
Podlasie					<i>Podlasia</i>
<i>Polesie</i>					
Pomorze	Pommern				<i>Pomerania</i>
<i>Poznań</i>	Posen				
Prusy Królewskie	West Preußen				<i>Royal/West Prussia</i>
Prusy Książęce	Ost Preußen				<i>Ducal Prussia</i>
<i>Puck</i>	Putzig				
Ruś Czerwona					<i>Red Ruthenia</i>
<i>Skoki</i>	Skokken				
Stare Szkoty	<i>Alt Schottland</i>				
<i>Toruń</i>	Thorn				
<i>Warmia</i>	Ermland				
Warszawa	Warshau				<i>Warsaw</i>
Wielkopolska					<i>Greater Poland</i>
<i>Wilno</i>		Vilnius		Vilna	Vilnius
Wisła					<i>Vistula River</i>
Wołyń			Volyn		<i>Volhynia</i>
Wrocław	<i>Breslau</i>				
Zaporoże			<i>Zaporozhe</i>		
Żmudź		Žemaitija			<i>Samogitia</i>

Placenames in various languages, with the version preferred in the text shown in italics.

iii. *Glossary of terms*

I have mostly preferred to use the traditional and thus more euphonious spelling of some Polish words, as most often the unique name coincides with an equally unique concept (positions of responsibilities, names of institutions). Thus, I have used *wojewoda* instead of ‘palatinate’, *starosta* instead of ‘sheriff’, the *Sejm* instead of ‘parliament’ or ‘diet’. All other original Polish terms have been italicised and followed by an explanation in parentheses.

iv. *Translations of some basic Polish terms used in this volume:*

<i>hetman</i>	The title taken by commanders of the armed forces. The Polish Crown and the Grand Duchy of Lithuania each had a grand hetman and a field hetman.
<i>indygenat</i>	A process of naturalisation of foreign nobility. Also a letter patent issued to a foreign noble seeking naturalisation.
<i>Korona</i>	The Crown or the Polish Crown. A name commonly used in reference to the Kingdom of Poland, as opposed to the other part of the Commonwealth—the Grand Duchy of Lithuania.
<i>nobilitacja</i>	A process of ennoblement. Also a letter patent issued to an ennobled person.
<i>Rzeczpospolita</i>	The Commonwealth. A name commonly used in reference to the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth. It is a shorter version of <i>Rzeczpospolita Obojga Narodów</i> (The Commonwealth of Both Nations). The word <i>Rzeczpospolita</i> is a direct rendering in Polish of the Latin words <i>res publica</i> . I have used interchangeably the seventeenth-century English equivalent of that word: ‘Commonwealth’, or phrase: Poland-Lithuania.
<i>Sejm</i>	Polish Diet or Parliament.
<i>starosta</i> (<i>starosta grodowy</i>)	A title of a county-level official responsible for fiscal duties, police and courts, as well as for the execution of judicial verdicts.
<i>szlachta</i>	The nobility. The translation ‘gentry’ does not adequately correspond to that term as in Poland-Lithuania the nobility was a legally privileged elite group. The doctrine of noble equality meant there was no legal distinction between the powerful and affluent magnates and the mass of the nobility. I have used the terms ‘noble’ and ‘nobility’ to refer to the whole class.
<i>wojewoda</i>	The chief provincial official, ranked in the senate below the bishops and above the castellans, and nominally responsible for the defence of his province.
<i>województwo</i>	An administrative division under the jurisdiction of <i>wojewoda</i> , sometimes referred to as a province or a palatinate.
<i>wójt</i>	A title of an office denoting heads of towns under the overlordship of the town’s owner (the King, the Church or a nobleman).

All translations from Polish, Latin and German, if not indicated, are my own.

iv. *Dates*

On 15 October 1582, along with Spain, Portugal and most of Italy, the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth adopted the Georgian Calendar. All documents issued after that date have been dated according to the New Style, which has thus been employed in this work.

v. *Currency*

Between the sixteenth and the eighteenth centuries, Polish currency, apart from the *złoty* (in English translations often referred to as the florin) and the *grosz* (plural: *groszy*, one *złoty* equalled 30 *groszy*), consisted of other nominations higher in value than the *złoty*: the *dukat* or *czerwony złoty* (red *złoty*) and the *talar* (thaler), as well as nominations lesser in value than the *złoty*: the *ort*, the *szóstak*, the *trojak*, the *dwojak* and the *szeląg*.² The following table shows the value of various coins used in Poland-Lithuania (based on the currency Ordinance of 16 May 1650).

Dukat	Talar	Złoty	Ort	Szóstak	Trojak	Dwojak	Grosz	Szeląg	Denar ³
1	2	6	10	30	60	90	180	720	
	1	3	5	15	30	45	90	360	
		1	1 2/3	5	10	15	30	120	
			1	3	6	9	18	72	324
				1	2	3	6	24	108
					1	1 1/2	3	12	54
						1	2	8	36
							1	4	18
								1	4 1/2
									1

It is difficult to find one standard conversion to pounds sterling. In 1652 William Crofts used an exchange rate of circa £ 0.13 to one Polish *złoty*, so that one pound bought circa seven *złoty* and twenty *groszy*. Since Crofts was a government representative and was dealing with financial issues, in this work, I have accepted his rate of conversion.⁴

² Z. Żabiński, *Systemy pieniężne na ziemiach polskich* (Wrocław: 1981), 121, table 70; A. B. Pernal, and R. Gasse, "The 1651 Polish subsidy to the Exiled Charles II," *Oxford Slavonic Papers*, vol. XXXII (1999): 1– 50.

³ Although not included in the currency ordinance of 1650, *Denar* was yet another nomination used in the Commonwealth, hence I have included it in the table.

⁴ Pernal and Gasse, "The 1651 Polish subsidy," 8, 17.

INTRODUCTION

A NEW PERSPECTIVE ON SCOTTISH MIGRATION TO THE POLISH-LITHUANIAN COMMONWEALTH IN THE SIXTEENTH TO THE EIGHTEENTH CENTURIES

*Polonia Est nowa Babilonia: Ciganorum, Germanorum,
Armenorum et Scotorum colonia.*

(Latin: Poland is like a new Babylon, a colony of Gypsies,
Germans, Armenians and Scots.)¹

During the last few decades, a significant amount of scholarly and popular work has been carried out on migration. The latest research has shown that there was a lot more migration in the early modern period (1500–1800) than once thought. It used to be claimed, and sometimes still is, that few people left their towns and villages, let alone their kingdoms, to seek a better fortune abroad. Yet recent studies have shown that throughout the period there was a continuous voluntary and involuntary movement of people. Among the voluntary migrants were those who were motivated by economic aspirations, the desire to improve their livelihood, extend their skills, advance their careers and/or to maximize returns on their investments. The involuntary migration was generally prompted directly or indirectly by persecution, threats of violence and/or deprivation, including poverty. For some individuals the migratory movement was only temporary. Yet in many cases—whether intended or otherwise—migration meant permanent relocation. While some emigrants left their ‘homes’ to move to neighbouring towns or villages, others were making journeys to locations distant geographically and culturally.² Very prominent among these ‘international’ migrations was the movement of Scottish emigrants, exiles and sojourners to continental Europe:

¹ J. Križanić, “Polonia (16th century),” quoted in E. Sęczys, “Szkoci w Polsce w XV i XVI wieku,” (MA Thesis, Warszawa: 1969), 24.

² P. Demeny and G. McNicoll, eds., *Encyclopedia of Population*, 2 vols (New York: 2003), see “International Migration”; H. J. Birx, ed., *Encyclopedia of Anthropology*, 5 vols (Thousand Oaks: 2006), see “Migrations.”; T. Sowell, *Migrations and Cultures: A World View* (New York: 1996).

to France, to the Low Countries, to Scandinavia, to the Baltic provinces, and to Poland-Lithuania.

The flow of Scots abroad has been the subject of a number of important studies.³ The most influential discussions concentrated on the military migrations, and in particular the Scottish involvement during the Thirty Years' War. Using a variety of primary sources—official government and military records, private memoirs and letters—historians established a much more detailed picture of the scale and the chronology of the Scottish involvement in the particular armies than has previously been available.⁴ Of prime importance to the success of this study was the groundbreaking research undertaken by Murdoch and Grosjean, who used an online database to collect and examine extensive bibliographical and prosopographical material. Their pioneering work prompted a re-examination of the role and the significance of Scottish military involvement in the formation of diplomatic contacts and alliances in Northern Europe, specifically between Scotland and Denmark–Norway, and an analogous, but 'unofficial alliance' between Scotland and Sweden.⁵ The studies of military migration also raised questions about concepts of national identity, the complex relationship of expatriate Scottish mercenaries to their homeland, and the relations between the Scots and their hosts.⁶ By placing the

³ The best introduction to the topic is the works by M. Brander, *The Emigrant Scots* (London: 1982); T. C. Smout, N. C. Landsman, and T. M. Devine, "Scottish Emigration in the Seventeenth and Eighteenth Centuries," in N. Canny, ed., *Europeans on the Move: Studies on European Migration, 1500–1800* (Oxford: 1994), 76–112. Of interest are several of the contributions to the volume by T. C. Smout, ed., *Scotland and Europe, 1200–1850* (Edinburgh: 1986).

⁴ Recent surveys of Scottish military migration include G. G. Simpson, ed., *The Scottish Soldier Abroad, 1247–1967* (Edinburgh: 1992); S. Murdoch and A. Mackillop, eds., *Fighting for Identity: Scottish military experience, c.1550–1900* (Leiden and Boston: 2002); idem, *Military Governors and Imperial Frontiers c. 1600–1800: a study of Scotland and empires* (Leiden: 2003); S. Murdoch, "The House of Stuart and the Scottish Professional Soldier 1618–1640: A Conflict of Nationality and Identities," in B. Taithe and T. Thornton, eds., *War: Identities in Conflict 1300–2000*, (Gloucestershire: 1998), 3–55.

⁵ S. Murdoch and A. Grosjean, *Scotland, Scandinavia & Northern Europe, 1580–1707* (electronic database), at <http://www.st-andrews.ac.uk/history/ssne/>; cf. S. Murdoch, "The Database in Early Modern Scottish History: Scandinavia and Northern Europe 1580–1703," *Northern Studies* 32 (1997), 83–103; idem, *Britain, Denmark-Norway and the House of Stuart, 1603–1660* (East Linton: 2003); A. Grosjean, *An Unofficial Alliance: Scotland and Sweden, 1569–1654* (Leiden: 2003).

⁶ Apart from the studies mentioned earlier dealing with the Scottish military presence in Denmark–Norway and Sweden by Murdoch and Grosjean, there are several publication outlining the Scottish military experience in France and in the Low Countries: M. Francesque, *Les Écossais en France, les Français en Écosse*, (London: 1862); G. Gardner, *The Scottish Exile Community in the Netherlands, 1660–1690* (East Linton: 2004); M. Glozier, *Scottish Soldiers in France in the Reign of the Sun King: Nursery for Men of Honour* (Leiden:

movement in a political context, the scholars also raised questions about reasons for enlisting and about the social and demographic consequences for Scotland of this particular type of migration. While the early research suggested that only a relatively small group of high-profile Scots were able to make the journey and successfully integrate, the new studies revealed a vastly different picture. The scholarship demonstrated that a considerable proportion of Scottish emigrants had successfully integrated into the host society and forged close ties with a variety of early modern continental states. It also revealed the existence of a previously unrecognised variety of social networks connecting Scottish expatriate communities throughout the Continent and linking them with their homeland.⁷

Although the movement of Scottish soldiers has dominated discussions on the flow of Scots abroad, a number of studies have also examined the role of migrant Scots in commercial activities. While some have concentrated primarily on the economic history of the migration and its impact on the receiving society, other academics have looked at the issue of community formation.⁸ In a significant study of the everyday lives of the Scottish immigrants in Rotterdam (c. 1600–1700), Douglas Catterall reconstructed the social networks that Scots used to establish and sustain themselves in that port city. Moreover, he investigated the broad impact of the emigrants on their adopted home, and specifically the Scottish influence on local politics, religion, and legal system.⁹ Similar questions have been

2004); idem, "Scots in the French and Dutch armies during the Thirty Years War," in S. Murdoch, ed., *Scotland and the Thirty Years' War*, (Leiden: 2001); H. Dunthorne, "Scots in the Wars of the Low Countries, 1572–1648," in G. G. Simpson, ed., *Scotland and the Low Countries, 1124–1994*, (East Linton: 1996).

Scottish military presence in Russia has been the subject of several publications: I. G. Anderson, *Scotsmen in the Service of the Czars* (Edinburgh: 1990); J. W. Barnhill and P. Dukes, "North-east Scots in Muscovy in the seventeenth century," *Northern Scotland* 1, (1972): 49–63; P. Dukes et al. *The Caledonian Phalanx: Scots in Russia* (Edinburgh: 1987); D. Fedosov, *The Caledonian Connection: Scotland–Russia Ties, the Middle Ages to the Early Twentieth Century* (Aberdeen: 1996); G. P. Herd, "General Patrick Gordon of Auchleuchries: A Scot in Seventeenth Century Russian Service," (PhD Thesis, University of Aberdeen, Aberdeen, 1994).

Scottish involvement in the armies of the Habsburg Empire was discussed by D. Worthington, *Scots in Habsburg Service, 1618–1648* (Leiden: 2003).

⁷ Grosjean, *An Unofficial Alliance*, 7–8, 138–15; S. Murdoch, *Network North: Scottish Kin, Commercial and Covert Associations in Northern Europe, 1603–1746* (Leiden: 2006).

⁸ A. Grosjean and S. Murdoch, eds., *Scottish Communities Abroad in the Early Modern Period* (Leiden: 2005); T. Riis, *Should Auld Acquaintance Be Forgot: Scottish–Danish Relations, c. 1450–1707*, 2 vols (Odense: 1988); G. G. Simpson, ed., *Scotland and the Low Countries, 1124–1994* (East Linton: 1996).

⁹ D. Catterall, *Community without Borders: Scottish Migrants and the Changing Face of Power in the Dutch Republic c.1600–1700* (Leiden: 2002).

raised by various historians in relation to Scottish expatriate communities in other parts of the Continent, settled populations in Norway, Denmark, France, the German states and the Habsburg lands.¹⁰ Important work has also been undertaken on return migration, its mechanisms and its impact. In this context important questions have been raised about the motives and experiences of return migrants.¹¹ The various monographs used demographic material and developed techniques for analysing it that can be applied more broadly. This scholarship has therefore added considerably to our understanding of how the Scots adjusted to a new social order and new rules of behaviour.

The inner workings of the Scottish migration have been further enriched by debates of what contributed to the success of this particular migratory movement. To date, the most important contribution in that discussion has been that of Murdoch. Using a variety of historical, sociological and anthropological models, Murdoch successfully argued that various networks, and specifically kith and kin ties, were the most important link in this structure. According to him a range of sometimes overlapping family, commercial, confessional and sometimes covert networks allowed expatriate Scots to make a considerable impact on both domestic and international history.¹²

The historical links between Scots and *Rzeczpospolita Obojga Narodów* (the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth) can be traced back to the fourteenth century. It is believed that the first, very early stage of migration happened during the second half of the fourteenth century and was

¹⁰ A selection of essays on this theme was published in Grosjean and Murdoch, *Scottish Communities Abroad*. Of special significance are chapters in this volume by D. Catterall, "Scots along the Maas, c. 1570–1750," 169–192; P. Fitzgerald, "Scottish migration to Ireland in the seventeenth century," 27–52; A. Grosjean and S. Murdoch, "The Scottish community in seventeenth-century Gothenburg," 191–224; W. Kowalski, "The placement of urbanised Scots in the Polish Crown during the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries," 53–104; N. Østby Pedersen, "Scottish immigration to Bergen in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries," 135–168; K. Zickermann, "'Briteannia ist mein patria': Scotsmen and the 'British' community in Hamburg," 249–276; R. Žirgulis, "The Scottish community in Kėdainiai c. 1630–c. 1750," 225–247. Cf. L. Eriksonas, "The lost colony of Scots: unravelling overseas connections in a Lithuanian town," in A. I. Macinnes, T. Riis and F. G. Pedersen, eds., *Ships Guns and Bibles in the North Sea and the Baltic States, c. 1350–c. 1700* (East Linton: 2000), 173–187.

¹¹ M. Harper, ed., *Emigrant Homecomings: The Return Movement of Emigrants, 1600–2000* (Manchester: 2005). Of particular importance in this volume are articles by S. Murdoch, "Children of the diaspora: the 'homecoming' of the second-generation Scot in the seventeenth century," 55–76; and A. Grosjean, "Returning to Belhelvie, 1593–1875: The impact of return migration on an Aberdeenshire parish," 216–232.

¹² Murdoch, *Network North*.

related to outbreaks of the Black Death in Scotland in 1350, 1356, 1361–62 and 1368–69.¹³

However, throughout the early period of Polish–Scottish relations, trade was a key factor connecting these states. This trade was focused on the city of Gdańsk (Danzig), located on the coast of the Baltic Sea. The Teutonic Knights seized Gdańsk in 1308 but control over the town reverted to the Kingdom of Poland in 1466. During the fourteenth and the first half of the fifteenth centuries the Knights traded with both Scotland and England. These close commercial links resulted in the formation of a first British settlement in Gdańsk. The group consisted of English agents, who in December 1390 and January 1391 were granted privileges by Richard II, making them a type of trade company.¹⁴ With the final expulsion of the Knights in 1466 the city's trade with Britain quadrupled. However, the number of vessels arriving from Scotland was still not very large. Between 1460 and 1498 some sixty Scottish vessels entered the port of Gdańsk, which is about 1 per cent of all ships arriving in this period. Their first point of contact was Gdańsk, which maintained close commercial links, initially between Scotland and the Teutonic Knights and, from 1466 onwards, with the Kingdom of Poland. At first, the number of ships from Scotland that visited Gdańsk was relatively small. Two Scottish vessels entered the port in 1468 (0.3 per cent of the total number of ships using Gdańsk that year), ten in 1470 (3.0 per cent), eight in 1475 (1.5 per cent) and thirteen in 1498 (1.7 per cent).¹⁵ Despite their small numbers, the importance of Scottish traders was considerable as they were able to gain easy access to the mainland and create trade links with producers and consumers.¹⁶ Records of the poll-tax of Gdańsk for the period 1469–71 contain a considerable number of names of Scottish merchants: Stephan and Thomas Bardel, Robert Broston, Martin Nyethale, Thomas and John Simonss, Willam Verne and Thomas Willamesson. The last mentioned visited the port twice in 1470.¹⁷ The records also show types of commercial transactions conducted by the visitors. Shiploads of Polish grain, timber, cattle, salt and potash went to Aberdeen, Dundee and Glasgow, while Scottish exports

¹³ Sęczys, "Szkoci w Polsce," 31.

¹⁴ A. Groth, *Kupcy angielscy w Elblągu w latach 1583–1628* (Gdańsk: 1986), 5–6.

¹⁵ H. Samsonowicz, "Dynamiczny ośrodek handlowy," in E. Cieślak, ed., *Historia Gdańska*, 2 vols, vol. II, 151 (Gdańsk: 1982). Cf. idem, "Handel zagraniczny Gdańska w drugiej połowie XV wieku," *Przegląd Historyczny* 47, zeszyt 2 (1956): 337.

¹⁶ Samsonowicz, "Handel zagraniczny Gdańska," 337.

¹⁷ "Records of the poll-tax," APGD. sig 300/9/3; 1469, 1470, 1471, quoted in Sęczys, "Szkoci w Polsce," 4.

to Gdańsk included furs, rabbit-skins, wool and lower quality cloth.¹⁸ It seems that Scottish migrants, traders and peddlers followed trade routes, and already by the late fourteenth century were present in the territories of Prussia, slowly moving inland. In about 1380 they founded a suburb of Gdańsk, later known as Stare Szkoty (Alt Schottland).¹⁹

It seems that some Scots visited Poland, and in particular Gdańsk, on their way back from pilgrimages to Rome. Such was the case of Thomas Gibson (Gybiscihen) from Dundee, a pilgrim coming from Santiago di Compostella and a vagabond in Breslau, who circa 1470 confessed to his wish of going “to Dantzke that he might return to Scotland”.²⁰

Although Scots were migrating to the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth even during the late fourteenth century, the movement was sporadic and confined only to the most northern provinces. The existing evidence—Royal decrees issued by Polish and Scottish courts, laws passed by the *Sejm* (Polish: Parliament), municipal documents and records, diaries left by contemporary travellers, genealogical data—shows that larger migratory movements from Scotland began only in the last decades of the sixteenth century and continued until the late eighteenth century. It was only during that period that migrants spread out throughout Poland-Lithuania and left a contribution to its society, economy, military, religious and academic life. The reason for the growth after 1500 could be partially explained by the very favourable sociopolitical situation in Poland-Lithuania at that time. As it will be indicated in more detail in chapter one, in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth developed into one of the wealthiest and powerful kingdoms in Europe. At its peak in the late sixteenth century the vast lands of Poland-Lithuania encompassed some 815,000 square kilometres.²¹ This was the largest territory in Europe. It was larger than the European part of Muscovy and nearly twice the size of France. With its total population estimated at eleven million, the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth was the third most populous state

¹⁸ Samsonowicz, “Dynamiczny ośrodek handlowy,” vol. II, 139–144, 150–152.

¹⁹ Ibid., vol. II, 150; cf. Samsonowicz, “Handel zagraniczny Gdańska,” 337; idem, “Deux formes d’activité commerciale: les Anglais et les Écossais en Pologne et dans les pays limitrophes, au XIV^e—première moitié du XVI^e siècle,” *Studia Maritima* 2 (1980): 70–82; T. A. Fischer, *The Scots in Eastern and Western Prussia* (Edinburgh: 1903), 4–13 (hereafter SEWP).

²⁰ “Confessions of the Scots; Scottish pilgrims at Breslau (circa 1470),” quoted in T. A. Fischer, *The Scots in Germany: Being a Contribution towards the History of the Scots Abroad* (Edinburgh: 1902), 241–242 (hereafter SIG).

²¹ W. Czapliński and T. Ładogórski, eds., *Atlas historyczny Polski* (Warszawa-Wrocław: 1996), 13–14, map 28–29.

in Europe.²² Its social structure consisted primarily of nobility and peasantry, with a socioeconomic gap between those strata ready to be filled by foreign entrepreneurs. Religious liberty for much of the period also attracted immigrants who were subject to persecution in their homeland. Finally, Poland-Lithuania was a multiethnic polity welcoming numerous migrants from different parts of the continent.

This favourable situation did not, however, last indefinitely. The once-strong monarchy began to lose its power to the nobility. The situation was further complicated by the rivalries among the nobles, which weakened the *Sejm*. Although after about 1550 the Parliament played an increasingly major role in the governing of the state, by the mid seventeenth century costly conflicts such as the Cossack Rebellion (1648–1654), the Second Northern War (1655–60) and the Polish–Turkish Wars (1671–1699) ruined the once flourishing economy. The Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth's decline continued into the late eighteenth century.²³ By that time the migration from Scotland had almost stopped. The Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth's neighbours—Austria, Prussia and Russia—took advantage of Poland-Lithuania's weakness and partitioned its territory among themselves in three stages. By the time of the Third Partition in 1795, Poland's inhabitants faced an uncertain future under the rule of three powers. After this partition, the once proud kingdom ceased to exist as a separate state.

Of particular interest in the relationship between Scotland and Poland-Lithuania is the period between the sixteenth and the eighteenth century, when several thousand Scots migrated to the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth. Some, reluctant to put down roots, stayed for a short period of time, while others decided to make Poland-Lithuania their permanent home, worked in trade and crafts or were involved in the military.

²² J. Topolski, *Polska w czasach nowożytnych. Od środkowoeuropejskiej potęgi do utraty niepodległości (1501–1795)*, (Poznań: 1999), 12, 124–127; C. Kukło, *Demografia Rzeczypospolitej przedrozbiorowej* (Warszawa: 2009), 215, picture 10; idem, "Ludność Polski," in *Nowa Encyklopedia Powszechna PWN*, vol. V (Warszawa: 1996), 73–74.

²³ Recent Polish historiography holds the view that the most ruinous of all the Northern Wars was the Third War (1700–1721). The devastation has been linked to plague and famine: see Z. Guldon and J. Wijaczka, "Zarazy a zaludnienie i gospodarka Polski w dobie wielkiej wojny północnej," in J. Muszyńska, ed., *Rzeczpospolita w dobie wielkiej wojny północnej* (Kielce: 2001), 199–216; J. Muszyńska, "Straty demograficzne i zniszczenia gospodarcze w Małopolsce w połowie XVII wieku," in J. Muszyńska and J. Wijaczka, eds., *Rzeczpospolita w latach potopu* (Kielce: 1996), 275–289; idem, "Zniszczenia gospodarcze połowy XVII wieku a gospodarka Rzeczypospolitej," in B. Dybaś, ed., *Wojny północne w XVI–XVIII wieku. W czterechsetlecie bitwy pod Kircholmem* (Toruń: 2007), 233–247.

A number distinguished themselves, and as a result were ennobled or, if already of noble descent, were naturalised as gentry. The migration stopped in the late eighteenth century, and the Scots who remained in the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth seem to have lost their ethnic identity.

Although there has been increasing interest in Scottish relations with Poland-Lithuania, this is the first English-language study of the topic based on an in-depth analysis of a substantial body of primary material relating to this migration. Apart from a few late-nineteenth and early-twentieth century publications and a handful of more recent articles primarily by Polish academics, the subject remains largely neglected. Similarly, the history of the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth is not as well known, or as prominent in the British/Scottish imagination, as the history of some other regions of Europe.

In the past there were considerable barriers to the study of this subject. These, and the limited sources that were available to individual authors determined the nature of a number of studies. Among the more evident problems were unsubstantiated generalisations and inconsistencies in the methodology used in calculating the scale of migration on one hand, and the characterisation of it on the other. Many historians also tended to focus only on the more successful migrants, those who managed to leave some sort of mark in the history of both nations: to acquire citizen rights or an office; to make their name as clergymen or entrepreneurs; to rise through the military ranks; or to climb the social ladder. Such an approach often resulted in presenting those individuals without a broader context. The obstacles encountered by historians also prevented them giving a more detailed analysis of how family and kin networks influenced that immigration. How is it that certain family names appear only in certain localities? How can we explain the social advancement of apparently first-generation migrants? The records from both Scotland and Poland-Lithuania revealed the previously unrecognised importance of kinship networks in migrational patterns. Finally, the English-language historiography in particular has failed to appreciate the full significance or scale of this migration or to place it in the contexts of seventeenth-century Scottish and British history.

This study identifies primary sources that enable it to correct and challenge many current views on Scottish migration to Poland-Lithuania. It devotes attention to 'silent groups'—groups of migrants left out or largely neglected in previous accounts: women, commoners (those who did not hold offices or acquire burger status) and men who were admitted into the

Polish nobility. Much data was provided by church records and other types of genealogical material. These sources do not discriminate according to the gender or social status of individual parishioners and therefore contain a wealth of information on all strata in the expatriate community. The primary material enabled the present researcher to trace migrant movement and group demographics, and to investigate the history, organisation and size of the various Scottish Protestant communities. The records help to form a better understanding of the influence of confessionalism on the settlement patterns of the immigrants, and of the relationship between the Scots and the host community at a parish level.

The data collected during the initial research—baptisms, marriages and death certificates of two Calvinist parishes—St Peter and St Paul, and St Elizabeth in Gdańsk—showed distinct trends unrecognised earlier. For example, the data shed much light on Scottish women immigrants and the importance of kinship. The seventeenth-century records show that Scots did not seek their countrywomen in Poland-Lithuania as much as some historians have suggested. The early research showed that intermarriage with members of other ethnic groups was quite extensive. It revealed the existence of a previously unrecognised core group of migrants connected to particular parishes for lengthy periods of time—Scots who maintained their identity despite integration into Polish society. The findings encouraged collection and an examination of a much wider sample of records of numerous Protestant and Catholic parishes from all the provinces of the Commonwealth: Cracow and Lublin (Lesser Poland), Poznań (Greater Poland) and Kiejdany (Grand Duchy of Lithuania). As a comparator for the data found in the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth, records from Königsberg and Memel parishes in Ducal Prussia (one of the Commonwealth's vassal states, and ultimately subject to the Crown) have been inspected. Similarly, relevant documents from Scotland have also been examined; for example, registers of birth briefs from Aberdeen and Dundee.

Thus, this work reinterprets the history of Scottish migration to the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth between the second half of the sixteenth century and the end of the eighteenth century. First, it will expand our knowledge of the scale and significance of the Scottish migration to the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth between the sixteenth and eighteenth centuries, as well as of the Scots' contribution to the Commonwealth (and vice versa). Second, it will demonstrate the importance of the ties between western and central Europe, and the Baltic region. Lastly, it will

broaden our understanding of the history of migration—especially the formation of ethnic groups, patterns of group identification, defining and maintaining ‘ethnicity’, coexistence with the native population, changes in mode of migration (from economic, ‘sojourn’ migration to permanent settlement, changes in social status and the dissolution over time of a certain ethnic group.

CHAPTER ONE

SCOTTISH MIGRATION TO POLAND-LITHUANIA FROM THE SIXTEENTH TO THE EIGHTEENTH CENTURIES: THE STATE OF PRESENT SCHOLARSHIP AND THE SOURCES

The body of secondary academic work on the Scottish migration to Poland-Lithuania can be divided into several different categories according to the authors' approach to the subject, their framework, methodology, arguments raised, findings and overall contribution.

One of the first authors to become interested in Scots in Poland was Aleksander Wejnert. In his article "Prawa i swobody Szkotów w Polsce do końca XVIII wieku" (Privileges and Liberties of Scots in Poland till the end of the eighteenth century) Wejnert concentrates on one aspect of the migration: the Scots connected to the royal court and the privileges issued to some of them. Apart from that, based on supposition, he proposes that religious persecutions in Scotland were the main reason for the migration.¹

An attempt to broaden the knowledge about the Scottish migration to Poland was made by Stanisław Tomkowicz. In his article "Przyczynek do historii Szkotów w Krakowie i w Polsce" (A Contribution to the History of Scots in Cracow and in Poland) he introduces the issue of Scottish migration with particular attention to the Scots of Cracow.² Tomkowicz argues that Scots were well represented in the multiethnic Polish cities in the sixteenth and the seventeenth centuries. He views Protestant Prussia with its coastal municipal centres as a natural port for refuge-seeking Scots. Tomkowicz argues that the move inland, towards the Crown, was a result of the heavy competition they encountered in Prussia. Moreover, Tomkowicz suggests that Scots had an especially well developed concept of national identity, and that despite living in Poland for an extended period, they kept to themselves and, for a long time, successfully resisted assimilation. Apart from publishing a register of Scots who settled in Cracow in

¹ A. Wejnert, "Prawa i swobody Szkotów w Polsce do końca XVIII wieku," *Gazeta Polska* 20–30 (1877).

² S. Tomkowicz, "Przyczynek do historii Szkotów w Krakowie i w Polsce," *Rocznik Krakowski* 2 (1899): 151–174.

the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, in his paper he briefly touches on the reasons for the Scottish migration, the laws governing their lives in Poland-Lithuania and their main occupations. He also discusses the formation of Scottish brotherhoods and the tax levied on Scots on behalf of Charles II in 1650 for the territory of the Crown. Tomkowicz's most lasting impact on Polish historiography was probably his notion that the migration was primarily triggered by religious persecutions at the outbreak of the Reformation, and continued throughout the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. Tomkowicz's explanation of the motives behind this migration, based on supposition rather than evidence, has nevertheless been accepted by many historians and widely popularised.³

Several works on Scots in Poland-Lithuania were written in the early twentieth century at the height of the British Empire. Their authors, influenced to some extent by the methods of historical enquiry developed by Leopold von Ranke, set themselves the task of collecting and publishing documents pertaining to the history of Scottish migration to continental Europe. One such scholar whose work contained valuable information on the Scottish migration to Poland-Lithuania was the German historian Thomas Alfred Fischer, who outlined the Scottish migration to Germany, Eastern and Western Prussia, and Sweden.⁴ Fischer, however, did not give the Scottish migration to Poland-Lithuania enough significance, treating it as part of migration to Germany, Sweden or Prussia. To be fair, though, at the time Fischer's volumes were written, Poland-Lithuania no longer existed as a separate state, and he therefore dealt with the migration anachronistically. Fischer argues that as early as the fifteenth century Scots were well established in the Hanseatic city of Gdańsk and from there migrated inland towards the Polish Crown. This, in his opinion, was a result of the strong competition they encountered in Prussia, where they also faced legal obstacles.⁵ Like Tomkowicz before him, Fischer also argues that Scots had an especially well developed concept of national identity; that is, they

³ Ibid., 157, 158–160. Religious persecution as one of the main motives for migration was presented for example in W. Borowy, "Prześladowani katolicy angielscy i szkoccy w Polsce w XVI wieku," *Przegląd Powszechny* 55, nos. 7–9 (1938): 111–124; A. Kossowski, *Protestantyzm w Lublinie i w Lubelskiem w XVI–XVII w.* (Lublin: 1933), 17–18; most recently by U. Augustyniak, *Historia Polski 1572–1795* (Warszawa: 2008), 285; K. Gorczyca, *Żychlin pod Koninem. Dzieje wsi i zboru* (Warszawa: 1997), 105; S. Gierszewski, *Obywatele miast Polski przedrozbiorowej: studium źródłoznawcze* (Warszawa: 1973), 70; idem, "Szkoci w mniejszych miastach Pomorza Gdańskiego (XVI–XVIII w.)," *Zeszyty Naukowe WSP im. Powstańców Śląskich w Opolu, Historia* 26 (1988): 49.

⁴ SIG; SEWP; T. A. Fischer, *The Scots in Sweden* (Edinburgh: 1907) (hereafter SIS).

⁵ SEWP, 13–25, 28–50.

regarded themselves as Stuart subjects, they kept to themselves and thus successfully resisted assimilation. He argues that there were two types of migrants: itinerant traders whose lives were generally very burdensome; and those who, having come through the ranks thanks to their 'hardihood and energy', managed to settle permanently, obtain citizenship rights and even gain the highest distinctions. Fischer's books contain various omissions and errors: inaccuracies in quoting sources, uncritical reliance on secondary references, lack of footnotes, and typographical errors; nevertheless his contribution is undeniable.

A second early twentieth-century historian who discussed the issue of Scottish migration to Poland was the British writer Francis Steuart. In the introduction to *Papers Relating to the Scots in Poland 1576–1593* (1915), he briefly outlines their history.⁶ His book includes a mix of historical facts, with details cited—as the author calls it—'without prejudice'.⁷ Heavily influenced by Fischer's papers, in his introduction Steuart replicates flaws in Fischer's accounts and often simply repeats arguments put forward by Fischer. This is despite the fact that in the same introductory chapter he is distancing himself from Fischer's work, criticising it for being "written in German-English", "difficult to understand", "chronically rather confused" and having "meagre indices".⁸

Steuart's main contribution is twofold. He recognises that migration of Scots to Poland was separate from migration to Germany. He also gathers a sizeable collection of primary documents (some three hundred pages)—royal grants and privileges bestowed on the Scottish merchants in Poland, names of Scots admitted to the citizenship of Cracow, records of what he calls "the Scottish Brotherhood in Lublin," excerpts from memoirs, letters and accounts of people who lived or visited Poland during the sixteenth century—published with English translations.⁹

⁶ F. A. Steuart, *Papers Relating to the Scots in Poland 1576–1593* (hereafter PRSP) (Edinburgh: 1915).

⁷ For a critical review of Steuart's book see F. Bujak, "Recenzja książki: Papers Relating to the Scots in Poland 1576–1593," *Kwartalnik Historyczny* 45, no. 1 (1931): 88–89.

⁸ PRSP, xi.

⁹ Among the most valuable documents available through Steuart's publication is, for example, the oldest book of records of the Lublin Assembly, known as "Księga zboru lubelskiego 1620–1655". According to Ms Ewa Piskurewicz of the Manuscripts Department of the Biblioteka Uniwersyteku Warszawskiego (hereafter BUW) in Warsaw, this book, perished during the Second World War (old signature—Syg. 16). Although a transcription of it was independently done by Hieronim Łopaciński, the records in his edition have been abbreviated. Steuart's transcript, on the other hand, presents the book almost intact. Cf. PRSP, 238–284; H. Łopaciński, ed., "Odpisy z księgi zboru ewangelickiego w Lublinie," Lublin:

The contribution of Steuart and Fischer remains significant because they compiled primary sources, including some whose originals perished during the Second World War.

The interest in minority groups in Polish-Lithuania between the fifteenth and the eighteenth centuries, which developed in Poland in the years preceding the Second World War, produced a series of publications by Waław Borowy, a critic, librarian of the Warsaw University Library, and later lecturer in language and literature at the School of Slavonic and Eastern European Studies in London. In 1937–38 Borowy wrote a number of articles on aspects of the Scottish presence in the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth.¹⁰ Later he wrote a short history of the Scottish migration to Poland-Lithuania. The book was first published as a series of articles in *Warsaw Weekly* in 1938 and republished as a book in 1941.¹¹ Borowy argues that the migration from Scotland was substantial and that Scots made a very valuable contribution to the Polish military and to science and culture. He discards his earlier view that the primary motive for migration was religious persecution, and proposes a number of other factors. Borowy's arguments at times seem to be over-influenced by his wish to emphasise the historical links in the context of the new alliance between Britain and Poland. There are a number of unsubstantiated generalisations and claims, and the book lacks a scholarly apparatus—no footnotes or bibliography are provided. Nevertheless, Borowy's contribution should not be underestimated, as he raises some important issues relating to early contacts, travel and trade between Poland-Lithuania and Scotland, Scottish life, brotherhoods, benefactions and the military involvement of Scots in the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth.

Biblioteka Publiczna im. H. Łopacińskiego, Zbiory Hieronima Łopacińskiego, Manuscript no. 1386, 1–54.

¹⁰ W. Borowy, "An English Ambassador at the court of John Sobieski," *Warsaw Weekly* 11 (1938): 110–111; idem, "An English Clergyman's Account of the Seventeenth Century Poland," *The Warsaw Weekly*, 23 (1938): 3; idem, "Angielscy komedianci w Polsce," *Scena Polska* 15, no. 4 (1938): 754; idem, "Anglicy, Szkoci i Irlandczycy w wojsku polskim za Zygmunta III," in H. Barycz and J. Hulewicz, eds., *Studia z dziejów kultury polskiej* (Warszawa: 1949), 293–313; idem, "Bakalarz z Cambridge w Polsce XVI wieku," *Droga: dwutygodnik poświęcony sprawie życia polskiego* 15, nos. 7–8 (1936): 574–575; idem, "English visitors to Prussia, Lithuania and Poland in the fourteenth century," *Baltic Countries* 2, no. 2 (1936): 247–252; idem, "Kompania Wschodnia i kampanie wschodnie," *Droga: dwutygodnik poświęcony sprawie życia polskiego* 7–8, nos. 6–7 (1936): 402; idem, "Prześadowani katolicy angielscy i szkoccy"; idem, "Skąd w Krośnie ulica Portiusa?" *Ziemia* 15 (1936): 239–248; idem, "Stosunki polsko-angielskie w początkach reformacji," *Wiedza i Życie* 12, no. 10 (1937): 557–604.

¹¹ W. Borowy, "The Scots in Old Poland," *Warsaw Weekly*, Yearbook 4, nos. 17, 25–27, 30 (1938); idem, *Scots in Old Poland* (Edinburgh-London: 1941).

A resurgence of studies into the Scottish migration began with the nearly simultaneous but independent publication of theses by Krawczyk (1965),¹² Sęczys (1969)¹³ and Biegańska (1974).¹⁴ Krawczyk's dissertation has disappeared, but its main arguments are presented in an article: "The British in Poland in the Seventeenth Century" (2002), which will be discussed later.¹⁵

The history of the Scottish migration to *Rzeczpospolita* in its earlier stages—in the fifteenth and the sixteenth centuries—became the subject of an MA dissertation by Elżbieta Sęczys of the University of Warsaw. Sęczys looks at contacts between the two nations, at the socioeconomic situation in Scotland, at changing reasons for migration to Poland, at the situation in Poland that could entice migration, and at the economic activities of Scots in Poland. She argues that the economic contacts between Scotland and the coastal provinces of Poland regained from the Teutonic Knights (1454–66), dated back to the fourteenth century. At that time, there were more ships coming to Gdańsk from Scotland (81 vessels) than from Friesland (59), Flanders (19) or England (31).¹⁶ According to Sęczys, migration from Scotland existed already during the fifteenth, but was not significant until the next century. According to her research, this migration was influenced by social, economic, political and, to a lesser extent, religious factors.¹⁷ Sęczys maintains that multiethnic Poland, lacking a middle class and liberal towards a variety of religious practices, became a very attractive destination for Scottish migrants. She observes that Scots were keen to settle in the newly established cities, but also in old centres that enjoyed economic growth, locations that lay on well-established trade routes, but far from other places of trade and municipalities where fairs were frequent.¹⁸

¹² A. Krawczyk, "Gmina szkocka w Lublinie na tle sytuacji Szkotów w Polsce," (MA Thesis, Uniwersytet Marii Skłodowskiej-Curie, Lublin, 1965).

¹³ E. Sęczys, "Szkoci w Polsce w XV i XVI wieku," (MA Thesis, Warszawa: 1969). I thank Mrs Sęczys, who kindly provided me with an offprint of her work.

¹⁴ A. Biegańska, "Wielka emigracja Szkotów w Polsce druga połowa XVI—koniec XVII wieku," (PhD Thesis, Uniwersytet Śląski, Katowice, 1974). I thank Dr Biegańska for providing me with a copy of her dissertation.

¹⁵ A. Krawczyk, "Szkoci w Lublinie i lubelskim," *Rocznik Lubelski* 37 (2009): 77–86. I would like to thank Professor Krawczyk for assisting me with my queries and providing a manuscript of his article. Cf. A. Krawczyk, "The British in Poland in the Seventeenth Century," *The Seventeenth Century* XVII, no. 2 (2002): 254–272.

¹⁶ Sęczys, "Szkoci w Polsce XV–XVI wiek," 6–7.

¹⁷ *Ibid.*, 13.

¹⁸ *Ibid.*, 30–34.

Finally, Sęczys credited Scots with contributing to the process of unifying the domestic market, developing the market economy and bringing down the feudal structures in municipal centres.¹⁹ Sęczys seems to present an objective view of the migration. Her dissertation has a generalist approach and thus does not examine in more depth some aspects of that migration, such as the possible social make-up of migrants arriving in Poland, ennoblements and naturalisations of Scottish nobles, or gender issues. Nor does her thesis look at individuals and institutions that helped to define and maintain the community. Nevertheless, her MA dissertation was the most comprehensive study of Scottish migration to Poland at the time. Sęczys' work has also proven valuable, as some of her observations vary significantly from generalisations made by other historians. This in turn helps to open discussion on a variety of issues, for instance the economic contribution of Scottish peddlers in Poland.

The most important work on the subject of Scots in *Rzeczpospolita* thus far is a PhD thesis by Anna Biegańska: *Wielka emigracja Szkotów do Polski, XVI–XVII wiek* (The Great Migration of Scots to Poland during the Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries) (1970). In the context of the times in which this dissertation was written, Biegańska presents a more radical view. She sets out to provide evidence that the Scottish migration to Poland was not only substantial, as the title itself suggests, but also made a lasting impact on the Polish economy and on Polish society and culture, and contributed much to Polish-Lithuanian military campaigns. Biegańska argues that the main reasons for migration included the poor economic situation, religious persecutions and the political situation in Scotland. As one factor she notes the national characteristics of Scots: adventure seeking, bravery and industriousness.²⁰ Biegańska estimates the size of the Scottish population in Poland as circa 37,000 Scots between the 1550s and the 1790s.²¹ She observes that religion, brotherhoods and close family ties helped Scots to preserve their national identity for several generations.²² She sees assimilation as a major reason behind the disappearance of the Scots as a separate ethnic group.²³

Biegańska argues not only that was the migration numerous, but also that it had a distinct internal organisation. She observes that the social

¹⁹ Ibid., 59.

²⁰ Biegańska, "Wielka emigracja Szkotów," 32–34.

²¹ Ibid., 38.

²² Ibid., 112.

²³ Ibid., 58.

standing of the Scots, as indicated by their wealth and participation in municipal governments, was high in comparison to other ethnic groups. Similarly, Biegańska highlights the importance of the role of Scottish mercenaries in the Polish army, their involvement in particular military campaigns, and the careers of some leading Scottish officers.²⁴

In the final chapter, Biegańska stresses the Scottish contribution to Polish science and culture, as well as the role of Scots in diplomacy.²⁵ A number of Biegańska's findings are confirmed in the present study.

Biegańska's work is based on a spectacular range of archival materials, as well as secondary sources—books, documents and memoirs—in Polish, German, English, French and Latin. However, because of the scope of her thesis, Biegańska was not able to look in more depth at some aspects of the migration: at the possible social make-up of migrants arriving in Poland, at gender issues, at relations developed in the immigrants' new environment, at ennoblements or naturalisations of Scottish nobles. Notwithstanding its many scholarly merits, her thesis does not adequately reveal the methodology she used to establish the number of Scots in Poland. Nevertheless, Biegańska's dissertation, virtually unknown to English- and Polish-speaking scholars alike, is thus far the most comprehensive study of Scottish migration to the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth.

Based on her unpublished PhD dissertation, Biegańska wrote a number of articles that appeared in Polish- and English-language historical publications. The two most notable are "Żołnierze szkoccy w dawnej Rzeczypospolitej" (Scottish Soldiers in *Rzeczpospolita*) (1984) and "A Note on the Scots in Poland, 1550–1800" (1992).²⁶ Both articles have a more focused character. In the former, Biegańska describes the composition of the Scottish military units that fought for the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth from the sixteenth to the eighteenth centuries, their uniforms, weapons and military tactics. The author also indicates problems with identifying the national origins of some of the 'Scots'. She also briefly discusses the role of naturalisation and ennoblement in the process of integration of foreign officers in Polish society. In the latter article, Biegańska makes some generalisations about the Scottish migration as a whole. Although she again talks about their military involvement, she

²⁴ Ibid., 200–263.

²⁵ Ibid., 264–293.

²⁶ A. Biegańska, "Żołnierze szkoccy w dawnej Rzeczypospolitej," *Studia i Materiały do Historii Wojsk* 27 (1984): 81–111; idem, "A note on the Scots in Poland, 1550–1800," in T. C. Smout, ed., *Scotland and the Sea* (Edinburgh: 1992), 157–165.

touches on more general issues such as patterns of migration: the age, social background and occupations of the migrants; laws governing their lives in Poland; and the eventual disappearance of this ethnic group. Both articles are brief but form an excellent foundation for discussion and for a more in-depth study of that migration.

Biegańska's other articles, written in English, look at more specific issues: the involvement of James Murray in the making of the Polish Navy,²⁷ Scottish merchants and traders in Warsaw,²⁸ Scottish Catholics and Protestants in the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth,²⁹ careers and intermarriages of the Davidson family of Zamość,³⁰ Scottish input into Polish science and culture.³¹ The information Biegańska collected and the conclusions she reached in her subsequent publications confirmed many observations and arguments made independently during preparation of this volume.

Since Biegańska's dissertation, three other historians have attempted to address the history of Scottish migration to Poland. In 1995 Conrad Ożóg, a lecturer of the Faculty of Humanities and Social Sciences of the University of Western Sydney, wrote an article about Scottish merchants in Poland.³² An article similar in quality and content was also written by Krawczyk.³³ Although written independently, they present a similar approach to the subject. Both papers are mainly based on information provided in secondary sources dating back to the 1900s–1930s, among them Fischer and Steuart, and both authors make generalisations that clearly cannot be sustained in light of the currently available evidence. Krawczyk for example, seems to view religious persecutions in Scotland as a main push factor for migration to Poland-Lithuania. Similarly open to discussion is his view that assimilation, shown in the polonisation of Scottish names, was the main reason for the disappearance of the Scottish

²⁷ A. Biegańska, "James Murray: A Scot in the Making of the Polish Navy," *Scottish Slavonic Review* 3 (1984): 1–9.

²⁸ A. Biegańska, "Scottish merchants and traders in seventeenth- and eighteenth-century Warsaw," *Scottish Slavonic Review* 5 (1985): 19–34.

²⁹ A. Biegańska, "In search of tolerance: Scottish Catholics and Presbyterians in Poland," *Scottish Slavonic Review* 17 (1991): 37–59.

³⁰ A. Biegańska, "Andrew Davidson (1591–1660) and his descendants," *Scottish Slavonic Review* 10 (1998): 7–18.

³¹ A. Biegańska, "The learned Scots in Poland," *Canadian Slavonic Papers* 43, no. 1 (2001): 1–28.

³² C. Ożóg, "Scottish merchants in Poland 1550–1750," *Journal of the Sydney Society for Scottish History* 3 (1995): 53–75.

³³ Krawczyk, "The British in Poland," 254–272.

ethnic group in *Rzeczpospolita*.³⁴ Nevertheless, some of Krawczyk's and Ożóg's claims provide stimulating starting points for a number of issues discussed in this work.³⁵

The most important contribution to the topic in English in recent years, was an article by Waldemar Kowalski, the author of several excellent papers in Polish on the Scottish presence in Lesser Poland.³⁶ Unlike previous studies, to form a better understanding of the Scottish migration, Kowalski investigates the wider socioeconomic circumstances of the movement.³⁷ He looks specifically at the Scottish presence in the multi-ethnic urban society in early modern Poland. Using more recent research on Polish Jewry and lesser known studies on the Scottish settlements in Lesser Poland, he forms generalisations about migrants' motivation, their backgrounds, and the size of the migration, and in the process corrects some of the previously held views on the migration. Kowalski characterises it as economically driven, and suggests that although overwhelmingly poor, a relatively significant number of newcomers may have had assets. Unlike his predecessors, Kowalski does not overstate the impact and importance of the Scots, and instead presents a more balanced view of the community, its strengths, structure and hardships. He also provides a list of Scottish settlements in the Sandomierz Palatinate in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries.

Kowalski has also written on the Scots admitted to the citizenship of Cracow,³⁸ the Scots who resided there at the end of the sixteenth century,³⁹

³⁴ Krawczyk, "The British in Poland," 268.

³⁵ For example, on page 66 he lists "Keyna" instead of "Kcynia" as one of the towns where the Scots faced legal obstacles.

³⁶ W. Kowalski, "The placement of urbanised Scots in the Polish Crown during the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries," in A. Grosjean and S. Murdoch, eds., *Scottish Communities Abroad in the Early Modern Period* (Leiden: 2005), 53–103.

³⁷ A concise overview of the historiography attempting to explain the causes of this migratory movement was given recently in W. Kowalski, "The reasons for the immigration of Scots to the Polish Commonwealth in the early modern period as outlined in contemporary opinions and historiography," in T. M. Devine and D. Hesse, eds., *Scotland and Poland: Historical Encounters, 1500–2010* (Edinburgh: 2011), 38–49.

³⁸ W. Kowalski, "*Scoti, cives Cracovienses*, their ethnic and social identity, 1570–1660," in D. Worthington *British and Irish emigrants and exiles in Europe, 1603–1688* (Leiden: 2010), 67–85; idem, "Cracow Citizenship and the Local Scots, 1509–1655," in R. Unger, ed., *Britain and Poland-Lithuania: Contact and Comparison from the Middle Ages to 1795* (Leiden: 2008), 263–285; idem, "From Aberdeen to Poland: the Seventeenth Century Aberdeen Birth-briefs as a source for Scottish–Polish relations," (paper presented to the Britain and Poland-Lithuania: Contact and Comparison from the Middle Ages to 1795 Conference, Jagiellonian University, Cracow, September 2005).

³⁹ W. Kowalski, "Robert Spens i szkocka gmina w Krakowie u schyłku XVI stulecia," in B. Rok and J. Maroń, eds., *Między Lwowem a Wrocławiem. Księga jubileuszowa Profesora Krystyna Matwijowskiego* (Toruń: 2006), 409–417.

the involvement of the Cracow Scots in local, regional and international trade,⁴⁰ the Scottish community in Jedlińsk,⁴¹ and most recently, the description of seventeenth-century Poland-Lithuania by Patrick Gordon.⁴² It should be acknowledged that all his work is substantially based on archival materials.

Kowalski has also recently published (in Polish) the most comprehensive monograph on the Scottish presence in Lesser Poland in the sixteenth and the first half of the seventeenth centuries. In his meticulously researched account Kowalski examines the chronology of migration into that region, presents views on the numbers of these immigrants and their relationship with the various institutions and social groups. Kowalski discusses the acquisition of Scots of civic rights, their commercial activities, their transactions with regional and foreign markets, as well as their living conditions. He gives special attention to the issue of family and corporate ties, religious practices, autonomy and social solidarity. The author concludes by investigating how these factors helped the Scots to maintain their distinct identity in the multiethnic society of Cracow.⁴³

The Scottish and English migration to the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth, or more precisely to its northern provinces—Royal and Ducal Prussia—has also been a subject of several papers by German historians, though they too are over-reliant on Fischer's and Steuart's work, and older writings.⁴⁴

⁴⁰ W. Kowalski, "The Scots at the Cracow Customs House in the first half of the 17th Century," Enlarged and corrected version of the paper presented to the Polish-Scottish Relations 15th–18th Centuries Conference, Institute of History, Polish Academy of Sciences, Warsaw, September 2000; cf. idem, "Szkoci na rynku krakowskim w połowie XVII wieku," in *Zeszyty Wszechnicy Świętokrzyskiej. Filologia angielska* 1, no. 23 (2006): 15–38. I am much obliged to Professor Kowalski for providing me with an offprint of his work.

⁴¹ W. Kowalski, "Comonitas gentis Scoticae w Jedlińsku w pierwszej połowie XVII stulecia," *Kieleckie Studia Historyczne* 9 (1991): 23–32.

⁴² W. Kowalski, "Patrick Gordon z Auchleuchries i jego ogląd staropolskiego świata," in F. Wolański, ed., *Staropolski ogląd świata—problem inności* (Toruń: 2007), 81–105.

⁴³ W. Kowalski, *Wielka imigracja. Szkoci w Krakowie i Małopolsce w XVI—pierwszej połowie XVII wieku* (Kielce: 2010).

⁴⁴ J. Sembrzycki, "Die Schotten und Engländer in Ostpreussen und die 'Brüderschaft Gross-Britannischer Nation' in Königsberg," *Altpreussische Monatsschrift*, Bd. XXIX (1892): 228–247, Bd. XXX (1893): 351–356; I. von Wechmar and R. Biderstedt, "Die Schottische Einwanderung in Vorpommern im XVI. und frühen XVII. Jahrhundert," *Greifswalder Stralsunder Jahrbuch* 5 (1965): 7–28; G. von Glinski, *Die Königsberger Kaufmannschaft des 17. und 18. Jahrhunderts* (Marburg-Lahn: 1964), 129–167; K. H. Ruffmann, "Engländer und Schotten in den Seestädten Ost- und Westpreussen," *Zeitschrift für Ostforschung* 7 (1958): 17–39; cf. G. Labuda, "Recenzja artykułu Karla H. Ruffmanna: Engländer und Schotten in den Seestädten Ost- und Westpreussen," *Zeitschrift für Ostforschung*, Jg VII, 1958, *Rocznik Gdański* 17/18 (1958–59): 360–362.

A number of works deal with more specific issues of Scottish migration to Poland-Lithuania. Scottish merchants who settled in Gdańsk and in Stare Szkoty appear in several articles by Bogucka.⁴⁵ Bogucka looks at Gdańsk as a production centre in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries and investigates, among other issues, trade competition and rivalries between that city and the Scottish colony at Stare Szkoty. The colony at Stare Szkoty was also given attention in an article by Cieślak.⁴⁶ In his article, which primarily deals with the history of Gdańsk's attempts to eliminate suburban centres of competition in the mid-seventeenth century, Cieślak includes information about the population of Stare Szkoty. He analyses, for example, the list of names and professions of its inhabitants. In addition, Penners-Ellewart provided information on Scots and Englishmen admitted to citizenship of Gdańsk, using registers of men granted full civic rights to study the origins and professions of the population of that city.⁴⁷

Other Scottish communities of various sizes were mentioned in a variety of publications. The settlements discussed included Cracow,⁴⁸ Lublin,⁴⁹ Elbląg,⁵⁰ Szydłowiec,⁵¹ Tarnów,⁵² Opatów,⁵³ Brody,⁵⁴ Bydgoszcz (German:

⁴⁵ M. Bogucka, "Scots in Gdańsk (Danzig) in the Seventeenth Century," in A. I. Macinnes, T. Riis and F. Pedersen, eds., *Ships, Guns and Bibles in the North Sea and Baltic States, c. 1350–c. 1700* (East Lothian: 2000), 39–46; idem, "Obcy kupcy osiedli w Gdańsku w pierwszej połowie XVII w.," *Zapiski Historyczne* 37, no. 2 (1972): 80–81; idem, "Przemiany społeczne i walki społeczno-polityczne w XV i XVI w.," in E. Cieślak, ed., *Historia Gdańska* (Gdańsk: 1982), vol. II, 213; idem, *Gdańsk jako ośrodek produkcyjny w XIV–XVII wieku* (Warszawa: 1962); idem, *Gdańskie rzemiosło tekstylne od XIV do połowy XVII wieku* (Wrocław: 1956).

⁴⁶ E. Cieślak, "Próby Gdańska pozbycia się podmiejskich ośrodków konkurencyjnych w połowie XVII wieku," in E. Cieślak, ed., *Studia Gdańsko-Pomorskie* (Gdańsk: 1964): 83–138.

⁴⁷ Penners-Ellwart, *Die Danziger Bürgerschaft*, 155–158.

⁴⁸ L. Belzyt, "Grupy etniczne w Krakowie około roku 1600. Próba opisu topograficznego," *Studia Historyczne* 40, no. 4 (1997): 469–470; J. Bieniarzówna and J. Małecki, *Dzieje Krakowa. Kraków w wiekach XVI–XVIII* (Kraków: 1994); A. Grabowski, *Starożytnicze wiadomości o Krakowie* (Kraków: [n.d.]); Tomkowicz, "Przyczynek do historii Szkotów".

⁴⁹ J. Sadownik, *Szkoci w Lublinie XVII wieku* (Leszno: 1937); R. Szewczyk, *Ludność Lublina w latach 1583–1650* (Lublin: 1947), 87.

⁵⁰ A. Groth, *Kupcy angielscy w Elblągu w latach 1583–1628* (Gdańsk: 1986); S. Gierszewski, *Elbląg. Przeszłość i teraźniejszość* (Gdańsk: 1970), 68–69, 71–72.

⁵¹ K. Dumała, "Z dziejów Szydłowca u schyłku XVI i pierwszej połowie XVII wieku," *Zeszyty Naukowe Uniwersytetu Warszawskiego* 3 (1963): 58–59.

⁵² S. Bidwell-Holdys, "Kupcy w siedemnastowiecznym Tarnowie," *Sobótka* 2 (1975): 222–229.

⁵³ W. Fudalewski, *Miasto Opatów według miejscowych źródeł i podań* (Warszawa: 1895), 112–113.

⁵⁴ Z. Guldon, *Żydzi i Szkoci w Polsce w XVI–XVII wieku: studia i materiały* (Kielce: 1990).

Bromberg),⁵⁵ Bochnia,⁵⁶ Iłża,⁵⁷ Jedlińsk,⁵⁸ Raków,⁵⁹ Chęciny,⁶⁰ Rzeszów,⁶¹ Sandomierz,⁶² Toruń,⁶³ Żychlin⁶⁴ and Kiejdany (Kėdainiai) in Lithuania.⁶⁵

The 1651 Polish Subsidy to the exiled Charles II is examined in two articles by Guldon and Stępkowski—who first recognised the significance of this document.⁶⁶ They tried to establish the completeness of the register and its usefulness for estimating the size, wealth and distribution of Scots in the Crown. Pernal and Gasse, who transcribed and reproduced the document in 1999, examined it in the context of mid-seventeenth-century diplomatic relations between the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth and Britain.⁶⁷

Scottish military involvement in Poland-Lithuania was discussed by Borowy,⁶⁸ Brzeziński⁶⁹ and more recently by Frost.⁷⁰ Borowy raises the issue of Scottish, English and Irish mercenaries in the Polish Army during

⁵⁵ Z. Guldon and R. Kabaciński, *Szkice z dziejów dawnej Bydgoszczy XVI–XVIII wiek* (Bydgoszcz: 1975), 96–99.

⁵⁶ F. Kiryk, ed., *Księga przyjęć do prawa miejskiego w Bochni 1531–1656* (Wrocław: 1979), no. 1034.

⁵⁷ Z. Guldon and L. Stępkowski, "Iłżeckie wyroby garncarskie na rynku krakowskim w XVII wieku," *Rocznik Świętokrzyski* 8 (1981): 19–20.

⁵⁸ Kowalski, "Comonitas gentis Scoticae," 23–32.

⁵⁹ S. Malanowicz, "Ludność miasta Rakowa w XVII i XVIII wieku," in *Raków ognisko arianizmu* (Kraków: 1968), 26.

⁶⁰ M. Paulewicz, "Ludność Chęcin i najbliższej okolicy do początku XIX wieku," *Rocznik Muzeum Narodowego w Kielcach* 11 (1980): 107.

⁶¹ J. Pęckowski, *Dzieje miasta Rzeszowa do końca XVIII wieku* (Krosno: 2002), 285–6.

⁶² Z. Guldon and K. Krzystanek, "Żydzi i Szkoci w Sandomierzu w XVI–XVIII wieku," *Studia Historyczne* 31, no. 4 (1988): 527–542.

⁶³ J. Wojtowicz, "Toruńskie przedsiębiorstwo handlowe Samuela Edwardsa w XVII w." *Rocznik Dziejów Społeczno-Gospodarczych* 14 (1953): 213–235.

⁶⁴ Gorczyca, *Żychlin pod Koninem*, 105.

⁶⁵ R. Žirgulis, "The Scottish community in Kėdainiai c. 1630–c. 1750," in A. Grosjean and S. Murdoch, eds., *Scottish Communities Abroad in the Early Modern Period* (Leiden: 2005), 225–247; L. Eriksonas, "The lost colony of Scots: unravelling overseas connections in a Lithuanian town," in A. I. Macinnes, T. Riis and F. G. Pedersen, eds., *Ships Guns and Bibles in the North Sea and the Baltic States, c. 1350–c. 1700* (East Linton: 2000), 173–187.

⁶⁶ Z. Guldon and L. Stępkowski, "Szkoci i Anglicy w Koronie w połowie XVII wieku," *Kieleckie Studia Historyczne* (1977): 31–61. Cf. idem, "Ludność szkocka i angielska w Polsce w połowie XVII wieku," *Kwartalnik Historii Kultury Materialnej* 2 (1982): 202–214.

⁶⁷ A. B. Pernal, and R. Gasse, "The 1651 Polish subsidy to the Exiled Charles II," *Oxford Slavonic Papers*, vol. XXII (1999): 1–50.

⁶⁸ W. Borowy, "Anglicy, Szkoci i Irlandczycy w wojsku polskim za Zygmunta III," in H. Barycz and J. Hulewicz, eds., *Studia z dziejów kultury polskiej* (Warszawa: 1949), 293–313.

⁶⁹ R. Brzeziński, *Polish Armies 1569–1696* (London: 1987); idem, "British mercenaries in the Baltic 1560–1683," *Military Illustrated: Past and Present* 4 (1986–87): 17–23.

⁷⁰ R. I. Frost, "Scottish Soldiers: Poland-Lithuania and the Thirty Years' War," in S. Murdoch, ed., *Scotland and the Thirty Years' War* (Leiden: 2001), 191–213.

the reign of King Zygmunt III of Poland. His article, the first to address the issue of national/ethnic identification in the army, used not only the secondary sources but also archival materials from the State Papers in The National Archives (hereafter TNA).⁷¹ Frost's article on Scottish soldiers in the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth during the Thirty Years' War (1618–48) briefly explains the Scottish involvement in Polish military history in the seventeenth century, and looks at particular military campaigns in which Scots took part. It examines Polish attempts to enlist more mercenaries not only from Scotland, but also from Ireland and England. Frost argues that the situation in Poland-Lithuania, which took no official part in the Thirty Years' War, was favourable towards Scottish soldiers of fortune, especially if they were Catholics and of genteel birth. Unlike other papers written by English-speaking scholars, Frost's work is based on a wide range of primary and secondary sources and is well footnoted.

As indicated earlier, thus far there is no single publication that discusses the role of family networks among Scots in Poland-Lithuania and specifically those admitted to the Polish nobility.⁷² The existing historiography deals mainly with particular families and/or their genealogies. The names and ancestry of Scots admitted to the Polish nobility appear in a selection of publications. The main titles include registers of naturalisations of foreign nobles and of ennoblements compiled by Wdowiszewski,⁷³ and armorials by Niesiecki,⁷⁴ Boniecki,⁷⁵ Uruski,⁷⁶ Żychliński,⁷⁷ Konarski,⁷⁸ Łoza,⁷⁹ Leitgeber,⁸⁰ and other, lesser works. Several interesting monographs, for example the histories of the Gordons of Huntly and the Gordons of

⁷¹ Borowy, "Anglicy, Szkoci i Irlandczycy," 293–313.

⁷² The issue of Scots ennobled and naturalised as nobles was first addressed in P. P. Bajer, "Scotsmen and the Polish nobility from the sixteenth to eighteenth century," in R. Unger, ed., *Britain and Poland-Lithuania: Contact and Comparison from the Middle Ages to 1795* (Leiden: 2008), 329–351.

⁷³ Z. Wdowiszewski, "Regesty przywilejów indygenatu w Polsce (1519–1793)," in *Materiały do biografii, genealogii i heraldyki polskiej*, vol. V (Buenos Aires: 1971), 11–78; idem, "Regesty nobilitacji w Polsce (1404–1794)," in *Materiały do biografii, genealogii i heraldyki polskiej*, vol. IX (Buenos Aires: 1987).

⁷⁴ K. Niesiecki, *Herbarz Polski*, 2nd edn, ed. J. N. Bobrowicz, Leipzig (1839–1845), (reprinted Warszawa: 1979).

⁷⁵ A. Boniecki, *Herbarz Polski*, 16 vols (Warszawa: 1901–1913).

⁷⁶ S. Uruski, *Rodzina: Herbarz szlachty polskiej*, 15 vols. (Warszawa: 1904–1938).

⁷⁷ T. Żychliński, ed., *Złota księga szlachty polskiej*, 31 vols. (Poznań: 1879–1908).

⁷⁸ Konarski, *Szlachta kalwińska w Polsce*.

⁷⁹ S. Łoza, *Rodziny polskie pochodzenia cudzoziemskiego osiadłe w Warszawie i okolicach*, 3 vols. (Warszawa: 1932–1935).

⁸⁰ S. Leitgeber, *Nowy almanach błękitny* (Poznań-Warszawa: 1993).

Coldwells by Bulloch, also cover the subject of Polish noble families of Scottish extraction.⁸¹ Bulloch had very little access to Polish archival material and relied on anecdotal evidence and unreliable secondary sources. The best scholarly source on this topic is the history of the Polish Taylors from their arrival in the Commonwealth until today.⁸² Much information is contained in several articles in an unpublished nineteenth-century armorial by Łuszczzyński,⁸³ currently held at the Biblioteka Narodowa (National Library) in Warsaw. On the basis of this data, it was possible to compile genealogies and a database of all presently known Scottish, English and Irish families with noble status in the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth.

Scottish historians who recently studied the issue of cyclical and return migration, as well as the repatriation of capital to Scotland, provided a framework for the study of the role of kinship and family networks. The articles by Grosjean and Murdoch present a wide historiography on the subject. Using a variety of case studies, Grosjean and Murdoch show that the Scots who decided to migrate and later to return from abroad were often very mobile anyway. Their search for work and improvement of their conditions drove them frequently across parishes, shires and international borders. The authors argue that the majority of Scots left their homes for one specific reason—financial gain—and that a large proportion of emigrants, having generated enough income, tended to return home. It appears that the reasons behind the return of Scottish-born migrants were usually different from those of foreign-born Scots. The experiences of those who went back had a great impact on those who stayed behind. Enriched by their knowledge of the wider world they lived in, the returned migrants were possibly informing future career choices of their kith and kin at home. The contacts they have made also proved vital for establishing and maintaining a variety of networks including commercial, confessional, diplomatic and military, which stretched all over northern Europe.⁸⁴

⁸¹ J. M. Bulloch, *The Gordons of Coldwells, Ellon, now Respresented by the Family of Von Gordon of Laskowitz* (West Prussia, Peterhead: 1914); idem, *The Gordons in Poland*.

⁸² E. Taylor, *Historia rodziny Taylorów w Polsce* (Poznań: 1933).

⁸³ B. H. Łuszczzyński, "Silva Heraldica, rodowody i inny materiał do rodopistwa z akt grodzkich i ziemskich b. województwa krakowskiego i innych archiwów akt dawnej Rzeczypospolitej Polskiej," unpublished 19th century armorial, Biblioteka Narodowa (hereafter BN), Warszawa, rkps. IV 5582.

⁸⁴ A. Grosjean, "Returning to Belhelvie, 1593–1875: The impact of return migration on an Aberdeenshire parish," in M. Harper, ed., *Emigrant Homecomings: The Return Movement of Emigrants, 1600–2000* (Manchester: 2005), 216–232; S. Murdoch, "Children of the diaspora: the 'homecoming' of the second-generation Scot in the seventeenth century," in idem,

In terms of Scottish historiography, apart from Brander's *The Emigrant Scots*,⁸⁵ Grosjean's and Murdoch's collection,⁸⁶ and Smout's⁸⁷ selection of essays—all of which were actually written by Polish academics⁸⁸—this migration to Poland-Lithuania does not appear in any major British scholarly work on Scottish society in the sixteenth-eighteenth centuries, including works by Cage,⁸⁹ Canny,⁹⁰ Donaldson,⁹¹ Flinn,⁹² Houston and Whyte,⁹³ Devine and Mitchison,⁹⁴ Richards,⁹⁵ or Smout.⁹⁶ Similarly, works about Polish society during the same time period, with the exception of an article by Mączak,⁹⁷ generally omit the presence of Scots among the migrant population.

Of interest to the topic of Scots migration to Poland-Lithuania are works by Alexia Grosjean⁹⁸ and Graeme Herd.⁹⁹ While Herd sheds some light on the life and activities in the Tsar's service of Patrick Gordon of Auchleuchries, Grosjean investigates Scottish relations with the Swedish state. Using the example of Gordon, Herd gives an interesting assessment of Anglo-Russian diplomatic relations in the second half of the

55–76; S. Murdoch, *Network North: Scottish Kin, Commercial and Covert Associations in Northern Europe, 1603–1746* (Leiden: 2006), 21–45. An article by Worthington presents an overview of the most recent research on the subject of Scottish migration to early modern continental Europe, see D. Worthington, "An overview of recent research on the theme of Irish and Scottish emigrants and exiles in early modern Europe," *Almanach Historyczny* 8 (2006), 33–44.

⁸⁵ M. Brander, *The Emigrant Scots* (London: 1982).

⁸⁶ Murdoch and Grosjean, *Scottish Communities Abroad*, 53–103.

⁸⁷ T. C. Smout, ed., *Scotland and the Sea*.

⁸⁸ K. Kretkowska, "Scotland in the life of the Polish country estate, 1790–1830," in T. C. Smout, ed., *Scotland and the sea* (Edinburgh: 1992), 166–186; Cf. Kowalski, "The placement of urbanised Scots"; Biegańska, "A note on the Scots."

⁸⁹ R. A. Cage, ed., *The Scots Abroad: Labour, Capital, Enterprise, 1750–1914* (London: 1985).

⁹⁰ N. Canny, ed., *Europeans on the Move: Studies on European Migration, 1500–1800* (Oxford: 1994).

⁹¹ G. Donaldson, *The Scots Overseas* (London: 1966).

⁹² M. Flinn et al., eds., *Scottish Population History from the 17th century to the 1930s* (Cambridge: 1977).

⁹³ R. A. Houston and I. D. Whyte, eds., *Scottish Society 1500–1800* (Cambridge: 1989).

⁹⁴ T. M. Devine and R. Mitchison, *People and Society in Scotland: A Social History of Modern Scotland*, 3 Vols (Edinburgh: 1988), vol. I, 1760–1830.

⁹⁵ E. Richards, *Britannia's Children: Emigration from England, Scotland, Wales and Ireland since 1600* (London: 2004).

⁹⁶ T. C. Smout, *A History of Scottish People 1560–1830* (London: 1970).

⁹⁷ A. Mączak, "Od połowy XV wieku do rozbiorów," in I. Ihnatowicz et al., eds., *Spółeczeństwo polskie od X do XX wieku* (Warszawa: 1999), 330–331.

⁹⁸ A. Grosjean, *An Unofficial Alliance: Scotland and Sweden, 1569–1654* (Leiden: 2003); cf. idem, "Scots and the Swedish State: Diplomacy, Military Service and Ennoblement 1611–1660," (PhD Thesis, University of Aberdeen, Aberdeen, 1998).

⁹⁹ Herd, "General Patrick Gordon".

seventeenth century and the particular function of the foreign mercenaries in Russia during the latter half of the seventeenth century. Grosjean looks at the relation of Scots in Sweden to the Scottish state, and therefore at the wider political impact they had. She sets out to show that Scottish–Swedish relations had far from peripheral importance during the Thirty Years’ War. Grosjean stresses the importance and the depth of influence on the Swedish government exercised by the Swedish nobility of Scottish origin.

Information on similar migratory movements of Scots into Ulster,¹⁰⁰ as well as to other European countries in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries: Russia,¹⁰¹ Norway,¹⁰² Denmark¹⁰³ and France,¹⁰⁴ has also been examined. For a better understanding of such migrations, the the present study also explores literature on the migration of the Irish to continental Europe in the same period.¹⁰⁵ Of the most relevance was their movement into France.¹⁰⁶

Manuscripts and Published Primary Sources

The primary sources on which this book is based can be divided into several groups. The first includes state papers, such as royal edicts, constitutions, grants of privileges, diplomatic correspondence and other documents. The second is personal notes, memoirs and letters of the contemporary visitors or envoys to the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth, as well as Polish and other dignitaries. The third consists of documents pertaining to the organisation of particular Scottish communities in Poland-

¹⁰⁰ M. Perceval-Maxwell, *The Scottish Migration to Ulster in the Reign of James I* (London-New York: 1973).

¹⁰¹ I. G. Anderson, *Scotsmen in the Service of the Czars* (Edinburgh: 1990); Barnhill and Dukes, “North-east Scots in Muscovy,” 49–63; D. Fedosov, *The Caledonian Connection: Scotland–Russia Ties, the Middle Ages to the Early Twentieth Century* (Aberdeen: 1996); F. A. Steuart, *Scottish Influences in Russian History: From the 16th Century to the Beginning of the 19th Century* (Glasgow: 1913).

¹⁰² S. Murdoch, “Scotland, Denmark-Norway and the House of Stuart: A diplomatic and military analysis,” (PhD Thesis, University of Aberdeen, Aberdeen, 1998).

¹⁰³ Ibid.

¹⁰⁴ M. Francesque, *Les Écossais en France, les Français en Écosse*, (London: 1862); idem, “Scots in the French and Dutch armies”.

¹⁰⁵ M. J. Culligan and P. Cherici, *The Wandering Irish in Europe: Their Influence from the Dark Ages to Modern Times* (London: 2000); T. O’Connor, ed., *The Irish in Europe 1580–1815* (Dublin: 2001).

¹⁰⁶ É. Ó Ciosáin, “A hundred years of Irish migration to France, 1590–1688,” in T. O’Connor, ed., *The Irish in Europe 1580–1815* (Dublin: 2001), 93–106.

Lithuania, while a fourth group comprises documents issued by municipal authorities. The final group of documents, perhaps most important for this work, is a variety of parochial and genealogical records.

One of the most important sources of information from the Crown used in this research is the published collection of the enactments of the *Sejms* called *Volumina Legum*.¹⁰⁷ The compilation provides a range of documentation concerning laws regulating Scottish life in Poland-Lithuania: decrees, individual and group privileges, levies, appointments to offices and posts (*servitoratus*), ennoblements (*nobilitatio*) and naturalisations (*indigenatus*), as well as donations—grants of intestate and/or heirless estates. Collections of manuscripts of similar nature are also found in the Registers of the Polish Crown Chancery—*Metryka Koronna*—Archiwum Skarbowo-Wojskowe (Finance Archives of the Crown Army), and Archiwum Skarbu Koronnego (Archives of the Royal Treasury) and *Metryka Litewska* (the Lithuanian Metrica) kept in the Archiwum Główne Akt Dawnych in Warsaw—the main central archive for the early modern period. Although relatively few original documents such as birth briefs, naturalisations, and other letters patent given to Scots in Poland-Lithuania, have been viewed in situ, other records from this archive have been accessed by using compilations of published documents,¹⁰⁸ secondary sources, where some of those documents have been transcribed,¹⁰⁹ and archival aids.¹¹⁰

¹⁰⁷ J. Ohryzko, ed., *Volumina Legum: przedruk zbioru praw staraniem XX. Pijarów w Warszawie, od roku 1732 do roku 1782, wydanie. T. 1–9* (Petersburg: 1859–1889) (hereafter VL).

¹⁰⁸ B. Trelńska, ed., *Album armorum regni Poloniae XV–XVIII saec.: Herby nobilitacji i indygenatów XV–XVIII w.* (Lublin: 2001) (hereafter AARP); T. Wierzbowski, ed., *Matricularum Regni Poloniae Summaria, excussis codicibus, qui in Chartophylacio Maximo Varsoviensi asservantur* (Warszawa: 1905–1919), vol. I–V/1; J. Płocha, A. Rybarski and I. Sułkowska, eds., *Matricularum Regni Poloniae Summaria, excussis codicibus, qui in Chartophylacio Maximo Varsoviensi asservantur*, vol. V/2 (Warszawa: 1961); M. Woźniakowa, *Matricularum Regni Poloniae Summaria, excussis codicibus, qui in Chartophylacio Maximo Varsoviensi asservantur*, vol. VI (Warszawa: 1999); A. Pawiński, ed., *Akta Metryki Koronnej co ważniejsze z czasów Stefana Batorego 1576–1589* (Warszawa: 1882), P. Grimsted Kennedy and I. Sułkowska-Kurasiowa, *The “Lithuanian Metrica” in Moscow and Warsaw: Reconstructing the Archives of the Grand Duchy of Lithuania* (Cambridge, Mass: 1984).

¹⁰⁹ Some documents from *Metryka Koronna* have been transcribed and translated see F. A. Steuart, ed., *Papers Relating to the Scots in Poland 1576–1593* (Edinburgh: 1915); SEWP; SIG.

¹¹⁰ J. Karwasińska, ed., *Archiwum Główne Akt Dawnych. Przewodnik po zespołach. vol. I: Archiwa dawnej Rzeczypospolitej* (Warszawa: 1975); I. Sułkowska-Kurasiowa and M. Woźniakowa, *Inwentarz Metryki Koronnej, księgi wpisów i dekretów polskiej kancelarii królewskiej z lat 1447–1795* (Warszawa-Łódź: 1975); A. Wajs, ed., *Archiwum Skarbu Koronnego. Rachunki poselstw. Sumariusz* (Warszawa: 1999); idem, *Materiały genealogiczne, nobilitacje, indygenaty w zbiorach Archiwum Głównego Akt Dawnych w Warszawie* (Warszawa: 1995); T. Zielińska, *Archiwum Główne Akt Dawnych: Informator o zasobie* (Warszawa: 1992).

Another group of primary sources includes memoirs and letters of Scottish, English and Polish travellers, dignitaries and other visitors to the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth. Among the most important documents analysed was one of the first accounts of that kind by Lithgow, who came to Poland during the reign of Zygmunt III Waza (1586–1632). Although Lithgow stayed in Poland only briefly, he visited some of the major cities, where he met many of his compatriots. His itinerary took him from the province of Podolia and the city of Cracow in the south of the country, through Lublin and Warsaw to Gdańsk at the shore of the Baltic Sea. His observations have been drawn on for discussion of various aspects of the Scottish migrant community in Poland: their numbers, age, sex, marital status, financial status, their relationship with the native population and networking.¹¹¹

Accounts left by contemporaries of Lithgow: Sir John Skene (Scottish traveller in Poland, 1569),¹¹² Jerzy Ossoliński (Polish Ambassador in London, 1621),¹¹³ Baron Guy de Charnacé (French Ambassador in Poland, 1629),¹¹⁴ Sir John Cochrane (Scottish Ambassador at the Polish court, 1652),¹¹⁵ Andrzej Rey (Polish Ambassador in London, 1637),¹¹⁶ Peter Mundy and Robert Bargrave—who visited Royal Prussia and parts of the Crown in 1640s¹¹⁷—

¹¹¹ W. Lithgow, *The Totall Discourse of the Rare Adventures and Painefull Peregrinations of long Nineteene Yeares Travayles from Scotland to the most famous Kingdomes in Europe, Asia and Africa* (Glasgow: 1906); cf. G. Phelps, ed., *The Rare Adventures and Painfull Peregrinations of William Lithgow* (London: 1974), 7–21.

¹¹² J. Skene, *De verborum significatione the exposition of the termes and difficill wordes, conteined in the foure buikes of Regiam Majestatem, and uthers, in the Acts of Parliament, infestments, and used in the practique of this realme, with diverse rules, and common places, or principalles of the lawes. Collected and exponed be M. John Skene, clerke of our Sovereaine Lordis register, counsell and rolles* (London: 1641), 104–105.

J. Skene, *De verborum significatione the exposition of the termes and difficill wordes, conteined in the foure buikes of Regiam Majestatem, and uthers, in the Acts of Parliament, infestments, and used in the practique of this realme, with diverse rules, and common places, or principalles of the lawes. Collected and exponed be M. John Skene, clerke of our Sovereaine Lordis register, counsell and rolles. And now re-printed by His Majestie's special command* (Edinburgh: 1681), 28; cf. Steuart, *Papers Relating to Scots*, xiii.

¹¹³ J. Ossoliński, *A True Copy of the Latine Oration of the Excellent Lord George Ossolinski, Count Palatine of Tenizyn and Sendomyria, Chamberlain to the Kings Maiestie of Poland, and Suethland, and Embassadour to the Kings most Excellent Maiesty, As it was pronounced to his Maiestie at the White-Hall by the said Embassadour, on Sunday the 11 of March 1620, With the Translation of the same into English, Commanded by his Maiestie to be published in Print* (London: 1621).

¹¹⁴ Borowy, *Scots in Old Poland*, 10.

¹¹⁵ Steuart, *Papers Relating to Scots*, xviii.

¹¹⁶ *Ibid.*

¹¹⁷ P. Mundy, *The Travels of Peter Mundy 1597–1667*, ed. J. Keast (Redruth: 1984); *idem, The travels of Peter Mundy, in Europe and Asia, 1608–1667*, 5 vols. ed. Lt. Col. Sir Richard

and the famous seventeenth-century playwright John Webster, have been used in particular to discuss the issue of Scottish numbers in Poland.¹¹⁸

Undoubtedly the most valuable source of information on Scots and Scottish–Polish relations in the seventeenth-century Poland-Lithuania are the memoirs of General Patrick Gordon of Auchleuchries.¹¹⁹ Although they are mostly concerned with his stay in Peter the Great's Russia, those dealing with 1651–61 recount Gordon's stay in Poland and his service in the Polish Army. Gordon wrote about his trip from Scotland to Poland, his education in the Jesuit College at Braniewo, recruitment into the army, switching sides and the various military campaigns he took part in—on the Polish side he distinguished himself at the battle at Cudnów during the Livonian Campaign. Perhaps more interestingly, he also described his and other Scots' relationship with Poles (especially the nobility), and relationships between Scots. His writings give a very good insight into why Gordon's contemporaries could have seen Poland-Lithuania as potentially a very good place for migration. Gordon's accounts seem to be particularly valuable, as various parts of his memoirs display the mindset of a

Carnac Temple (Cambridge: 1907–1936), vol. IV; R. Bargrave, *The Travel Diary of Robert Bargrave: Levant Merchant (1647–1656)*, ed. M. G. Brennan, (London: 1999), 125.

¹¹⁸ J. Webster, *The white devil, or, Vittoria Corombona, a lady of Venice a tragedy acted (formerly by Her Majesties servants) at the Phoenix in Drury-lane, and at this present (by His now Majesties) at the Theatre Royal* (London: 1665).

¹¹⁹ The original manuscript kept at the Russian State Archive of Military History (hereafter RSAMH), Moscow, fond 846, op. 15, vols. 1–6, has been transcribed and subsequently translated into Russian by D. Fedosov see Патрик Гордон, *Дневник 1659–1667*, эд. Дмитри Федосов (Москва: 2002). Two parts of the diary have recently been published in English, in Aberdeen, see *Diary of General Patrick Gordon of Auchleuchries 1635–1699, Volume I: 1635–1659*, ed. D. Fedosov (Aberdeen: 2009) (hereafter Gordon, "Diary 1635–1659"); *Diary of General Patrick Gordon of Auchleuchries 1635–1699, Volume II: 1659–1667*, ed. D. Fedosov (Aberdeen: 2011) (hereafter Gordon, "Diary 1659–1667"). Earlier transcripts from the late nineteenth century by Obolenski and Posselt, Robertson, and Łoziński, often referred to in other publications, could be described as unsatisfactory, given the number of mistakes, omissions, cuts and other changes to the original (this matter was raised recently by Paul Dukes). I am grateful to Professor Fedosov, who allowed me access to the relevant fragments from the diary well before it was published. Cf. P. Dukes, "Patrick Gordon's Diary: the Spalding Version," in R. Bartlett and L. Hughes, eds., *Russian Society and Culture and the Long Eighteenth Century: Essays in Honour of Anthony G. Cross* (Münster: 2004), 8–20; J. Robertson, ed., *Passages from the Diary of General Patrick Gordon of Auchleuchries, A.D. 1635–A.D. 1699* (New York: 1968); M. A. Obolenski and M. C. Posselt, *Tagebuch des Generalen Patrick Gordon, während seiner Kriegsdienste unter Schweden und Polen vom Jahre 1655 bis 1661, und seines Aufenthaltes in Rußland vom Jahre 1661 bis 1699*, 3 vols. (Moscow-St. Petersburg: 1849–1853); W. Łoziński, "Jenerała Gordona pamiętnik o pobycie w Polsce od r. 1651 do r. 1661," *Rozmaitości* [a supplement to *Gazeta Lwowska*], nos. 21–26 (1857); reprinted in *Pismapomniejsze* (Lwów: 1865): 383–476.

professional mercenary: his reasons for choosing this type of career, for abandoning alliances and swapping sides.

Some information on Polish–Scottish relations in the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth can also be found in the letters of another military man, Colonel Henry Gordon of Huntly.¹²⁰ Henry Gordon was in the Polish service in the second half of the seventeenth century and took part in various campaigns, for example against Sweden, Russia and the Cossacks. Brzeziński notes that just like the earlier Gordon, Henry commented on his stay in Poland with some fondness.¹²¹

The two most important types of records issued by municipal authorities, that is, registers of birth briefs and rolls of men granted civil rights, make up the next group of documents. Birth briefs were granted by a town baillie (bailiff) to individuals, natives of a particular municipality and/or district, who had travelled out of the shire or abroad. The evidence, either written or most likely oral, from one or more persons acting on an individual's behalf, was typically heard and recorded by the bailie. The petitioner was issued with a parchment, which often took the form of an elaborate genealogical statement, while the text of the testimonial was recorded as the first entry in propinquity books. Entries were arranged chronologically. A typical birth brief contains the date of issue; the name and destination of the petitioner; the names and abode of both parents; the father's occupation; other antecedents (sometimes up to four generations back); and lastly, the names and occupations of the persons presenting the evidence. The largest collection of such testimonials still exists in the propinquity books of Aberdeen¹²² and Dundee.¹²³ Individual briefs have also been recorded in *The Registers of the Privy Council of Scotland* and *The Register of the Great Seal of Scotland*.¹²⁴ Similar testimonials, known as birth-declarations, were issued and recorded outside

¹²⁰ J. M. Bulloch, *The Gordons in Poland: 'Marquises of Huntly' with a line in Saxony* (Peterhead: 1932), 9–14.

¹²¹ Brzeziński, "British Mercenaries," 22.

¹²² "Testimonial book of Aberdeen. Testimonials grantit be ye ballies sen ye last day of Merche 1589," in *The Miscellany of the Third Spalding Club*, vol. II (hereafter MTSC), (Aberdeen: 1940); "Birth Brieves from the Registers of the Burgh of Aberdeen, 1637–1705," in *The Miscellany of the Third Spalding Club*, vol. V (hereafter MSC), (Aberdeen: 1852). Cf. "Collection of birth-brieves from the propinquity books of Aberdeen," in SIG, 243–247.

¹²³ "Birth-briefs ordered by the town-council of Dundee 1606–1638," in SIG, 247–249.

¹²⁴ G. Donaldson, ed., *The Records of the Privy Council of Scotland/Registrum secreti sigilli regum Scotorum, 1545–1625*, 14 vols. (Edinburgh: 1877–1898) (hereafter RPCS); *The Register of the Great Seal of Scotland/Registrum Magni Sigilli Regum Scottorum*, eds J. M. Thomson and J. Balfour Paul (Edinburgh: 1883), vols. 5–11 (hereafter RGSS).

Scotland. The procedure for obtaining such proofs was analogous. Usually two or three witnesses, most likely kin or friends of the petitioner, had to testify, under oath before the magistrates, to his/her legitimate birth. Fischer, who first noted and transcribed such documents in Gdańsk and Königsberg, believed that such testimonials would be accepted instead of birth briefs.¹²⁵ Evidence from Cracow suggests that such birth-declarations were used as temporary measures, until proper proofs could be obtained from Scotland.¹²⁶ Since Fischer's list is incomplete, the original from the Gdańsk archive is used here.¹²⁷ Similar manuscripts can be also found in the acts of Elbląg.¹²⁸ Overall, this archival material is a useful source of information about the backgrounds and family relations of individuals who migrated from Scotland in the late sixteenth and the first half of the seventeenth centuries.

Much information on the more prosperous members of the Scottish migrant community is contained in books of admissions to burghership.¹²⁹ Several other registers for Cracow,¹³⁰ Lwów,¹³¹ Warsaw,¹³² and Chojnice¹³³ have been transcribed and published. Of great importance are also the analyses of the origins and the professions of the population of Gdańsk by Penners-Ellwart, based on the register documenting the acquisition of the *ius civile* in this municipal council.¹³⁴ Valuable information concerning

¹²⁵ SEWP, 174–186.

¹²⁶ *Księgi przyjęć do prawa miejskiego w Krakowie 1573–1611*. *Libri Iuris civilis Cracoviensis 1573–1611*, eds., A. Kielbicka and Z. Wojas (Kraków: 1994), (hereafter LICCr II), nos. 1929, 1963.

¹²⁷ The collection known as "Listy rodowe" is still kept in the Archiwum Państwowe in Gdańsk (hereafter APGd), APGd 300.60. The documents not mentioned by Fischer include, for example, birth-briefs of Steffen Barthuss (Porteous?), a baker (1653) or Jacob Beyer (perhaps Baird), a shoemaker (1657), both noted as being from Scotland. APGd 300.60, fols 325, 456. Cf. *Inwentarz Akta Miasta Gdańska, Listy Rodowe 300, 60*, 2 vols. (Gdańsk: 1982).

¹²⁸ "The birth-brief issued to Thomas Achenwaldt of Stare Pole (31 December 1663)," APGd sig. 369.1/133; "The birth-brief issued to Carl Jacob Pekock of Piława (1 May 1745)," APGd sig. 369.1/176.

¹²⁹ "Księgi przyjęć do prawa miejskiego Starej Warszawy (1671–1789)," AGAD, Stara Warszawa 746, 747, 748, 749; "Wykaz osób przyjętych w skład obywateli miasta Elbląga w latach 1700–1751, Sporządzony w Stadtarchiv w Elblągu na podstawie *Recessus Causarum Publicarum*," APGd. 492/1248.

¹³⁰ A. Kielbicka and Z. Wojas, eds., *Księgi przyjęć do prawa miejskiego w Krakowie 1507–1572*. *Libri Iuris civilis Cracoviensis 1507–1572*, (Kraków: 1993) (hereafter LICCr I); LICCr II.

¹³¹ A. Janeczek, ed., *Album Civium Leopoliensium. Rejstry przyjęć do prawa miejskiego we Lwowie 1388–1783*, 2 vols. (Poznań-Warszawa: 2005) (hereafter ACLeop).

¹³² A. Bartoszewicz, ed., *Album Civium, Księga przyjęć do prawa miejskiego Starej Warszawy 1506–1856* (Warsaw: 2000).

¹³³ E. Kłöß, ed., *Das Bürgerbuch der Stadt Konitz von 1550–1850* (Danzig: 1927).

¹³⁴ H. Penners-Ellwart, *Die Danziger Bürgerschaft nach Herkunft und Beruf 1536–1709* (Marburg/Lahn: 1954).

immigrants settled in the estates of the aristocracy has been also found in records of private archives.¹³⁵ Lastly, interesting facts pertaining to the more successful Scots or, more likely, their descendants, have been obtained from the published enrolment records of several educational institutions.¹³⁶

The final and perhaps most important group of documents consists of parish registers. The previously unexamined records of birth, baptism, marriage and death, as well as, where available, lists of communicants, almsgivers and records of church meetings (sessions) of all major parishes attended by Scots in the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth provide a wealth of information, especially when examined against other evidence, such as municipal and tax records. When selecting the parishes for investigation, several criteria were used to obtain the best possible data. The parishes selected were those which, on the the available evidence, seem to have housed sizeable Scottish communities, and those that had records for the main religious groups to which Scots most often belonged—Protestants (principally Reformed) and Roman Catholics. Based on these criteria, records of the following Protestant parishes were examined: Lucianowice (Łuczanowice) and Wielkanoc (chapels attended by Scots of

¹³⁵ "Akta sług i rzemieślników radziwiłłowskich z lat 1586–1839," AGAD, AR XXI, 354; "Inwentarz majątności Węgrów," AGAD, AR XXV, 4549h, fols 1–83; 4549i, fols 1–20; "Inwentarz majątności Kiejdan: koniec XVIII wieku," AGAD, AR XXV, 1666. Cf. E. Babańczyk, ed., *Archiwum Warszawskie Radziwiłłów Dział XXI: Akta sług i rzemieślników radziwiłłowskich z lat 1586–1839: Numer zespołu 354/XXI* (Warszawa: 2005); D. Kubaś, ed., *Indeksy osobowe do ksiąg przyjąć do prawa miejskiego starej i nowej Warszawy z lat 1671–1789 i 1728–1794* (Warszawa: 1994).

¹³⁶ H. Gmiterek, ed., *Album studentów Akademii Zamojskiej 1595–1781* (Warszawa: 1994); A. Chmiel et al, eds *Album studiosorum Universitatis Cracoviensis*, vol. I (*Ab anno 1400 ad annum 1489*), (Kraków: 1887); A. Chmiel, ed., *Album studiosorum Universitatis Cracoviensis*, vol. II (*Ab anno 1490 ad annum 1551*), (Kraków: 1892); idem, ed., *Album studiosorum Universitatis Cracoviensis*, vol. III (*Ab anno 1551 ad annum 1606*), (Kraków: 1904); J. Zathey and H. Barycz, eds., *Album studiosorum Universitatis Cracoviensis. Continens nomina studiosorum ab anno 1607 ad annum 1642*, vol. IV, (Kraków: 1950); K. Lewicki and J. Zathey, eds., *Album studiosorum Universitatis Cracoviensis. T. 5, Continens nomina studiosorum ab anno 1720 ad annum 1780*, (Wrocław: 1956); Z. Nowak and P. Szafran, eds., *Album Uczniów Chełmińskiego Gimnazjum Akademickiego 1692–1816* (Wrocław-Warszawa-Kraków-Gdańsk: 1975); G. Erler, ed., *Die Matrikel und die Promotionsverzeichnisse der Albertus-Universität zu Königsberg in Pruessen 1544–1829*, 2 vols. (Leipzig: 1910), Bd 1: *Die Immatrikulationen von 1544–1656*, Bd 2: *Die Immatrikulationen von 1657–1829*; H. Abs, ed., *Die Matrikel des Gymnasiums zu Elbing (1598–1786)*, (Hamburg: 1982); Z. H. Nowak and J. Tandecki, eds., *Metryka uczniów toruńskiego Gimnazjum Akademickiego 1600–1817. Cz. 1, 1600–1717* (Toruń: 1997); idem, eds., *Metryka uczniów toruńskiego Gimnazjum Akademickiego 1600–1817. Cz. 2, 1718–1817* (Toruń: 1998).

Cracow),¹³⁷ Wiatowice (attended by Scots of Cracow),¹³⁸ Gdańsk (St Peter and St Paul; St Elizabeth and St John parishes),¹³⁹ Toruń,¹⁴⁰ Poznań (Holy Cross parish),¹⁴¹ Leszno,¹⁴² Lublin,¹⁴³ Kiejdany,¹⁴⁴ Wilno (Vilnius),¹⁴⁵ Śluck,¹⁴⁶ Szczepanowice (attended by Scots of Tarnów),¹⁴⁷ Piaski (attended by Scots of Lublin and Zamość),¹⁴⁸ Königsberg¹⁴⁹ and Memel.¹⁵⁰ Roman Catholic

¹³⁷ "Księga Wtóra Kościoła Ewangel[icko] Reformowanego w Wielkanocy, zaczynająca się od roku 1637, Księga kościelna zboru Wielkanockiego y Lucianowskiego; sporządzona y spisana w roku 1637 [–1664?]," (hereafter KW) Archiwum Parafii Ewangelicko-Augsburskiej Św. Marcina (hereafter AparEA), Kraków; "Księga Trzecia zboru w Wielkanocy 1664–1716," (hereafter KT) AparEA Kraków; W. Węgierski, *Kronika Zboru Ewangelickiego Krakowskiego*, Kraków, 1651 (reprinted 1817); cf. "Unia albo zjednoczenie braci helweckiej z bracią augsburskiej konfesyji zboru krakowskiego," BUW SER 595, fols 1–154.

¹³⁸ "Księga Zboru w Wiatowicach prowadzona w latach 1641–1716," BUW SER 608.

¹³⁹ "Parish registers of St Elizabeth Church, Gdańsk 1622–1781," APGd, sig. 351/4, 351/5, 351/6, 351/8, 351/13, 351/17; cf. Evangelisches Zentralarchiv, Berlin (hereafter EZAB), sig. 5294, 5289 (Namensverzeichnisse sig. 5288) "Parish registers of St Peter and St Paul Church, Gdańsk 1573–1795," APGd, sig. 356; Cf. EZAB sig. 5458, 5462. "Parish registers of St John Church, Gdańsk 1602–1734," APGd, sig. 352.

¹⁴⁰ "Parish registers of the Reformed church, Toruń 1677–1795," AP Bydgoszcz, oddział w Toruniu (hereafter APBTor.), sig. 279.

¹⁴¹ "Parish registers of Holy Cross Church, Poznań 1596–1794," AP Poznań (hereafter APPozn.), sig. 3833

¹⁴² "Parish registers of St John Church, Leszno 1667–1779," APPozn, sig. 3808.

¹⁴³ "Materiały do działalności bractwa Szkotów w Lublinie przed 1732," manuscript held at BUW, BUW SER 595, 1–154. Cf. "The Records of the Protestant Congregation at Lublin (1620–1667)," quoted in F. A. Steuart, *Papers Relating to the Scots in Poland 1576–1593* (Edinburgh: 1915), 239–289.

¹⁴⁴ "Metryka Zboru Kiejdańskiego w której są zapisane chrzty y sluby w parafiej tey odprawowane od roku MDCXLI [1641] miesiąca Augusta," Lietuvos Valstybės Istorijos Archyvas, Vilnius (hereafter LVIA), Fond 606, Ap. 1, bb. 144–150, 324, 336—F. 1218, Ap. 1, b. 390a; cf. "Collecta Zboru Kiejdańskiego to jest rachunek wszystkich receipt i expens zborowych zaczęty roku 1628 dnia 20 novembra" (transcript of the original manuscript, Vilnius, 1939), Lietuvos Mokslų Akademijos Biblioteka, Vilnius (hereafter LMAB) Rankraščiu skyrius, Fond. 9–3040. I thank Mr Rimantas Žirgulis, Director of the Regional Museum in Kėdainiai (Lithuania), for providing me with a copy of this important source.

¹⁴⁵ "Parish registers of the Reformed Church, Vilnius 1631–1795," LVIA Fond 606, Ap. 1, bb. 8, 102–115, 242, 245–247, 272–280, 306–313, 318–321, 338; Fond 1218, Ap. 1, b. 590.

¹⁴⁶ "Parish registers of the Reformed Church, Śluck 1643–1795," LVIA Fond 606, Ap. 1, Bb. 231–236, 249–250.

¹⁴⁷ "Parish records of Szczepanowice Assembly," BUW SER 585, 587, 588, 592, 593, 595, 600, 606, 608, 628, 647, 650, 674.

¹⁴⁸ "Parish records of Piaski Assembly," BUW SER 585, 592, 593, 594, 596, 600, 601, 602, 607, 609, 619, 641, 642, 651, 652, 659, 665, 795, 796, 834, 835.

¹⁴⁹ "Parish registers of Burgkirche, Königsberg 1635–1723," EZAB, sig. 2142B.

¹⁵⁰ "Parish registers of St John Church, Memel, 1675–1781," EZAB, sig. 747, 767.

congregations that were examined included Alt Schottland,¹⁵¹ Brody,¹⁵² Braniewo,¹⁵³ Chełmno,¹⁵⁴ and Zamość.¹⁵⁵ Apart from these cities, records of a number of smaller Reformed communities in the Grand Duchy of Lithuania were investigated. In the process, detailed lists of parishioners of Scottish descent were assembled. The records were viewed on microfilms prepared by the Genealogical Society of Utah with the assistance of relevant archives in Poland, Lithuania, and Germany; and on CD-ROMs provided by individual institutions. Much data about individual members of different congregations was also obtained from a number of artefacts, memorials and gravestones, which have been photographed and catalogued in the process.¹⁵⁶ While the registers of burghers provide materials on more affluent individuals (males), parish records do not discriminate on the basis of socioeconomic status. They also provide unparalleled data on Scottish women and females of Scottish descent.

There are several problems with the primary sources. First, many of the sources, especially diaries, memoirs and guides, present a highly subjective view of the Scots. They use stereotypes in describing Scots, their activities, their physical appearance or attributes and repeat inaccurate perceptions about the character and size of that migration. Such repetitions of popular notions and some generalisations were certainly present in documents left by Lithgow and many of his contemporaries.¹⁵⁷ Second, in some sources it is difficult to identify the ethnic origins of the migrants.

¹⁵¹ "Liber Baptizatorum in Schotlandia et Hopenbruch, 1615–1642," Katholisches Kirchbuchamt, München, sig. 123.

¹⁵² "Parish registers of Asscension of Our Lady Church, Brody, 1610–1678," AGAD. sig. 301/1.

¹⁵³ "Parish registers of St Catherine Church, Braunsberg 1567–1700," Geheimes Staatsarchiv, Berlin-Dahlem (hereafter GSTABD), Vol. B 3633, B 3560, B 1847; Cf. "Heiraten 1565–1621, 1700–1768," Archiwum Archidiecezji Warmińskiej, Olsztyn (hereafter AAWO), sig. E 76, E 77.

¹⁵⁴ "Parish registers of Asscension of Our Lady Church, Chełmno, 1640–1795," Archiwum Akt Dawnych Diecezji Toruńskiej, Toruń (hereafter AADDT), sig. W 736, W 738, W 739, W 740, W 741, W 742, W 743, W 744, W 745, W 750, W 751, W 754, W 764; Archiwum Fary Chełmińskiej, Chełmno (hereafter AFCh), sig. 3, 4, 6, 7, 80, 85, 1143, 1144; Archiwum Diecezji Pelplińskiej, Pelplin (hereafter ADPelp.), sig. DW 893, 894, 895, 896, 911.

¹⁵⁵ "Parish registers of the Christ's Resurrection Church, Zamość 1659–1665, 1770–1786," AP Lublin (hereafter APLub.), sig. 105; Cf. Archiwum Diecezji Zamojsko-Lubaczowskiej (hereafter ADZL), sig. 1980398, 1980399.

¹⁵⁶ P. P. Bajer, "'Noli Me Condemnare'—Migrant memories set in stone: the seventeen and the eighteenth century Scottish memorials in Poland," paper presented to the Contained Memory Conference, Museum of New Zealand Te Papa Tongarewa, Wellington, December 2010.

¹⁵⁷ Lithgow, *The Total Discourse*.

Many non-British documents made very little distinction, if any, between migrants from Scotland, England and Ireland. Thus it seems that all English-speaking migrants to Poland-Lithuania were identified as Scots and thus were called *Szoci* or *Szkoci* (Scots); and all Gaelic-speaking foreigners were thought of as Irish. Third, most of the available documents, except for parish records, have been produced by, or report on, a particular group of people—males, educated men belonging to either the nobility, prosperous merchants or tradesmen, members of brotherhoods or military men such General Patrick Gordon of Auchleuchries¹⁵⁸ or Colonel Henry Gordon of Huntly.¹⁵⁹ The sources therefore focus on the problems of these particular groups, leaving aside issues associated with a numerically much larger group of poorer migrants and also women. Fourth, many of these sources—narratives of travellers, their correspondence, opinions/observations made by other foreigners, memoirs, official documents—focus on individuals who distinguished themselves, who became affluent, purchased properties, gained offices and/or honours and rose to prominence. It is only natural that stories of Scots whose expedition to Poland-Lithuania ended in failure are less prevalent in the documents. This needs to be remembered when formulating any conclusions about the progress and decline of the group as a whole and specific individuals.

Another issue is that the sources, both civic and parish records, tend to over-emphasise conflict situations among the Scots themselves and between Scots and the locals: lawsuits, indictments, quarrels, accusations, felonies, scuffles and other misdemeanours. While such sources bring from obscurity a number of otherwise anonymous Scots, one needs to refrain from drawing hasty conclusions about the supposed quarrelsome nature of this minority group. Similarly, any religious conflicts need to be interpreted in the wider context of tensions between different denominations, for example between Roman Catholics and Protestants, Lutherans and Calvinists and Reformed and Arians; and in the context of religious persecutions in other parts of Europe. In addition, a number of Polish sources contain political disputes, proposals and legislation targeting foreigners, including Scots. Taking those out of a wider context of contemporary political polemics about the taxation of aliens, immigration, or the effects on the local economy of trade carried by foreigner merchants may

¹⁵⁸ Robertson, *Passages from the Diary*; cf. Łoziński, "Jenerała Gordona"; Obolenski and Posselt, *Tagebuch*.

¹⁵⁹ Bulloch, *The Gordons in Poland*, 3–16.

lead to misinterpretation of the interaction between natives of the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth and Scottish immigrants.

Finally, not all topics or periods are equally represented in the sources. As indicated earlier, many documents have perished during Poland's troubled history since 1795. Scottish names appear more often in official papers than in private papers, while only a few private magnate archives have survived, the most important being those of the Radziwiłł, Zamoyski and Lubomirski families. Civic documents, including burgher rolls, survived in Gdańsk, Cracow, Warsaw and Lwów, but have disappeared from other centres that recorded a Scottish presence, including Kiejdany, Leszno, Lublin, Chełmno or Poznań.¹⁶⁰ The same is true of parish documents. While the oldest pre-Reformation documents date back to the middle of the fifteenth century, such sources are available only for Catholic congregations in Gdańsk, Stare Szkoty, Cracow, Lublin, Poznań and Braniewo. Equivalents for the Protestant parishes exist virtually only in Gdańsk. The majority of primary documents of Protestant assemblies pertain to Lutherans. Such records begin in the late sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries. The records of Reformed or Calvinist parishes—which, because of the doctrinal similarities, were frequented by Scottish Presbyterians and Episcopalians—do not usually start before the third or fourth decade of the seventeenth century. The quality of such records is also highly variable. While some parish records contain, apart from the usual books of baptisms, marriages and deaths (such as St Peter and St Paul, and St Elisabeth churches in Gdańsk; and Memel in Ducal Prussia), others contain lists of communicants (Kiejdany in Lithuania), while others again include registers of parishioners, conversion lists and notes of sessions (Wielkanoc-Lucianowice). The records of other important centres no longer exist (Elbląg, Lublin, Piaski, Szczepanowice).¹⁶¹ The physical quality of the sources also varies. Some documents survived almost intact, yet others, damaged by water, blight or other elements, are hardly legible. Furthermore, certain collections of documents are missing pages and

¹⁶⁰ In some other places separate burgher rolls were simply not kept. Often in such situations names of the newly granted burgher rights were recorded in council books (*księgi radzieckie*), see W. Kowalski, "Certificates of legitimate birth (birth-briefs) in the practice of the city councils of Aberdeen and Kraków at the close of the sixteenth century and during the first half of the seventeenth century," in Z. Hojda and H. Pátková (eds.), *Pragmatické písemnosti v kontextu právním a správním* (Praha: 2008), 187–201. Thanks to Professor Kowalski for suggesting this article.

¹⁶¹ Other sources that survived for these parishes include, in Lublin the "Green Book" and in Szczepanowice and Piaski a number of manuscripts, specifically notes of sessions.

even whole volumes.¹⁶² Another issue is palaeography. A variety of scripts sometimes makes the text illegible or at least makes the interpretation of the text that much harder. Some published sources contain misinterpretations of certain words, phrases, dates and especially surnames.¹⁶³ This is why, where possible, the original records have been consulted.

Database of Scots in the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth 1569–1795

Although the extant source base is quite extensive, it is very much dispersed among various publications and archives in Poland, Germany, Belarus, Lithuania, Russia, Scotland and England. In order to trace the movement of certain individuals or groups of migrants and to form a more coherent interpretation of Scottish migration to the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth, it was necessary to combine all the information. Following the example and methodology used by Murdoch and Grosjean—who used an online database as a research tool for their pioneering study of the diplomatic, intellectual and military relationship between Scotland and the Kingdoms of Denmark–Norway on the one hand, and Sweden and Germany on the other—a similar ‘relational database’ was compiled.¹⁶⁴ Like the *Scotland, Scandinavia and Northern Europe*

¹⁶² For example, the collection of parochial books of the Roman Catholic parish in Chelmino is missing a number of volumes: LB 1640–1667, 1690–1718; LC 1700–1750; LM 1640–1686. One of the existing books in this collection, LB 1667–1690, sig. W 736, is missing a number of pages at the beginning of the volume. Some of its damaged pages have been also reinforced on both sides with blotting-paper, which diminishes the clarity of the handwritten entries. I am very grateful to Dr Marek G. Zieliński of Akademia Bydgoska for providing me with detailed notes about the physical state of the records.

¹⁶³ Such mistakes were made, for example, by Fischer and Konarski. In the register of Scots married at St Elizabeth Church in Gdańsk, Fischer gives scores of wrong dates. The marriage of Robert Brown and Maria Steinson (Stimsen) took place on 26 July 1650 and not, as he recorded, in 1648. Fischer lists only some of the events: he failed to register any of the five marriages which took place at St Elizabeth in 1627. Four marriages in which at least one of the newlyweds was of Scottish extraction took place in 1628, one in 1629 (marriages of John (Hans) Morton and Maria Robertson, and Jacob Meldrum and Christina Balfour noted by Fischer under this year, do not appear in the records of St Elizabeth at all), three in 1630, and two in 1632 (Niclas Duget appears only in Fischer’s register). Cf. SEWP, 222, 225; and St Elizabeth, “Trauw Register 1631–1704,” APGd, sig. 78, 29/4; sig. 78, 29/8, k. 36. Konarski lists Captain David Nelchin, father of Anna Catherine baptised in Miedniki in 1655, as Nildon. Cf. S. Konarski, *Szlachta kahlwińska w Polsce* (Warszawa: 1936), 216; and “Metryka Zboru Wileńskiego: Chrzty 1631–1761,” LVIA, Fond 606, AP. 1, B 102–104 (1631–1761), k. 16.

¹⁶⁴ S. Murdoch and A. Grosjean, *Scotland, Scandinavia & Northern Europe, 1580–1707* (electronic database), at <http://www.st-andrews.ac.uk/history/ssne/>, accessed between 1998–2011; Cf. Murdoch, “The Database,” 83–103.

database (hereafter SSNE), the compilation *Scots in the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth, 1569–1795* contains biographical entries of individuals predominantly from Scotland, but also some from England and Ireland or their descendants, who either sojourned or stayed permanently in the Commonwealth.¹⁶⁵

Although SPLC is structured in a similar way to SSNE, it was set up with a different aim. The main objective of the SSNE project was to establish the role of the Scots in Scandinavia from the beginning of the reign of James VI (1580) until the Union of 1707, by concentrating on the itineraries of only a select group of individuals: diplomats and agents, army and naval officers, nobility, academics and students, the clergy, and lastly, civil and royal servants. It excluded other categories of migrants, such as craftsmen, petty merchants or peddlers. In contrast, the SPLC was set up to provide a useful tool for the examination and assessment of the continuous Scottish presence in Poland-Lithuania over 250 years and to include all the Scottish names that could be gathered, especially details about merchants, peddlers, hucksters and factors. The period under investigation stretches from the 1569 union between the Kingdom of Poland and the Grand Duchy of Lithuania, when the realm was at its height both politically and economically and when immigrants started to arrive in greater numbers, until 1795 when Poland-Lithuania ceased to exist as an independent state.

The process of collating such information is extremely time consuming, as it involves the mechanical entry of information as well as evaluating duplicate, incomplete or doubtful information. This is why it was decided to arrange the database alphabetically by surname using the most common modern variant, rather than by the name appearing in the source, as it was often already polonised or germanised.¹⁶⁶ This allowed the elimination of duplicates and the easier establishment of connections between individuals belonging to the same kin. Migrants of English and Irish extraction were included. The detailed entries contain information on

¹⁶⁵ Thus the following territories: the Crown, including the provinces Greater Poland, Royal Prussia, Lesser Poland, Mazovia, Red Ruthenia, Volhynia, Podolia, and Ukraine; Grand Duchy of Lithuania including Lithuania, Samogitia, White Ruthenia and Polesie; Livonia; and the vassal states of the Commonwealth, the Duchy of Prussia (Ducal Prussia) and the Duchy of Courland incorporated in 1561.

¹⁶⁶ To standardise the process, a separate list of name variations together with their most common modern-day equivalents has been collated and will be attached to the database. The modern equivalents have been adopted after Black, see G. F. Black, *The Surnames of Scotland: Their Origin, Meaning, and History* (Edinburgh: 1996).

their name, name variations, personal details (birth, marriage and death dates), nationality, place of origin, genealogy (parents and offspring), religion, social and professional ranks, place of settlement and, where applicable, involvement in the Polish army, the duration and regiments of service. Individual fields also include brief biographical details, a note on sources, and an identification number. Recently SSNE identification numbers have also been added to some of the entries, to quickly identify duplicates and to allow a merge of both databases should the need arise in the future.

The database includes about 5000 records. It appears that this is the first systematic and thorough extraction from, and collation of the existing documents pertaining to the history of Scots in the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth into an electronic, relational database. The existing printed lists of names—"hard copy databases" as Murdoch calls them—although indisputably great sources in their own right, prevent easy and efficient cross-referencing of the information.¹⁶⁷ Another advantage of the SPLC, in which the information is broken down into specific categories (fields), is that it offers the possibility of analysis within a given framework or context. Despite the fact that it is still unfinished and has its limitations—as in any alphanumeric analysis there is always a possibility of error—the SPLC has already proven to be a valuable research tool. The processing of figures (numbers and percentages) has not only revealed trends among a group of Polish nobles of Scottish origin, and trends among the burgesses, but has also indicated much wider Scottish involvement in Polish-Lithuanian life over two centuries.

¹⁶⁷ Murdoch, "The Database," 84.

CHAPTER TWO

MOTIVES FOR SCOTTISH MIGRATION: THE SOCIO-POLITICAL SITUATION IN SCOTLAND AND IN THE POLISH-LITHUANIAN COMMONWEALTH

Any discussion on Scottish migration to the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth must begin by examining two key issues. It is important to establish why the Scots left their homeland—what reasons may have influenced them to seek their fortune abroad. It also needs to be ascertained what made them choose the Commonwealth—so distant, in a geographical and cultural sense, from Scotland. In the past, this issue was often treated too casually. It has been suggested, for example, that the migration was primarily driven by religious unrest in Scotland. The literature on the subject often dealt with this movement without placing it in the context of a much larger Scottish migration to the Continent. The examination of the political, social and economic situation in both realms allows one to form a better understanding of the social forces that drove specific groups of Scots to Poland-Lithuania. In turn, this helps to identify more accurately those more likely to migrate and succeed in the new environment.¹

One of the key factors in any migration is population growth. It remains uncertain what the population of Scotland was before 1755, as there is no source from which to establish the number or assess growth rates. Historians who have dealt with this issue, such as Sinclair,² Webster,³ Smout, Flinn, and Anderson, provide no definite answers.⁴ Using Webster's

¹ Cf. W. Kowalski, "The reasons for the immigration of Scots to the Polish Commonwealth in the early modern period as outlined in contemporary opinions and historiography," in T. M. Devine and D. Hesse, eds., *Scotland and Poland: Historical Encounters, 1500–2010* (Edinburgh: 2011), 38–49.

² Sinclair estimated that the population of Scotland in 1707 was 1,048,000; however, the basis of his figure is unknown, see J. Sinclair, *Analysis of the Statistical Account of Scotland* (Edinburgh: 1826), vol. I, 148–149.

³ Webster estimated that the population of Scotland in 1755 was 1,265,000, see T. C. Smout, *A History of Scottish People 1560–1830* (London: 1970), 259.

⁴ Smout, *A History of Scottish People*, 258–260; M. Flinn et al., eds., *Scottish Population History from the 17th century to the 1930s* (Cambridge: 1977), 241; I. G. Anderson, *Scotsmen in the Service of the Czars* (Edinburgh: 1990), 9–10.

figures, Houston and Whyte considered it probable that Scotland had some 500,000 inhabitants in 1500, with the number rising to 700,000–800,000 later in the sixteenth century, and then to a million in 1700 and 1.6 million at the time of the first official census in 1801.⁵

In sixteenth- and seventeenth-century Scotland there were many burghs but comparatively few populous towns. The most densely inhabited was Edinburgh, with its continuously growing number of residents. Some historians believe that from the turn of the sixteenth century to the end of the seventeenth its population more than quadrupled to some 50,000 inhabitants. It is estimated that during the 1640s Glasgow, Dundee and Aberdeen, which competed for the distinction of second place, were probably each home to up to 10,000 people. Of the other major towns, Perth was the only one whose population is likely to have exceeded 5,000. Other regional centres such as Ayr, Inverness, Dumfries, Stirling and Jedburgh had about 1,000–2,000 inhabitants.⁶

*Population Surplus, Living Standards and Poverty in Scotland:
Grounds for Migration*

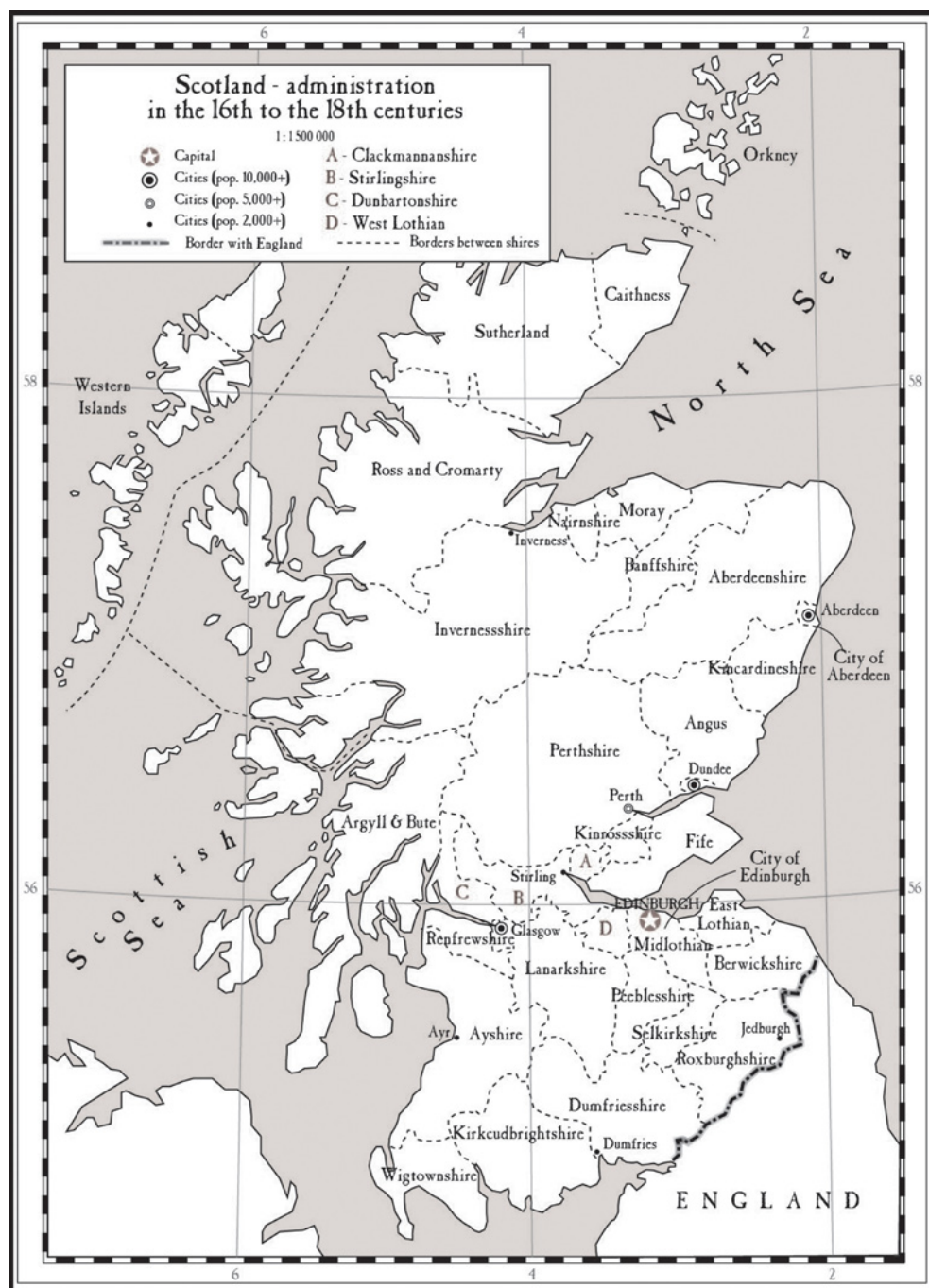
By comparing the social conditions in the first half of the eighteenth century with the situation in the seventeenth century, it is possible to hypothesise that, demographically, Scottish society was very similar throughout the period: it was slow-growing, dominated by high mortality caused by famine and disease, and predominantly young. Scottish society during this period was for the most part rural; eight or even nine out of every ten Scots dwelt on the land and depended for their living on the productivity of their farms.⁷

Data from the unofficial census composed by Webster from figures—mainly church records—collected over the period 1743–55 indicates that the very slow population growth (or lack of it during some periods) in the first half of the eighteenth century was a consequence of high infant mortality. The results of Webster's census of 1755 show that nearly 50 per cent of Scottish children did not reach the age of ten. Despite that, the

⁵ R. A. Houston and I. D. Whyte, eds., *Scottish Society 1500–1800* (Cambridge: 1989), 3.

⁶ Smout, *A History of Scottish People*, 157.

⁷ M. Perceval-Maxwell, *The Scottish Migration to Ulster in the Reign of James I* (London-New York: 1973), 119.



number of young people was high—in 1755, 42 per cent of the population was under twenty years of age.⁸

Early modern English and continental travellers to Scotland often commented on the low standard of living and the poverty of the Scots.⁹ Thomas Kirke, who visited in 1679, wrote that the houses of the common people are:

very mean, mud-wall and thatch the best; but the poorer sort live in such miserable hutts as never eye beheld; men, women, and children pig altogether in a poor mouse-hole of mud, heath, and some such like matter...

According to Kirke, the housing was not the only problem. While “the Lowland gentry go well enough habited”, he observed, the poorer inhabitants “go (almost) naked, only an old cloak, or a part of their bed-cloaths thrown over them”.¹⁰ Incidental remarks of Pierre de Bourdeilles (Brantôme), a French traveller to Scotland in 1568, leave a similar general impression: “Scotland, with its gloomy skies, its poverty and squalor, its harsh and rugged aspects, was unfit to have produced the paragon of princesses, and still more unfit to entertain her” (referring to Mary Queen of Scots).¹¹

This was, it seems, a direct result not so much of overabundant population as of a slow economy, too static to absorb the increase in the labour force. Contemporaries commented on that state in 1611, believing that the country suffered not only because the ‘ydle’ refused to work, but also because many people who wanted to work lacked opportunities.¹²

Harsh climate, poor soil quality and primitive agriculture, combined with high salt content in the animal feed (which impeded all-year-round cattle farming), had a direct bearing on the life of ordinary peasants as well as the lesser lairds, and meant that their economic situation was quite difficult.¹³ Their circumstances were further complicated by the fact that just as in Ireland, there were very few landless rural Scots. Many people had access to at least some land, though their plots were often tiny. Although on the land, just like many other tenants, cottars lived close to the margins

⁸ Smout, *A History of Scottish People*, 262–263.

⁹ P. H. Brown, ed., *Early travellers in Scotland*, (Edinburgh: 1973), 260; cf. J. K. Cameron, “Some continental visitors to Scotland in the late sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries,” in T. C. Smout, ed., *Scotland and Europe 1200–1850* (Edinburgh: 1986); cf. R. A. Houston and I. D. Whyte, eds., *Scottish Society 1500–1800* (Cambridge: 1989), 54.

¹⁰ Brown, *Early travellers in Scotland*, 260.

¹¹ *Ibid.*, xvi.

¹² Perceval-Maxwell, *The Scottish Migration to Ulster*, 27.

¹³ Smout, *A History of the Scottish People*, 135–156.

of subsistence, not only because of the small sizes of their plots, but also because of chronic seasonal unemployment.¹⁴ Cottar families with such meagre landholdings formed the bulk of the rural population in many Lowland parishes. The frequency with which this group appears in poor relief records shows their marginal economic position and their vulnerability. The same records indicate that the reserves of such families were so slender that cottars and other small tenants were terribly exposed to the effects of even a single poor harvest. Not surprisingly, then, the eighteenth-century records reveal that in case of subsistence crises, mortality and migration were greatest among this group.¹⁵

Internal resettlement from rural areas to urban centres can be traced back to the first half of the sixteenth century. Between 1540 and the end of the century, migration to Edinburgh was reportedly so high that its population doubled in size (particularly after the plague in 1584).¹⁶ This growth, in turn, coincided with a rise in poverty, which became a serious and chronic problem for major towns from the late sixteenth century onwards. The urban poor were a more diverse group than cottars and comprised servants, casual labourers, journeyman artisans, beggars, vagrants and orphans. The core of this group consisted of widows and the infirm. During years of bad harvest, the circle of poverty could even extend to tenants, artisans and burgess families. A church survey in Perth in 1584 reportedly revealed that a quarter of the town's population of about 4,500 was poor.¹⁷ This in turn led to a change in urban society. Stratification by wealth increased and municipal centres began to fill from below. Apprentices who had served their time found it increasingly difficult to set up their own businesses as independent masters, and had to remain as assistants or employees of another.¹⁸ It seems that the only other alternative for such young merchants or craftsmen was to seek their fortune abroad.

The available data also suggest that during major subsistence crises people took to the streets in large numbers, becoming the begging poor and thus creating yet another problem—vagrancy.¹⁹ Acts of Parliament passed in the 1590s and contemporary accounts of Scotland are very good

¹⁴ R. A. Dodgshon, *Land and Society in Early Scotland* (Oxford: 1981), 214–217.

¹⁵ Houston and Whyte, *Scottish Society*, 12–13.

¹⁶ M. Lynch, *Edinburgh and the Reformation* (Edinburgh: 1981), 3.

¹⁷ *Ibid.*, 13.

¹⁸ Houston and Whyte, *Scottish Society*, 20.

¹⁹ *Ibid.*, 54–55.

evidence of that situation. While describing Scotland in the 1580s an anonymous author wrote that beggars and the vagrant poor were in “infinite numbers, and the same by reason of their extreme want and misery [are] bold and very impudent”.²⁰ In 1624 Sir William Alexander observed that “by reasons of her populousnesse being constrained to disburden her self (like the painfull Bees) [Scotland] did euery yeere send forth swarmes [of migrants]”.²¹ At times this caused great embarrassment to Scotland. Such was the case soon after James VI (I) established his court in England, when a stream of men and women followed him southwards. This migration was unwelcome and although the English Council sympathised with Scotland’s need to rid herself of the surplus of men, it suggested that Scots entering the service of foreign armies on the continent should leave the British Isles through their own ports rather than London.

Vagrancy and thievery—a direct result of overpopulation and poverty—were the main problems in the Highlands in the north and the west and in the Border area in the south. In 1587 the social upheaval in those territories brought about a very firm Act “for the quieting and keeping in obedience of the disorderit subiectis inhabitantis of the bordors hielandis and Ilis”.²² Even sterner measures were accepted in acts of 1598 and 1599. The latter Act stipulated that thieves should have to pay for their offences with their lives. By 1605 it seems the Borders began to experience the most energetic and ruthless government in their history. A survey was to be conducted to locate the surplus of all able-bodied men “beyond the abilitie of the rowe [portion of land] to sustene the personis lauchfullie”.²³ The listed men either had to enter some legal trade or leave their homes to serve in the army or navy of either their own monarch or under the banners of a foreign ruler. Terror tactics used in the first year alone after the adoption of the measures resulted in 32 men being executed, 15 banished from Scotland, more than 140 proclaimed as fugitives, and an unknown number who died at the hands of government officials without any trial. These drastic measures, it seems, did not suffice, and in about 1609 a petition was presented to the Scottish Council concerning ‘ydle people’. The petitioners declared: “Gif diligent searche war throwche euery parochie, that suld be ane grit number fund of ydle people without ony calling,

²⁰ Perceval-Maxwell, *The Scottish Migration to Ulster*, 27.

²¹ *Ibid.*

²² *Ibid.*, 22.

²³ *Ibid.*, 22–23.

industrie, or lauthfull means to leif by, except it be upon the blude of the poorest and most obedient sort".²⁴

Such people constituted a surplus population, which could find no place in the society. Thus in 1617 a set of proposals for the reorganisation of the administration of the region was tabled. Among the proposals was an idea that outlaws should be shipped to Virginia or "sum other remot partis". The implications of that petition were very clear: people who were part of that surplus population had only one alternative to a life of thievery and possible death on the gallows, that is, enforced or voluntary migration.

Consequently, throughout the period under discussion, the ever-growing imbalance between population and resources forced many Scots into seasonal or permanent migration. It appears that from the sixteenth century onwards, the subsistence crises made emigration a more significant element in Scottish society than in any other European country, except perhaps Ireland.²⁵

Religious Conflicts, War, Pestilence and Primogeniture

The poor economic situation, poverty and the imbalance between population and resources were, it seems, the most important factors pushing Scots out of their country. This state of affairs did not escape the notice of their contemporaries in Poland-Lithuania. In 1648 Łukasz Opaliński, one of the most important Polish political writers of the seventeenth century, observed that "having come to despise their poverty-stricken and infertile fatherland [Scots] flee overseas".²⁶ Nevertheless, there were also other reasons that may have acted as incentives for emigration.

The defeat of the Scots by the English at Flodden in September 1513 began a chain of disastrous events—internal and external conflicts such

²⁴ Ibid.

²⁵ Houston and Whyte, *Scottish Society*, 5; cf. T. M. Devine and D. Dickson, eds., *Ireland and Scotland 1600–1850: Parallels and Contrasts in Economic and Social Development* (Edinburgh: 1983); R. A. Houston, *The Population History of Britain and Ireland 1500–1750* (London: 1992).

²⁶ Notwithstanding the fact that this quote comes from a polemical treatise written as a response to a strongly worded and highly controversial text about Poland by Barclay, the character of the argument seems to be well measured, see Ł. Opaliński, *Polonia defensa contra Joannem Barclaium* (Dantiscum: 1648), quoted in Z. Guldon and L. Stępkowski, "Ludność szkocka i angielska w Polsce w połowie XVII wieku," *Kwartalnik Historii Kultury Materialnej* 2 (1982): 202. Cf. J. Barclay, *Ioannis Barclaii Icon animorum, Londini: Ex officina Nortoniana apud Iohanne Billium*, M.DC.XIV. [1614], 174–188.

as frequent failures of royal governments, power struggles among the nobility, religious conflicts, economic difficulties, as well as natural disasters that, time after time, bedevilled Scotland in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries.

Among the several armed conflicts that could have triggered large waves of migration, two are of special significance. The flood of migrants in the middle of the sixteenth century could have been caused by the periodic English invasions between 1544 and 1547. The Rough Wooing—the result of Scotland's rejection of English territorial ambitions through a proposed marriage and alliance—reached its peak then. Subsequently, Scotland became the subject of harsh oppression, murder, pillage, seizures of property and the burning of homesteads.²⁷ Potentially even wider and more profound consequences were caused by the Civil War that broke out in England in 1642 and spilled into Scotland. The defeat of the Royalists and the Cromwellian occupation (1652–60) sent many into exile.

The never-ending warfare coincided with religious conflicts and subsequent waves of religious persecution. The third decade of the sixteenth century in Scotland was marked by the arrival of Protestantism, which was opposed by the Catholic hierarchy. The execution in 1528 of Patrick Hamilton, a convicted adherent of the new doctrines, led many Protestant leaders to take refuge abroad. It was not until April 1558 that the executions of Protestants condemned as heretics stopped. The ultimate victory of Protestantism in Scotland in 1560 marked, in turn, the beginning of persecution of Roman Catholics. The authority of the Pope was abolished and the celebration of Latin mass was forbidden under pain of confiscation of goods for the first offence, banishment for the second, and death for the third.²⁸ Compared with other countries, the Reformation in Scotland made very few martyrs—seven Protestants were condemned to death before the Reformation, and three Catholics (one before and two after it) were killed—however, there was substantial religious violence and persecution.

More important, perhaps, was the fact that opportunities for employment or a career could be closed to those who did not adopt the official established religion, whether Presbyterianism or Episcopalianism, depend-

²⁷ Anderson, *Scotsmen in the Service*, 15; cf. M. Brander, *The Emigrant Scots* (London: 1982), 11.

²⁸ A. Bellesheim, *History of the Catholic Church of Scotland from the introduction of Christianity to the present day / translated, with notes and additions, by D. Oswald Hunter Blair*, 4 vols (Edinburgh: 1889), vol. III, 340, 389.

ing on the period.²⁹ Several historians have argued that such tensions could have swayed some to emigrate.³⁰ In subsequent years the conflict between the Presbyterians and the Episcopal Church would have a much bigger impact and would become more violent. In 1638, Charles I sought to impose Anglican rites of worship and ecclesiastical government upon the Scottish Kirk. The Kirk seemed to gain the upper hand during the Civil War and Cromwell's Protectorate. However, soon after the Restoration in 1660 the decision to re-establish Episcopacy in Scotland met with strong opposition. The resistance to the official church was particularly strong in the southwest of Scotland, in Ayrshire, Galloway and Lanarkshire—that is, in the Presbyterian heartland. Many people in these localities abandoned Episcopacy and took to hearing banned ministers preach at conventicles. The government, which perceived such religious gatherings as a problem of public order, tried to suppress them by using the military.³¹

The steady rise and eventual triumph of Presbyterianism had a lasting effect on the governance of Scotland and society at large. In 1561 John Knox and his companion preachers drafted "The First Book of Discipline" ("The Second Book" was issued in 1582), a blueprint for transforming the Scottish church and nation into a godly Commonwealth. This stern document contained not only an exposition of the ecclesiastical policy, but also a variety of offences that would merit ecclesiastical discipline and the manner in which this discipline should be conducted. It also outlined the obligations of the state to govern strictly: "blasphemy, adultery, murder, perjury, and other crimes capital, worthy of death [...] all such open transgressors of God's laws ought to be taken away by the civil sword".³² The civil authorities overwhelmingly embraced the recommendation.

²⁹ A good example of discrimination based on Roman Catholic profession is the proclamation of King Charles II dated 6 December 1673: "...any person or persons who are of the Popish profession after the first of March next to accept of or exerce any public employment or office either civil or military within this kingdome [of Scotland].", see J. Robertson, ed., *Passages from the Diary of General Patrick Gordon of Auchleuchries, A.D. 1635–A.D. 1699* (New York: 1968), 34.

³⁰ Some historians, for example Biegańska and Krawczyk, have mistakenly linked the anti-Catholic policy of Elizabeth I in England with the exodus of Scottish Catholics. There is no reason to believe that at the time the English monarch had much say in Scottish affairs. Scotland was an independent state, with its own monarch. See A. Biegańska, "In search of tolerance: Scottish Catholics and Presbyterians in Poland," *Scottish Slavonic Review* 17 (1991): 37; A. Krawczyk, "The British in Poland in the Seventeenth Century," *The Seventeenth Century* XVII, no. 2 (2002): 255.

³¹ Smout, *A History of the Scottish People*, 69–70.

³² *The first and second booke of discipline, as it was formerly set forth in Scotland by publicke authoritie, anno 1560 and is at present commanded there to be practised, anno 1641.*

A range of moral misdemeanours were made statutory offences against the state, including adultery (1563), fornication (1567), sabbath-breaking (1597) and drunkenness (1617).

Fundamental to this new order was the concept that an individual excommunicated from the spiritual society of the Kirk was also deprived of the benefit and protection of (or excluded from) civil society.³³ In time, such persons were disqualified from bearing office or giving witness at law (1572) and forbidden to own land or enjoy rents or revenues (1609). The laws were used sparingly while the church stayed under royal control through the bishops; however, after 1640 the theocratic Covenanters in the General Assembly persistently used excommunication for political as well as moral reasons. The law was not repealed until 1690, and the powers of magistrates to enforce Kirk censures or summons were removed in 1712 by the Act of Toleration.³⁴ It seems highly likely that some individuals who committed crimes decided to evade prosecution by seeking refuge abroad. Such was the case of Richard Fraser (Frezer, Frezeser, Freser, Fraëser), noted in the parish records of the Wielkanoc Assembly. The church sessions of 1703 recorded that the elders had learnt that six years earlier Fraser, who first appeared in the lists of communicants in 1702, had murdered a girl in Scotland. The severity of his crime was not reflected in the punishment. Fraser had to admit to the crime and beg for forgiveness in front of the whole assembly. His penance was to include fasting every Friday for a year.³⁵

A far wider effect must have been produced by natural disasters. The armed conflicts in Scotland in the last decades of the sixteenth and of the seventeenth centuries brought much death and destruction. Historians believe that the diseases that followed the movement of the warring parties caused more deaths than combat itself.³⁶ Estimates suggest that of the approximately 60,000 people who perished during the Civil Wars (about

Together with some acts of the generall assemblies, clearing and confirming the same: and an act of Parliament. (London: 1641), 54–58.

³³ Smout, *A History of the Scottish People*, 80.

³⁴ *Ibid.*

³⁵ “Aby Richard Freser pokutował o zabójstwo dziewczki przed 6 lat w Szkocy o czym dopiero nam donieśli. Przepraszał tedy Boga y Kościół jego y tak *in gremium Eccta more folito et ceremonis*, przyjęty jest. Temuż też post na Rok naznaczony w każdy Piątek.” in “Rejestr komunikantów 1657–1716,” KW AParEA Kraków, fol. 92v; cf. “Pokutujący 1703–1734,” *Ibid.*, fol. 162.

³⁶ Apparently, in 1644–48, Aberdeen lost 1600 people to disease (about 20 per cent of its population) and Leith suffered 2421 deaths (about 50 per cent of its population). Smout, *A History of the Scottish People*, 164.

7 per cent of Scotland's total population), more than 50 per cent lost their lives due to disease.³⁷

Severe famines hit Scotland in 1572, 1587 and 1595. Many left in the 1690s, during the so-called 'Ill Years' or 'Dear Years', when a series of droughts, harvest failures and floods resulted in widespread famine. This famine, persisting for many years, was accompanied by at least two epidemics: 'the plague' (or, more probably, typhus) and smallpox.³⁸

There were possibly also other, more prosaic factors. Some could have fled to escape the hardships of the institution of primogeniture, which by the mid seventeenth century had been generally accepted throughout Scotland out of sheer economic necessity. Small farms with low productivity were rarely prosperous enough to support more than one family (that of the eldest son), so younger sons were forced to seek employment elsewhere, to become merchants or tradesmen (unlike in other countries, the Scottish class system was not tightly closed, so being a merchant or a tradesman did not disqualify a man from the nobility), or voluntarily to enter the military.³⁹ Some historians specifically link emigration with the mercenary profession, arguing that from the beginning of the sixteenth century service in the continental armies was the main outlet for Scottish energies.⁴⁰

While in the fifteenth and early sixteenth centuries France and Flanders were the first locations in which Scottish mercenaries distinguished themselves, in the following decades their attention shifted eastwards to the new places of conflict. In 1519 the Scottish Privy Council authorised a levy of soldiers in Scotland for the King of Denmark for his war against Sweden. The sixteenth-century conflicts drew Scots into central-eastern and northern Europe—Germany and Sweden. Scots fought in the Hundred Years' War and also in Sweden's war with Muscovy in 1573. From about 1581 the Tsar had Scottish mercenaries in his army.⁴¹ In 1618–48, 5,000 Scots were enlisted in the army of United Provinces. Another 13,700 served in the army of King Christian IV of Denmark-Norway in 1626–29. In the 1630s a substantial number of them joined their compatriots already enrolled in

³⁷ C. Carlton, "Civilians," in J. Kenyon and J. Ohlmeyer, eds., *The Civil Wars: A Military History of England, Scotland and Ireland 1638–1660* (Oxford: 1992), 272–305; cf. idem, *Going to the Wars: the Experience of the British Civil Wars, 1638–1651* (London: 1992); T. Royle, *Civil War: The Wars of the Three Kingdoms 1638–1660* (London: 2004), 604–606.

³⁸ Anderson, *Scotsmen in the Service*, 23.

³⁹ Ibid.

⁴⁰ Anderson, *Scotsmen in the Service*, 31; Brander, *The Emigrant Scot*, 13–15.

⁴¹ Anderson, *Scotsmen in the Service*, 37; Cf. Robertson, *Passages from the Diary*, xx.

the Swedish Army, swelling the numbers of Scottish mercenaries there to probably 25,000. While Sweden, Denmark and the Low Countries offered great opportunity for men prepared to serve as mercenaries—about 50,000 Scots are likely to have served during the Thirty Years' War in the anti-Habsburg armies—such an activity was extremely dangerous.⁴² To become a regular trooper in this war was like buying “a one-way ticket to almost certain death”.⁴³ However, not all young men were eager to join the colours. While poverty drove some to take the risk, others were forcibly enrolled.⁴⁴

Another factor that may have influenced the overseas migration was that despite its position on the periphery of Europe, Scotland had well-established contacts with most parts of north-western Europe and, later, Russia. Scottish migrants in the preceding years were fleeing to seaside provinces of France, Flanders, The Netherlands, Friesland, Oldenburg, Rügen, Pomerania, Norway and Sweden.⁴⁵ There were large groups of them in Straslund and Griefswald. In Straslund, the first migrants were recorded in 1310. A large colony of at least 47 Scots (only those owning estates were recorded) lived in Griefswald circa 1539–47. A number of Scots were recorded in smaller centres of Pomerania: Anklam, Barth, Demmin and Wolgast.⁴⁶ Such contacts were initially made through trade, “the jewel in Scotland's economic crown before the eighteenth century”.⁴⁷ Development of the links with Scandinavia and the northern coast of continental Europe intensified in the late sixteenth century. It was then that the Scots from the eastern coast of Scotland began to emigrate to the most commercially significant locations of the region, such as Rotterdam,

⁴² S. Murdoch, ed., *Scotland and the Thirty Years' War, 1618–1648* (Leiden: 2001), 9–18, Table 1; cf. S. Murdoch, “Scotland, Denmark-Norway and the House of Stuart: A diplomatic and military analysis,” (PhD Thesis, University of Aberdeen, Aberdeen, 1998), 251, 258; idem, “The House of Stuart and the Scottish Professional Soldier 1618–1640: A Conflict of Nationality and Identities,” in B. Taithe and T. Thornton, eds., *War: Identities in Conflict 1300–2000*, (Gloucestershire: 1998), 37–44; Grosjean, “Scots and the Swedish State: Diplomacy, Military Service and Ennoblement 1611–1660,” (PhD Thesis, University of Aberdeen, Aberdeen, 1998), 80–81; S. Murdoch and A. Mackillop, eds., *Fighting for Identity: Scottish military experience, c. 1550–1900* (Leiden and Boston: 2002).

⁴³ T. C. Smout, “The culture of migration: Scots as Europeans 1500–1800,” *History Workshop Journal* 40 (1995): 112. Cf. T. Riis, *Should Auld Acquaintance Be Forgot: Scottish-Danish Relations C. 1450–1707* (Odense: 1988), 100–103.

⁴⁴ Smout, “The culture of migration,” 112.

⁴⁵ I. von Wechmar and R. Biderstedt, “Die Schottische Einwanderung in Vorpommern im XVI. und frühen XVII. Jahrhundert,” *Greifswalder Straslunder Jahrbuch* 5 (1965): 7–28.

⁴⁶ *Ibid.*, 7–10.

⁴⁷ Houston and Whyte, *Scottish Society*, 8–7.

Bergen, Göteborg and Stockholm.⁴⁸ The almost simultaneous growth of the trade-oriented Scottish communities in these centres in the first half of the seventeenth century coincided with the increased Scottish migration to Poland-Lithuania. This large-scale movement highlights the importance of commercial activity as one motive for migration.

Sea contacts between Scotland and the Baltic region, and in particular the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth, date back to the fifteenth century. This is especially important considering that the easiest means of travelling was by water. Freshwater and coastal transport, both in Scotland and in the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth was easier than journeying overland, even for the poorest migrants. The memoirs of Gordon provide extensive information on how the main rivers of Poland were used for transportation. Wood, in her work on Edinburgh, shows that this burgh's council was trying to stop beggars arriving by sea at Leith from Fife and other destinations. This shows that this mode of transportation—an early equivalent of modern hitchhiking—was available even to vagrants.⁴⁹

Yet it remains uncertain how very young, poor migrants were able to pay fares to Poland in the first quarter of the seventeenth century. Perhaps some were 'assisted' by Scottish or English authorities as a convenient way of disposing of unwanted and potentially dangerous surplus men. There are known cases of forced recruitment or selling of Scottish prisoners as bondservants into the colonies during the Protectorate in 1650 and 1653–54.⁵⁰ Although there is no clear evidence to support either possibility, some documents show that the authorities were encouraging migration. According to Fischer, after a severe famine in 1587, King James VI (I) issued a proclamation at Leith in which he urged emigration from Scotland.⁵¹ Similarly, in the 1590s several Acts of Parliament were designed to deal with the increasing number of vagrants and beggars.⁵² In the

⁴⁸ D. Catterall, "At home abroad: Ethnicity and enclave in the world of Scots traders in Northern Europe, c. 1600–1800," *Journal of Early Modern History*, no. 8 (2004): 319–357; idem, *Community without Borders: Scots Migrants and the Changing Face of Power in the Dutch Republic, c. 1600–1700* (Boston: 2002), 25–26, 31–41; A. Grosjean and S. Murdoch, "The Scottish community in seventeenth-century Gothenburg," in idem, eds., *Scottish Communities Abroad In The Early Modern Period* (Leiden: 2005), 191–224; N. Østby Pedersen, "Scottish immigration to Bergen in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries," in Grosjean and Murdoch, *Scottish Communities Abroad*, 135–168.

⁴⁹ M. Wood, ed., *Extracts from the Records of the Burgh of Edinburgh*, 9 vols (Edinburgh: 1950), vol. IV, 255.

⁵⁰ Brander, *The Emigrant Scot*, 27.

⁵¹ SIG, 31.

⁵² Perceval-Maxwell, *The Scottish migration to Ulster*, 27.

second decade of the sixteenth century, as a response to disturbances in the Borders in 1611–17, a set of proposals was tabled in the Scottish Council which suggested that people considered to be persistent criminals (this would most certainly include vagrants and beggars) should be shipped abroad.⁵³ In 1624 Sir William Alexander wrote “An encouragement to colonies”. Although his intention was to persuade his countrymen to migrate to Nova Scotia, his view may reflect the thinking of Scottish authorities.⁵⁴ Thus, if the authorities were advocating migration, some financial assistance could have been offered by kirks or by more prosperous relatives.⁵⁵

*Population and the Economy of the Commonwealth from the
Sixteenth to the Eighteenth Centuries*

The emergence of the new state of Poland-Lithuania began in 1386, with the marriage of Queen Jadwiga of Poland (the grand niece of King Kazimierz Wielki of Poland) and Władysław Jagiełło, the Grand Duke of Lithuania. This made possible the eventual formation of the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth that, although ruled by a king as a whole, allowed for each ‘nation’ largely to govern itself. The kings of the Jagiellonian dynasty ruled Poland for nearly two hundred years. The Jagiellonian period (1386–1572) helped to make important advances in Poland’s cultural, economic and political development. Perhaps one of the biggest achievements was the union of both ‘nations’ under a single Parliament in 1569 (Union of Lublin). At this time the Commonwealth had become one of the largest and most powerful kingdoms in Europe (Map 2). In 1582 its territory comprised 815,000 square kilometres and by 1634 it was enlarged to 990,000 square kilometres. The estimated population of Poland-Lithuania in the 1580s was 7.5 million people (some three million in the Crown). The population growth was estimated at 8per cent per annum.⁵⁶ Due to wars and

⁵³ Ibid., 25–26.

⁵⁴ Ibid., 27.

⁵⁵ I. E. Whyte, “Population mobility in early modern Scotland,” in R. A. Houston and I. D. Whyte, eds., *Scottish Society 1500–1800* (Cambridge: 1989), 54–57.

⁵⁶ C. Kuklo, *Demografia Rzeczypospolitej przedrozbiorowej* (Warszawa: 2009), 211–212; Z. Kiaupa, J. Kiaupienė and A. Kunevičius, *The History of Lithuania before 1795* (Vilnius: 2000), 253–256. Guldon suggests that the number was even higher and at that time reached eight million people, see Z. Guldon, “Ludność i gospodarka Rosji i Polski w XVI–XVIII wieku. Wybrane problemy badawcze,” in J. Wijaczka, ed., *Z dziejów Europy wczesnonowożytnej* (Kielce: 1997), 133. Cf. Czapliński and Ładogórski, *Atlas historyczny Polski*, 13–14, map 28–29.

some economic troubles it was halted in the 1620s, but it is estimated that by the 1650s the population was 11 million people. Although overall population density—around 11 people per square kilometre—was much lower than in other European nations at that time, and similar to that of Scotland, the figure is misleading (Table 2.1). The Polish Crown, which was smaller in area, was more densely populated (20–22 people per km²), while the larger Grand Duchy (65 per cent of the total territory) had many fewer inhabitants (5–6 people per km²). It is estimated that in districts such as Mozyr and Rzeszyca in Mińsk Palatinate the population density was even lower, perhaps 2–3 people per km².⁵⁷



Map 2. The Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth 1586–1772.

⁵⁷ Ibid. Cf. J. Topolski, *Polska w czasach nowożytnych. Od środkowoeuropejskiej potęgi do utraty niepodległości 1501–1795*, 2nd ed. (Poznań: 1999), 124–127; idem, ed., *Dzieje Polski*

Just as in Scotland, the population of Poland-Lithuania was overwhelmingly rural. It is estimated that in the Crown, around 1550, there existed about 700 towns. Only eight of them had a population exceeding 10,000 inhabitants. These included Gdańsk (c. 50,000), Cracow (c. 28,000), Poznań (c. 20,000), as well as Warsaw, Elbląg, Lublin and Lwów. In the Grand Duchy of Lithuania only Wilno belonged to this group with a population of c. 15,000. Cities with 4,000–5,000 inhabitants included Gniezno, Sandomierz and Kazimierz Dolny. The majority of urban centres numbered 500 to 2,000 inhabitants.⁵⁸ The favourable economic conditions in the last decades of the sixteenth and the beginning of the seventeenth centuries saw the growth and development of cities. By the mid seventeenth century the population of Gdańsk rose to about 70,000, that of Warsaw to around 30,000 and that of Wilno to around 20,000. At that time the towns with more than 5000 inhabitants included Bochnia, Bydgoszcz, Kowno, Przemyśl, Wschowa, Kościan, Kalisz, Gniezno, Sandomierz, and Lublin.⁵⁹

Table 2.1. Estimated population density of the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth and of Scotland 1500–1801.

Year	Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth (population of the Crown shown in parentheses)			Scotland		
	Area in km ²	Population	Population density per km ²	Area in km ²	Population	Population density per km ²
1580	815,000 (255,000)	7,500,000 (4,500,000)	6.6 (20–22.0)	78,800	500,000	6.3
1650	990,000	11,000,000	11.1	78,800	800,000	10.1
1772	733,500	14,000,000	19.1	78,800	1,200,000	15.2

(Warszawa: 1976), 258–259, 320; I. Gieysztorowa, *Wstęp do demografii staropolskiej* (Warszawa: 1976); S. Kieniewicz, ed., *History of Poland*, 2nd ed. (Warszawa: 1979), 223; Kukło, *Demografia*, 212–213, 233–234; idem, “Ludność Polski,” in *Nowa Encyklopedia Powszechna PWN* (Warszawa: 1996), vol. V, 73–74; A. Mączak, “Od połowy XV wieku do rozbiorów,” in I. Ihnatowicz et al., eds., *Spółeczeństwo polskie od X do XX wieku* (Warszawa: 1999), 236–237, tabela 6; Kiaupa, Kiaupienė and Kunevičius, *The History of Lithuania*, 253–256.

⁵⁸ S. Herbst, *Miasta i mieszczaństwo renesansu polskiego* (Warszawa: 1954), 7.

⁵⁹ M. Bogucka, *Baltic Commerce and Urban Society, 1500–1700: Gdańsk/Danzig and its Polish Context* (Ashgate: 2002), 99; cf. Czapliński and Ładogórski, *Atlas historyczny Polski*, 15–16, map 24–25; Kukło, “Ludność Polski,” 73–74; A. Wyrobisz, “Functional types of Polish towns

Scottish travellers to the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth, like Moryson, Lithgow, Roberts⁶⁰ and later Gordon, all commented on the abundance of provisions found there. Moryson, who visited in 1593, left one of the earliest accounts of that prosperity. According to his *Itinerary*, Poland:

... abounds with Hony. . . It yields great quantity of Wax, Flax, Linnen clothes made thereof, Hempe, Pitch of both kinds, Masts for shippes, Boards and Timber, rich Furies, Salt digged out of pits, Amber, Soape-ashes, and all kind of Graine, especially Rye, which hath made Daniske [Gdańsk] famous, for relieving all Nations therewith in the time of dearth.⁶¹

Nothing, it seems, struck Moryson more forcibly than the general cheapness of food in the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth. Based on his own experiences of the cost of meals and horsemeat and of other ordinary travelling expenses—he noted them down scrupulously—he marvelled at how its “people live content with their owne [ordinary commodities]; yet are they not rich. . .” and that “no Countrey in Europe affordes victuals at a lower rate”.⁶² Elsewhere, commenting on the situation in Scotland, he noted that:

[Scots] flocke in great numbers into Poland, abounding in all things for foode, and yielding many commodities. And in these Kingdoms they lived at this time in great multitudes, rather for the poverty of their owne Kingdome, then for any great trafficke they exercised there, dealing rather small fardels, then for great quantities of rich wares.⁶³

A few years later, another Scot, Lithgow, made a nearly identical remark:

The soil is wonderful fruitful of corns, so that this country is become the general granary of western Europe for all sorts of grain, besides honey, wax, flax, iron and other commodities.⁶⁴

in the XVI–XVIIIth centuries,” *Journal of European Economic History* 12 (1983): 69–103; idem, “Rola miast prywatnych w Polsce w XVI i XVII wieku,” *Przegląd Historyczny* 65 (1974): 19–45.

⁶⁰ L. Roberts, *The merchants mappe of commerce wherein, the universall manner and matter of trade, is compendiously handled*. . . (London: 1638), 164–176.

⁶¹ F. Moryson, *An itinerary vwritten by Fynes Moryson Gent. First in the Latine tongue, and then translated by him into English: containing his ten yeeres travell through the twelue dominions of Germany, Bohmerland, Sweitzerland, Netherland, Denmarke, Poland, Italy, Turkey, France, England, Scotland, and Ireland*. . . (London: 1617), vol. IV, 69–70. This quote was plagiarised 30 years later by Roberts, see Roberts, *The Merchants Mappe of Commerce*, 175–176. See also footnote no. 70.

⁶² Moryson, *An itinerary*, vol. IV, 72.

⁶³ Ibid., 183.

⁶⁴ Lithgow, *The Totall Discourse*, 224.

The author of "A Relation of the State of Polonia and the united Provinces of that Crown, Anno 1598" made an analogous observation, calling Poland "the granery and Arsenal of Europe".⁶⁵

An English merchant, Roberts, who apparently visited Poland in about 1620, echoed the remarks of both authors. His practical guide for "all gentlemen and others that travell abroad for delight or pleasure, and for all merchants or their factors" intending to conduct business in the Commonwealth, contains his own valuable observations (especially on money exchange rates and the economic situation of chief Polish cities), as well as opinions plagiarised from Moryson's book.⁶⁶

Relations by Bargrave and Mundy, who visited the Crown in the fourth decade of the seventeenth century, resemble the earlier accounts.⁶⁷

Indeed, at the time of these visits, the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth was relatively prosperous. Its economy, if represented in a simple line graph, would resemble a parabola. It rose slowly in the first half of the sixteenth century and more sharply in the latter half. The growth was halted at the end of the second decade of the seventeenth century and was followed by a decline, especially sharp from 1648 to about 1672. This regression coincided with the Second Northern War of 1655–60 and the Swedish invasion into the heartland of Poland-Lithuania and with the decreased demand for Polish cereals in Western Europe.⁶⁸ The economy stabilised and even slightly recovered in the last three decades of the seventeenth

⁶⁵ "A Relation of the State of Polonia and the united Provinces of that Crown, Anno 1598," in *Elementa ad Fontium Editiones, Vol. XIII: Res polonicae ex archivio Musaei Britannici Pars 1* (hereafter EFE), ed. C. H. Talbot. (Rome: 1965), fol. 84v.

⁶⁶ Perhaps the most blatant example of plagiarism is the inclusion of the following paragraph from *An itinerary*: "I have noted that this kingdom aboundeth with Beasts as well wilde as tame, and yeeldeth excellent horses, not great, but quicke, nimble and stirring; it aboundeth also flesh, fowle, and water fish, and in all kinde of pulse and graine; [...] it yeeldeth also in abundance, plentie of honey found in hollow trees, besides the husband-mans Hives: it yeeldeth moreover Wax, Flax and linnen clothes made threof, Hempe, Pitch of both kinds, Masts for ships, Boards and timber, rich Furres, Salt digged out of the earth, Amber, Sope-ashes, and Rie in abundance, which hath made Danzke famous throughout Europe." Apart from the opening "I have noted" the rest of the text is a word by word copy of the relation by Morrison, see Roberts, *The Merchants Mappe of Commerce*, 175–176; cf. Moryson, *Anitinerary*, vol. IV, 69–70.

⁶⁷ P. Mundy, *The travels of Peter Mundy, in Europe and Asia, 1608–1667*, 5 vols ed. Lt. Col. Sir Richard Carnac Temple (Cambridge: 1907–1936), vol. IV, 200; R. Bargrave, *The Travel Diary of Robert Bargrave: Levant Merchant (1647–1656)*, ed. M. G. Brennan, (London: 1999), 148, 150.

⁶⁸ G. D. Hundert, "The role of the Jews in commerce in early modern Polish-Lithuania," in S. Subramanam, ed., *Merchant Networks in the Earl Modern World* (Aldershot: 1996), 246–278.

century, to then continue a spiralling downturn until the 1740s. Although the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth may not have been the wealthiest state in Europe, the steady influx of foreigners into its cities, even in times of reported economic troubles (for example in the first half of the eighteenth century), demonstrates that the situation was favourable enough for those seeking betterment.⁶⁹ A further indicator of the economic situation is the fact that during the period under investigation there were relatively few revolts fuelled by poverty or extremely bad living conditions.⁷⁰

To understand the reasons behind this prosperity one needs to look at the fifteenth century. The political stability achieved by the Jagiellonians by the middle of the fifteenth century helped to increase grain production in Poland-Lithuania to a point where a surplus could be regularly obtained. Moreover, under the Jagiellonians, the entire Vistula River basin, from its source to the shores of the Baltic Sea, became united under one political rule, which helped the establishment of the so-called 'Vistula Trade'.⁷¹

These developments coincided with a shortage of grain in Western Europe in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. In the 1600s, on average, people in Western Europe were getting less to eat. The Mediterranean region, once the main exporter of grain, after about 1590 became less productive and poorer. Grain shortage was recorded not only there but also in other exporting regions such as Spain and France—where, it is estimated, half of the possible arable land was unused, while most of the peasants had hardly enough food for subsistence. This, in turn, led to sharp price rises throughout the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. During roughly the same period, Polish nobles and Bohemian gentry were rapidly improving the yield of their estates, regularly producing a surplus.⁷²

The interests of Western merchants turned eastwards into the Commonwealth and its chief port of Gdańsk, which was connected with the interior of the Crown by a complex network of waterways open to navigation, all main tributaries of the Vistula River. This network allowed for river-borne trade, which reached more than 600 kilometres inland.

⁶⁹ S. Gierszewski, *Obywatele miast Polski przedrozbiorowej: studium źródłoznawcze* (Warszawa: 1973), 68.

⁷⁰ A. Mączak, ed., *Encyklopedia historii gospodarczej Polski do 1945 roku* 2 vols (Warszawa: 1981); Cf. J. Rutkowski, *Historia gospodarcza Polski: Vol. 1, Czasy przedrozbiorowe*, 3rd ed. (Poznań: 1947).

⁷¹ N. Davies, *God's Playground: A History of Poland in Two Volumes*, vol. I, *The Origins to 1795* (Oxford: 1982), 256–260.

⁷² R. Hinton, *The Eastland Trade and the Common Wealth in the Seventeenth Century* (Hamden: 1975), 2; cf. G. Parker, *Europe in Crisis 1598–1648* (Brighton, Sussex: 1980), 38–40.

Because of its location at the mouth of the Vistula, Gdańsk became the outlet for produce from the vast Polish hinterland. The heartland of the grain supply lay in Mazovia, Kujawy, Greater Poland and Royal Prussia, with smaller and irregular contributions from Lesser Poland, Volhynia and Podolia.

In the mid sixteenth century, merchant ships chartered for Gdańsk usually made one voyage per year. For example, vessels from Lynn were clearing the British Isles in April or early May and returning home by mid August.⁷³ Scottish ships most probably followed a similar route. As a result, in the early period foreign entrepreneurs were travelling to Poland for a season and explored only the coastal provinces. The most numerous group came from the Netherlands—by 1650 some fifty Dutch firms maintained resident agents in Gdańsk. At the same time, about twenty British agents from the Eastland Company (some of them Scots) formed the core of a flourishing colony. In 1642, no fewer than 2052 vessels from all over Europe dropped their anchors at the port of Gdańsk. Understandably, grain exports rose from 23,000 tones in 1537, to 150,000 in 1563, and peaked at 270,000 tones in 1618.⁷⁴ That last figure was never repeated but the volume of trade remained substantial until the end of the Republic. Although domestic prices rose during the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, as they did in other countries, they nevertheless remained lower than in other places—for example, until 1650 grain prices in Amsterdam were usually twice as high as in Gdańsk, while a similar price difference prevailed between Gdańsk and other provinces of the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth.⁷⁵

Numerous Scottish ships were engaged in the Baltic trade from Dundee and other ports, trading into Prussia and the Crown.⁷⁶ Regular sea links were established between Gdańsk and Aberdeen as early as the beginning of the sixteenth century.⁷⁷ Many Scots, because of the commercial ties between Poland and the British Isles, even became familiar with this destination in the fifteenth century. Moreover, the sea link seemed to be the safest, shortest and thus the least expensive way of travelling to Poland.

⁷³ J. Fudge, "Maintaining a presence: Baltic enterprise and the merchants of Lynn during the reign of Henry VIII," in P. Salmon and T. Barrow, eds., *Britain and the Baltic: Studies in Commercial, Political and Cultural Relations 1500–2000* (Sunderland: 2003), 17.

⁷⁴ Davies, *God's Playground*, vol. I, 257.

⁷⁵ M. Bogucka, *Handel zagraniczny Gdańska* (Warsaw: 1970), chapter VI "Ceny i zyski," 113–115.

⁷⁶ Anderson, *Scotsmen in the Service*, v.

⁷⁷ Cieślak, *Historia Gdańska*, 2 vols (Gdańsk: 1982), vol. II, 486.

Under favourable conditions the trip could perhaps be completed in two to three weeks. On the basis of the evidence presented by Moryson, it is fair to argue that an expedition from Scotland to Poland at the end of the sixteenth century was still lengthy and thus not affordable for everyone.⁷⁸ In 1651 the trip from Aberdeen to Gdańsk via Helsingør (Elsinore) took Patrick Gordon of Auchleuchries 16 days (he left on 13/23 June and arrived on 8/18 July).⁷⁹

From the coastal provinces, and especially Gdańsk, the system of navigable rivers made the country easily accessible. Water transport was accessible not only to wealthy merchants and nobles, but also to common folk. In his diary, Gordon noted that he too used such transport “albeit longsome and irkesome” yet “cheape”.⁸⁰

Once a migration route was established, other emigrants followed. Kinship played an important role in choosing the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth as the migration destination, and also in determining where the emigrants settled once there, and even in inducing them to leave Scotland in the first place. As will be shown in subsequent chapters, there is clear evidence of both chain and cyclical migration—migration of several generations of direct and indirect descendants.

Moreover, the sources reveal that relatives frequented specific destinations. While it is relatively easy to trace the movement of migrants related on the paternal side, that is, bearing the same family name, it is far more difficult to detail connections between people related on the maternal side. The register of birth briefs of Aberdeen, containing genealogies of some of the migrants going back two or three generations and antecedents on both sides, provides much information on a lesser known part of their intricate relationships. The briefs issued to Archibald Rait of Lentushe⁸¹ and William Abercrombie reveal that they were cousins related

⁷⁸ Moryson's much shorter trip from London to the Hague in 1595 took seventeen days, although the ship spent seven days in Gravesend waiting for a favourable wind. A trip from Gravesend to Vlissingen took two days, see C. Hughes, ed., *Sheakspeare's Europe: A Survey of the Condition of Europe at the End of the XVIth Century—Being Unpublished Chapters of Fynes Moryson's 'Itinerary' (1617)*, (New York: 1967), vi.

⁷⁹ Gordon, “Diary 1635–1659,” fols 4–5.

⁸⁰ *Ibid.*, fol. 12.

⁸¹ Archibald Rait (*fl.* 1651–1714), son of Archibald and Elizabeth Abercrombie, grandson of William of Lentushe and Jeane Cruickshank, was a burgher, a merchant and Lord Mayor of Leszno. Rait was born in the parish of Rayne, Aberdeenshire. He left Scotland in 1651 and settled in Leszno, where he acquired civic rights. His birth brief recorded in the Propinquity Books of Aberdeen issued on 21 March 1676 was adorned with the coat-of-arms of the Rait of Halgrein, Abercrombie of Birkinboge, Cruickshank of Tullymorgan and

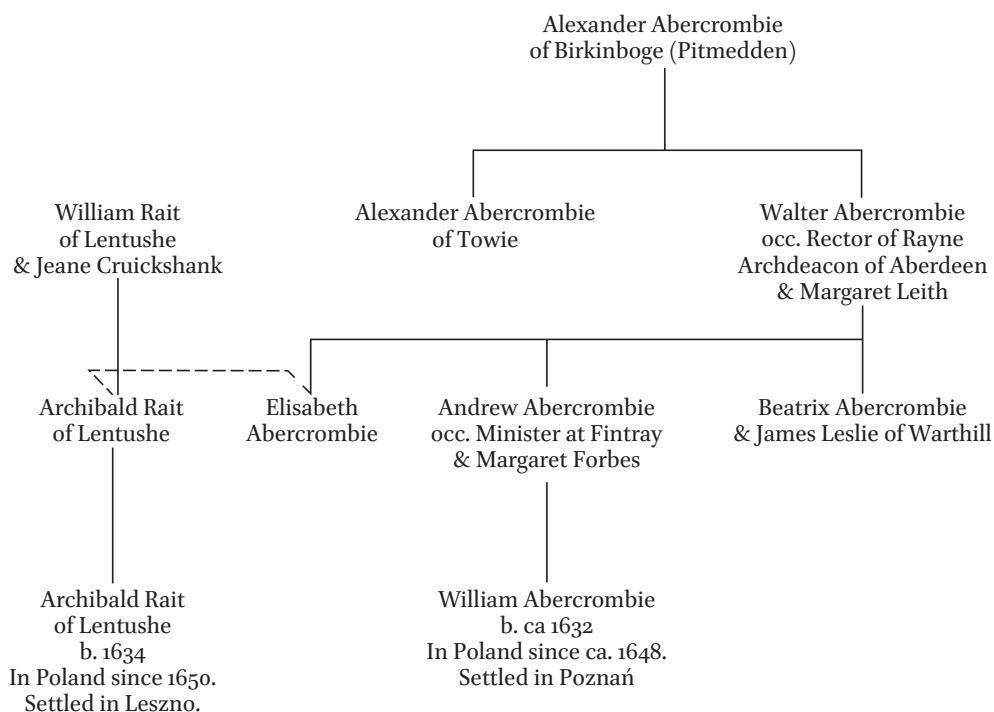


Fig. 2.1. Ancestors and relationship of Archibald Rait of Lentushe and William Abercrombie.

through Elizabeth Abercrombie, wife of Archibald Rait senior (Fig. 2.1).⁸² It is interesting to note that they migrated nearly simultaneously, between 1648 and 1650, and to the same province of the Crown—Greater Poland. Names similar to those of their other relatives, like Forbes and Leslie, appear in the records of Poznań and Leszno—the cities to which they migrated. Although at the moment it is impossible to prove beyond doubt that they were of the same stock, their family relation is at least probable. With names such as Abercrombie, Forbes, Leslie and Rait reappearing

Leith of Likliehide. Rait witnessed the *geburtsbriefe* (birth brief) of Bartholomew Burnet jnr (1674), James (Jacob) Fraser (1680) and Anna Manigel (1714). In this last document Rait was titled a *Ratsherr* (Lord Mayor), see “Birth brief issued to Archibald Rait (20 March 1676),” in MSC, 357–358; H. Harms, *Lissaer Geburtsbriefe 1639–1731* (Posen: 1940), nos. 135, 480; SEWP 181; SIG, 246; SPLC, 1013, 2902, 3651.

⁸² “Birth brief issued to William Abercrombie (1 June 1663),” in MSC, 341–342.

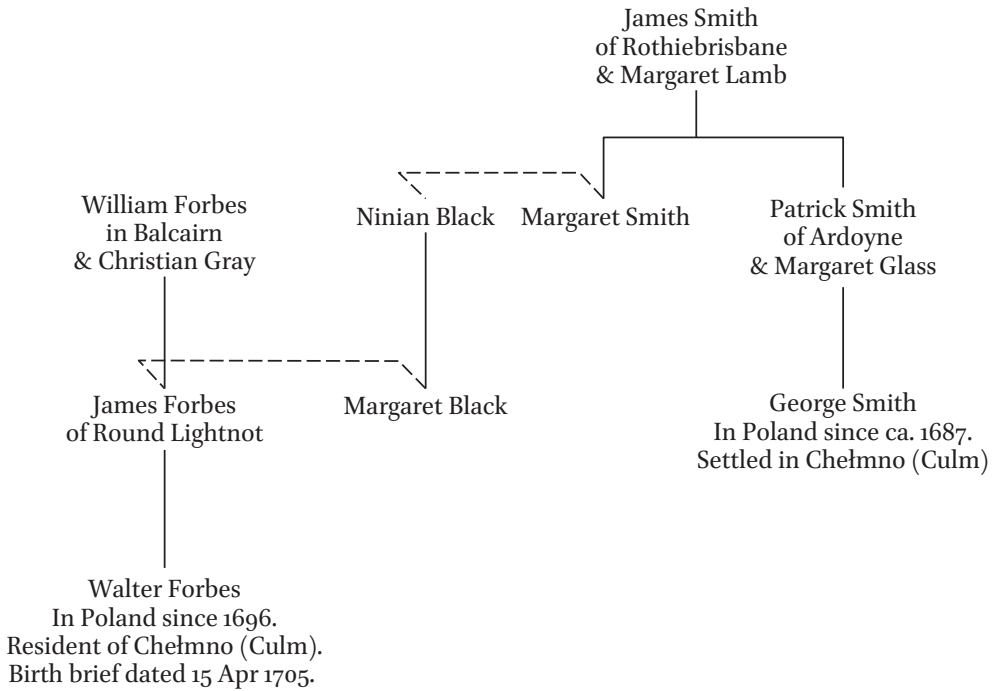


Fig. 2.2. Ancestors and relationship of Walter Forbes and George Smith.

there from the late sixteenth century, it is likely that the circle of closely related migrants was even wider.

A similar case is that of Walter Forbes and George Smith (Fig. 2.2). Smith migrated to Poland from Ardoyne in about 1687 and settled in Chełmno.⁸³ It is highly probable that he migrated there because he was related to Smiths who had resided there from at least the beginning of the seventeenth century. The church books of the local Roman Catholic parish contain information on several members of that family.⁸⁴ Forbes, first cousin once removed of George Smith, migrated to Poland in about 1696 and also settled in Chełmno.⁸⁵ His move to that location does not

⁸³ "Birth brief issued to George Smith (17 March 1687)," in MSC, 360–361.

⁸⁴ The first record dates to 1641 when Michael Smith (Smeth) son of John (Joannis) and Agnes née unknown, married Anna née unknown, see RCC Chełmno, "Liber Copulatorum 1640–1699," (hereafter LC), AFCh sig. 6, fol. 6. During the period 1667–1690, six children were born in the parish to four different couples bearing the surname Schmit, Schmitt, Szmet, Szmeth or Szmitt, see RCC Chełmno, "Liber Natorum 1667–1690," (hereafter LN), AADDT sig. W 736, fols 18a, 30, 54a, 64, 71a, 74a, 81a.

⁸⁵ "Birth brief issued to Walter Forbes (13 April 1705)," in MSC, 367.

look coincidental. The existence of similar family links and the assistance offered by the established migrants (often older brothers, nephews or cousins) to their younger relatives should be seen as one of the incentives to migrate. The existing contacts in a distant, unfamiliar country must have been of prime importance.

The emphasis on economic issues in accounts left by Lithgow, Moryson and Roberts reinforces the idea that economic factors were of prime importance to migrants from Scotland. Even if the likelihood of such written accounts reaching prospective migrants was minimal, the numerous Scottish merchants engaged in trade with the Commonwealth no doubt spread the news about this 'land of plenty' back in their homeland.

Polish-Lithuanian Society

There was yet another factor that could have made Poland-Lithuania an attractive destination for the enterprising migrants. In the Commonwealth, with the exception of Royal Prussia, where a powerful middle class existed, the commercial sector was still underdeveloped. The numbers engaged in commerce and commerce-related occupations did not exceed even 2 per cent of the total population at the turn of the sixteenth century.⁸⁶ Although in Poland-Lithuania participation in trade was regarded as degrading to a gentleman, and under penalty of losing their nobility status, nobles were prohibited from trading, this did not stop their participation. Much of the Vistula grain trade was, in effect, in the hands of nobles, though they almost invariably worked through factors, often foreigners. Such ethnic groups as Jews, Germans, Armenians, Dutch, Italians and Hungarians controlled trade to a large extent.⁸⁷ Despite that, there existed an opening for immigrants with a flair for peddling, as imported goods were expensive and sought after. Moryson noted in his *Itinerary* that despite the fact that the "...revenues of the king and gentlemen are moderate, scarce sufficient to ... exchange with [foreign] merchants for wines and spices ... and from foreign stuffs and cloths of silk and wool ..." expensive imported goods from the West were in high demand. As he most probably learnt from the English merchants in Elbląg, merchants were able to make a good profit in the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth not only because

⁸⁶ Hundert, "The role of the Jews," 249; Gierszewski, *Obywatele miast Polski*, 68.

⁸⁷ Mączak, "Od połowy XV wieku do rozbiorów," 254–262, 321–332; cf. Brander, *The Emigrant Scot*, 15.

they could buy grain there cheaply, but also because they were able to sell very profitably—"at what price they list"—commodities such as "silks of Italy, cloth of England, wine of Spain, and the very spices of India".⁸⁸ This is precisely why the headquarters of the English Eastland Company were located first in Elbląg, and later in Gdańsk. Roberts left a very interesting account of this state of affairs:

... the *Polanders* ... are observed to live content with their owne, and not by way of *Merchandising* to stir much abroad; yet are they not rich, because they want the above sayd commodities, which the proud *Gentlemen* and *Nobilitie* of these countries buy deere, and will have, though brought from farre unto them, and they are noted to have so little *Gold* and *Silver*, as despising all in respect of it, they sell the rich commodities of their countrey at a low rate, especially those which are for daily food, and thereby made unfit to bee exported.⁸⁹

Roberts also noticed an opportunity for enterprising foreign merchants, as locals, in his opinion, did not look like the most skilful of traders.⁹⁰

The opportunities for enterprising immigrants were therefore substantial. Poland-Lithuania was also open to newcomers. In contrast to Scotland and England, which in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries formed almost homogeneous societies, the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth, as can be seen from the survey of the main religions practised there, was a culturally diverse society. Alongside Poles, who made up about 40–50 per cent of the total population, Ruthenians, Lithuanians, Jews and other more prominent ethnic groups such as Germans, Balts, Armenians and Tatars who had lived there for centuries, numerous new migrants were making the Commonwealth their destination. There were also Italians, Frenchmen, Dutchmen, Magyars, Transylvanians, Czechs, Croatians, Valachians, Flemings, Walloons and Swedes.⁹¹

⁸⁸ Moryson, *An itinerary*, vol. I, 131; vol. IV, 69–70.

⁸⁹ Roberts, *The Merchants Mappe of Commerce*, 176. It should be noted that although this was primarily written by Roberts, certain parts of the text were copied directly from Moryson's account of 1593. Cf. Moryson, *Anitinerary*, vol. IV, 70.

⁹⁰ "The people themselves are not much addicted to *trafficke* into remote regions, nor to travell farre out of their owne Countries, yet in imitation of other their neighbours, they sometimes trade with their rich *Furres* into other countries, of whom I have observed some to come into *Constantinople*, rather making a ranging voyage, than comming with intent to trade and reside. Wherein they cannot be much blamed, in regard that they have in plenty all things that naturally is wanting to mankind ...", see Roberts, *The Merchants Mappe of Commerce*, 176.

⁹¹ Around 1550 ethnic Poles constituted 50 per cent of the population, while in 1650 they comprised about 40 per cent, see Kukło, "Ludność Polski," 73–74; cf. Topolski, *Dzieje Polski*, 320.

Importantly, many immigrants were able to acquire and enjoy legal autonomy. Jews were the first and the largest of such groups (their numbers grew from about 100,000 to 150,000 at the end of the sixteenth century, to about 250,000 in the middle of the seventeenth).⁹² The Royal decree—the General Charter of Jewish liberties—granted in 1264, listed a number of rights and privileges specifically targeted at this group. According to the Charter, Polish Jews received the rights to travel around the country without molestation, to engage in trade, to pursue their own religious practices, including worship in synagogues, and to Jewish burial. They were exempt from slavery and serfdom. During the Jagiellonian period, the Court regularly confirmed these privileges. In addition, in 1530 Jews were granted leave to create a Jewish Tribunal in Lublin, and in 1549 they were given the right both to assess and collect their contribution to the poll tax. Gradually, by the mid sixteenth century, they assumed the attributes of a separate and legal Estate.⁹³

The other, although much smaller group, the Armenians, acquired its autonomy in 1356. Just as in the case of the Jews, the Court recognised them as a distinct religious, cultural and legal social group, thus granting them rights to pursue their own religious practices and form a separate judicial system based on customary law.⁹⁴

A relatively open access to citizenship meant that the immigrants had a strong presence in large urban areas such as Cracow, Poznań or the multi-ethnic Gdańsk. The names of foreigners who were granted citizenship and became burghers of Cracow begin to appear on the lists of settlers from the late fourteenth century. They were not only able to receive citizenship

⁹² Ihnatowicz, *Spółeczeństwo Polski*, 321; cf. M. Horn, *Powinności wojenne Żydów w Rzeczypospolitej w XVI i XVII wieku* (Warszawa: 1978); cf. B. Weinryb, *The Jews of Poland: A Social and Economic History of the Jewish Community in Poland from 1100–1800*, (Philadelphia: 1976); cf. J. Muszyńska, “The urbanised Jewry of the Sandomierz and Lublin Provinces in the 18th century: A study in the settlement of population,” *Studia Judaica* 2, no. 4 (1999): 223–239; cf. A. Zamoyski, *The Polish Way: A Thousand-Year History of The Poles and Their Culture* (London: 1987), 106.

⁹³ J. Goldberg, ed., *Jewish privileges in the Polish commonwealth: Charters of rights granted to Jewish communities in Poland-Lithuania in the sixteenth to eighteenth centuries: critical edition of original Latin and Polish documents with English introductions and notes* (Jerusalem: 1985); Weinryb, *The Jews of Poland*, 3–32.

⁹⁴ M. Zakrzewska-Dubasowa, *Ormianie w dawnej Polsce* (Lublin: 1982); cf. A. Mączak, “Grupy etniczno prawne,” in I. Ihnatowicz et al., eds., *Spółeczeństwo polskie od X do XX wieku* (Warszawa: 1999), 328–330.

but also to rise to patrician status. Among Cracow's patricians one could find names of newcomers from many parts of Europe.⁹⁵

This meant that the immigrants from Scotland would not find themselves the only strangers in the Polish landscape. Gordon's diaries reveal that Scots like himself often travelled in the company of other foreigners, such as the Dutch. Even if the dominant languages of Poland-Lithuania were not the easiest for the Scottish immigrants to master, the fact that Latin and German were widely spoken may have made any communication that much easier. Daniel Defoe, a visitor to Poland in the early eighteenth century, reported that "A man, who can speak Latin, may travel from one end of Poland to another as familiarly as if he was born in the country."⁹⁶ Although it is highly unlikely that most Scottish immigrants could communicate in Latin, this language or German were certainly much easier to acquire for a Scot or an Englishman than Polish or Ruthenian. As Gordon noted in his diary, he had a big problem overcoming the language barrier and "was troubled with questions" he did not understand. But with a little knowledge of "Dutch" (that is German)—he had "written downe some words necessary for askeing the way, victualls, and such like"—and Latin, which he acquired at the Jesuit College at Braniewo, he was able to communicate well enough to find companions for his trips, and ask for directions.⁹⁷

The presence of a variety of ethnic groups, religions, and languages influenced the way Poles viewed foreigners and helped integration. Gordon observed in his diary that foreigners—military men, merchants, or traders—who migrated to the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth, in general had a very good reputation. He commented that Scots' relationship with Poles, and especially the nobility, was in general very good. The peasants and, more important, the nobility living far away from the municipal centres, most certainly enjoyed the services provided by Scottish peddlers: bringing goods to their doorsteps, lending money, selling on credit, or acting for them as third parties in financial transactions. If the actions and laws of native merchants and tradesmen did not work, it

⁹⁵ For example, from Alsace: Betman, Szylig (Schilling) and Boner; from Bavaria: Fukker (Fugger), Gutteter; from Switzerland: Fogelweder; from Bohemia: Cyrus, Dangel; from Hungary: Turzon; from Italy: Soderini, Montelupi, Cellari, Gucci; from France: Aubert; from Belgium: Blank; from Luxemburg: Szembek (Schoenbeck de Standell); from Saxony; Sweden; and Denmark. See S. Kutrzeba and J. Ptaśnik, "Dzieje handlu i kupiectwa krakowskiego." *Rocznik Krakowski* 14 (1911): 65–126.

⁹⁶ D. Defoe, *The Complete English Gentleman*, ed. K. D. Bulbring (London: 1890), 114.

⁹⁷ Gordon, "Diary 1635–1659," fol. 5v.

was largely because they lacked the support of the nobility, who, as it has been shown, had a vested interest in keeping the status quo. Remarks by Spytek Wawrzyniec Jordan show that the respect accorded military men was even higher.⁹⁸ Scottish mercenaries' willingness to fight, their bravery and professionalism, it seems, were well known and favourably viewed by the nobility. Thus Gordon described Poland as a country where any man could, by his own work, make his mark or fortune and "where no scruple was shown or difference was shown betwixt natives and strangers".⁹⁹ If they were well qualified, skilled and professional, as Gordon observed, foreigners in Poland were able to make financial gains, but also improve their social standing, gain offices and honours. They were also easily accepted into the Polish society. In contrast, remarking on his stay in Russia where he suffered the contempt usually shown towards foreign mercenaries, he wrote: "I perceived strangers to be looked upon as a company of hirelings and at the best (as they say of women) but *necessaria mala* (Latin: a necessary evil)."¹⁰⁰ While in the Commonwealth, a foreigner of noble birth would not have any problems marrying a Polish noblewoman; in Muscovy, by contrast he would first have to convert to the Orthodox religion.¹⁰¹

The Commonwealth's Army from the Sixteenth to the Eighteenth Centuries

Poland-Lithuania offered opportunities particularly for soldiers of fortune, as the Commonwealth at that time was in a state of almost continuous warfare. Furthermore, the Polish Army consisted mainly of cavalry units, and its commanders were trying to recruit mercenaries for the infantry.¹⁰²

⁹⁸ A. Biegańska, "Żołnierze szkodcy w dawnej Rzeczypospolitej," *Studia i Materiały do Historii Wojsk* 27 (1984): 83; cf. W. Borowy, *Scots in Old Poland* (Edinburgh-London: 1941); idem, "Anglicy, Szkoci i Irlandczycy w wojsku polskim za Zygmunta III," in H. Barycz and J. Hulewicz, eds., *Studia z dziejów kultury polskiej* (Warszawa: 1949), 293–313; R. Brzeziński, *Polish Armies 1569–1696* (London: 1987); idem, "British Mercenaries in the Baltic 1560–1683," *Military Illustrated: Past and Present* 4 (1986–87): 17–23.

⁹⁹ Gordon, "Diary 1659–1667," fol. 129v.

¹⁰⁰ Because of the negative representation of the Russians, this part of the diary has been censored in the past. Its edited versions appeared in the subsequent publications by Obolenski and Posselt, and later by Robertson. See Gordon, "Diary 1659–1667," fols 130–130v; cf. Paul Dukes, "Problems concerning the departure of Scottish soldiers from seventeenth-century Muscovy," in T. C. Smout, ed., *Scotland and Europe 1200–1850* (Edinburgh: 1986), 143; idem, *Patrick Gordon's Diary*, 17.

¹⁰¹ D. Fedosov, "The First Russian Brutes," in G. G. Simpson, ed., *The Scottish Soldier Abroad, 1247–1994* (Edinburgh: 1992), 63.

¹⁰² This shortcoming of the Polish Army was noticed by Moryson: "... strong Cities haue no cause to feare the Polonians, having no strong body of Footmen to force them. For

Foreign *autoramenty* (Polish: contingents) comprising “mercenary strangers, commonly Germans, Hungarians, and Slauonians” levied “by the drum” and organised on the Western model, were established, but the Polish Court was constantly looking for new men.¹⁰³

The Scottish foot soldiers enjoyed a favourable reputation and their services were highly valued and sought after, as can be seen from Ossoliński’s and other similar diplomatic missions. For example, in 1635 Władysław IV King of Poland was trying to raise 14,000 infantry in England and Scotland for the Polish navy, but those plans were realised only to a small extent, due to Swedish intervention.¹⁰⁴ Even if such missions fell far short of expectations in terms of the numbers recruited, they signalled that Poland-Lithuania was a player in the mercenary market, which undoubtedly encouraged individual Scots to seek employment there, as the presence of Scots officers in the state armies and in private forces testifies.¹⁰⁵

It should be noted that while the wars attracted soldiers of fortune, they did not discourage other migrants from arriving. This was mainly due to the fact that only occasionally did the struggles continuing along Poland’s eastern frontier spill over into the Crown to become part of the more generalised conflicts such as the Thirty Years’ War (1618–48) and the Second Northern War (1655–60).¹⁰⁶

Religious Freedom in Poland-Lithuania from the Sixteenth to the Eighteenth Centuries

Apart from favourable economic conditions, Poland-Lithuania was also one of the few states in Europe where religious freedom was largely respected, where there were no religious wars, forced conversions, *autos-da-fé* or religiously inspired massacres, as in France or Ireland.¹⁰⁷ This was largely due to the declaration of the Confederation of Warsaw of 28

those that dwell in the Cityes of Poland, are Merchants and Tradesmen, both enemyes to Warr, and the Country people are all slaues, a generation not capable of military glory. And of these should the bands of Foote consist”, see Moryson, *An itinerary*, vol. II, 83.

¹⁰³ Ibid.

¹⁰⁴ Biegańska, “Żołnierze szkoccy,” 96.

¹⁰⁵ For the most comprehensive list of Scottish officers in the Polish service, see Appendix XIII.

¹⁰⁶ Brzeziński, *British Mercenaries*, part 1, 17.

¹⁰⁷ Davies, *God’s Playground*, vol. I, 200.

January 1573, which governed the principles of religious life in the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth for more than two hundred years.¹⁰⁸

The law proclaiming religious toleration encompassed not just the two or three most prevalent religions strong enough to fight for their rights in armed conflict while other, smaller groups were being persecuted, as was the case in some western countries. It was an act that proclaimed toleration for all Christians. Although it did not encompass all religions, in practice Jews, Muslims and Karaites were also tolerated. The author of the anonymous account "Relation of the State of Polonia and the United Provinces of the Crown Anno 1598" observed:

Religion in thys lande is manifold, bothe for manyfest opposition and diversity of sects ... besydes the wonderfull nombers of heretikes... [there are those who follow]... Turcisme... Mahumet... and Judaisme... The Christians are subdevided into the Latyne and orientall Church. Thys latter into the Greek and the Armenian. The Latyn into suche as have publike churches and those which eyther communicate in Conventicles, or privately mainteyn, and propagate theire opinions. Those which have publike churches are the Papistes, Calvinistes and Lutheranes... In theise contreyes are also greate stoare of Anabaptistes, Osiandristes, Ebionites, and of all sortes of Antitrinitaries.¹⁰⁹

This phenomenon of reconciliation and toleration deserves a brief explanation. Throughout the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, Roman Catholics formed the largest single religious group, yet accounted for only about half the total population. While in western Europe the ecclesiastical authority of Rome was virtually unchallenged until Luther, the Church in Poland had never enjoyed a monopoly. Since Poland's formal conversion to Christianity in 966, it had been plagued by paganism, schisms and dissent. Later, from the fourteenth century onwards, its position was weakened by the introduction of other religions.¹¹⁰ At the time of the 1386 union with

¹⁰⁸ "Whereas in our Common Wealth there is no small disagreement in the matter of the Christian faith, and in order to prevent that any harmful contention should arise from this, as we see clearly taking place in other kingdoms, we swear to each other, in our name and in that of our descendants for ever more, on our honour, our faith, our love and our consciences, that albeit we are dissidentes in religione, we will keep the peace among ourselves, and that we will not, for the sake of our various faith and difference of church, either shed blood or confiscate property, deny favour, imprison or banish, and that furthermore we will not aid or abet any power or office which strives to this in any way whatsoever..." cited in A. Zamoyski, *The Polish Way: A Thousand-Year History of The Poles and Their Culture* (London: 1987), 90–91.

¹⁰⁹ "A Relation of the State of Polonia," fols 42–43.

¹¹⁰ The best and most recent English language synthesis of religious practices in early-modern Poland is given in Davies, *God's Playground*, vol. I, 159–200.

Lithuania, as a consequence of which the pagan Lithuanians converted to Catholicism, the majority Ruthenian population of the Grand Duchy was Orthodox,¹¹¹ and it contained a large number of religious minorities, including Armenian Christians,¹¹² Jews,¹¹³ Muslims¹¹⁴ and Karaites.¹¹⁵

As the author of the "A Relation of the State of Polonia" mentioned, apart from them, there was a whole assortment of Protestant groups. The ecclesiastical abuses within the Roman Catholic Church that sparked a movement for the reform in Western Europe were also responsible for its outbreak in Poland-Lithuania. Yet, despite discontent the Reformation had only a limited effect in the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth, as the main strains of the Protestant thought—Lutheranism, Calvinism and Antitrinitarianism—either did not manage to attract or maintain enough support in the native population.¹¹⁶

¹¹¹ The Orthodox community represented the dominant element in Red Ruthenia (annexed in 1340) and in the Grand Duchy of Lithuania has been best described in K. Chodynicki, *Kościół prawosławny a Rzeczpospolita Polska: Zarys historyczny, 1370–1632* (Warszawa: 1934). Cf. Davies, *God's Playground*, vol. I, 172–177.

¹¹² Interesting accounts of the Armenian Church are given in Mączak, "Grupy etniczno prawne," 328–330; cf. Zakrzewska-Dubasowa, *Ormianie w dawnej Polsce*.

¹¹³ Weinryb, *The Jews of Poland*, 119–156; B. Rok, "Mniejszości narodowe i religijne w Rzeczypospolitej w czasach saskich. Stan badań i postulaty badawcze," in K. Stasiewicz and S. Achremczyk, eds., *Między barokiem a oświeceniem. Nowe spojrzenie na czasy saskie* (Olsztyn: 1996), 71–84; A. Polonsky, J. Basista and A. Link-Lenczowski, eds., *The Jews in Old Poland 1000–1795* (London: 1993).

¹¹⁴ The Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth's Muslims, found mainly in Tatar settlements on the western precincts of the Grand Duchy of Lithuania are the subject of the following analysis: L. Bohdanowicz, "The Muslim in Poland," *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society* (1942): 163–180.

¹¹⁵ The Karaites have been best described in S. Gąsiorowski, *Karaimi w Koronie i na Litwie w XV–XVIII wieku* (Kraków: 2008); cf. G. Pełczyński, *Karaimi Polscy* (Poznań: 2004).

¹¹⁶ The main works dedicated to the history of Protestantism in Europe contain very little information about the developments in Poland-Lithuania and, as Tazbir observed, it is usually derived from outdated accounts. Among such publications the most often cited include: W. Krasieński, *Historical Sketch of the Rise, Progress and Decline of the Reformation in Poland*, 2 vols (London: 1838–1840); P. Fox, *The Reformation in Poland: Some Social and Economic Aspects* (Baltimore: 1924); and K. Völker, *Geschichte der Reformation in Polen* (Leipzig: 1911). Likewise, historians as yet have not managed to produce a comprehensive description of the Polish Reformation. Not much has been written about the role of foreign ethnic groups, such as Scots, in contributing to the growth and spread of the Reformation in the territories of Poland-Lithuania. The more interesting accounts reflecting the state of the current research into the history of Reformation in Poland include: A. Brückner, *Różnowiercy polscy: szkice obyczajowe i literackie* (Warszawa: 1962); W. Gastpary, *Historia protestantyzmu w Polsce od połowy XVIII w. do I wojny światowej* (Warszawa: 1977); N. Hans, "Polish Protestants and their connections with England and Holland in the 17th and 18th centuries," *The Slavonic and Eastern European Review* XXXVII (1958–59): 196–220; M. Kosman, *Protestanci i kontrreformacja. Z dziejów tolerancji w Rzeczypospolitej XVI–XVIII w.* (Wrocław: 1978); W. Kriegerseisen, *Evangelicy polscy i litewscy w epoce saskiej (1696–1763). Sytuacja prawna, organizacja i stosunki międzywyznaniowe* (Warszawa: 1996); S. Salomonowicz,

The Lutheran Reformation arrived in Poland-Lithuania through adjacent Germany and spread rapidly in the provinces with larger German-speaking populations, that is in towns and cities of Greater Poland and in Royal Prussia, especially in Gdańsk, Elbląg and Toruń. Its greatest impact was in Ducal Prussia, which, prior to the Reformation, was under the control of the Roman Catholic Teutonic Order. The recruitment crisis that started with the conversion of Lithuania to Catholicism, and continued after the conversion of large parts of northern and western Germany to Lutheranism, had weakened the order to such an extent that in 1525 Ducal Prussia was turned into a secular fief of Poland and its inhabitants were officially allowed to accept the Lutheran faith. Königsberg, the capital of the territory, became an important centre of Lutheran teaching.¹¹⁷ Lutheranism did not attract Polish gentry or townsmen as the community remained predominantly German-speaking and used their language in their churches and schools. It spread for a while in Lithuania; however, under the influence and patronage of the Radziwiłł family, Calvinism steadily replaced it.¹¹⁸ As elsewhere, the group that remained loyal to the Lutheran Church consisted mainly of ethnic Germans, and was largely confined to Royal and Ducal Prussia, Livonia and Courland. In other provinces the creed was restricted to cities with larger Germanic populations.¹¹⁹

In contrast, a large part of the nobility embraced the ideas of Calvin, among them a number of magnates who were able successfully to represent

"O sytuacji prawnej protestantów w Polsce (XVI–XVIII w.)," *Czasopismo Prawno-Historyczne* XXVI, no. 1 (1979): 159–173; J. Tazbir, *A State without Stakes. Polish Religious Toleration in the Sixteenth and the Seventeenth Centuries* (New York: 1973); idem, *Dzieje polskiej tolerancji* (Warsaw: 1973); idem, "The fate of Polish Protestantism in the seventeenth century," in J. K. Fedorowicz, ed., *A Republic of Nobles* (Cambridge: 1982); idem, *Reformacja w Polsce: Szkice o ludziach i doktrynie* (Warsaw: 1993); W. Urban, *Epizod reformacyjny* (Kraków: 1988). The spread of the Reformation in the Grand Duchy of Lithuania has been a subject of recent works by M. Kosman, *Litewska Jednota Ewangelicko-Reformowana od połowy XVII w. do 1939 r.* (Opole: 1986); idem, "Rola Radziwiłłów w ruchu kalwińskim na Litwie," *Miscellanea historico-archivistica* 3(1989): 121–139; J. Stahl, "Zarys historii Kościoła Ewangelicko-Reformowanego w Polsce," *Jednota* 7–8 (1973): 9–17; S. Tworek, "Materiały do dziejów kalwinizmu w Wielkim Księstwie Litewskim w XVII wieku," *Odrodzenie i reformacja w Polsce* XIV (1969): 199–215; idem, "Z dziejów kalwinizmu w Wielkim Księstwie Litewskim w XVIII w.," *Annales UMC-S XXI, Sectio F* (1966): 193–211; idem, "Z zagadnień liczebności zborów kalwińskich," *Odrodzenie i Reformacja w Polsce* 17 (1972): 213–214.

¹¹⁷ Davies, *God's Playground*, vol. I, 143; Tazbir, "The fate of Polish Protestantism," 198.

¹¹⁸ S. Górczyński, "Rodzina Radziwiłłów i ich tytuły," in S. Górczyński et al., eds., *Radziwiłłowie herbu Trąby* (Warszawa: 1996), 45–50; P. P. Bajer, "Rijkdom, invloed en prestige: En korte geschiedenis van de familie-Radziwiłł," trans. B. Wiskie, *Oost Europa Verkenningen* 162 (2000): 39–53.

¹¹⁹ Kriegeisen, *Ewangelicy polscy i litewscy*, 116–117.

the interests of this minority group in the *Sejm* and the Senate.¹²⁰ However, in 1565 the Polish Calvinist church was weakened by a schism. The Polish Brethren (also known as Antitrinitarians, Arians, Socinians or Unitarians) broke all ties with the Calvinists. They rejected the doctrine of the Trinity and the divinity of Christ, claimed the absolute right of free thought, and later established a celebrated commune in Raków. There, the Socinians withdrew completely from society at large. They denied all allegiance to the state, abolished the distinctions of rank and estate, observed the rules of manual labour, common property, absolute equality and pacifism. They were the only sect excluded from the terms of the Warsaw Confederation and were finally expelled in 1658. At the same time, because of their very high German population, many cities of the Republic harboured a number of specifically German sects: Anabaptists from Münster were to be found in Gdańsk, Elbląg, Braniewo and Kwidzyń; while Schwenkfeldians (a Quaker-like sect founded by Caspar von Schwenkfeld of Ossig in Silesia) took refuge in Greater Poland.¹²¹

By the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, the people of the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth, it seems, were accustomed to living alongside other religious groups. Unlike in other Western countries, the Roman Catholic hierarchy during the Counter-Reformation did not possess enough support from either the King or the *Sejm* to force its counter-offensive against Protestantism and Orthodoxy. The established Church could not use the state institutions to impose their will even during the period of the Vasa monarchs who used their patronage powers to favour Roman Catholicism. Furthermore, some features normally associated with the Counter-Reformation elsewhere, namely inquisitorial methods or executions, were opposed by the authorities of the Catholic Church in Poland-Lithuania.¹²² Nevertheless, church authorities fought tirelessly after the Council of Trent to undermine the position of other Christian religions. Since neither the Church nor the state had the power to prevent

¹²⁰ Ibid.; cf. Hans, "The Polish Protestants," 196–200.

¹²¹ H. Gmiterek, *Bracia czescy a kalwini w Rzeczypospolitej. Połowa XVI—połowa XVII wieku. Studium porównawcze* (Lublin: 1987); S. Kot, *Socinianism in Poland: The Social and Political Ideas of the Polish Anti-trinitarians in the Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries* (Boston: 1957); cf. J. Tazbir, *Arianie i katolicy* (Warszawa: 1971); cf. H. Wisner, *Rozróżnienia w wierze. Szkice z dziejów Rzeczypospolitej schyłku XVI i połowy XVII wieku* (Warszawa: 1982); cf. W. Weintraub, "Tolerance and Intolerance in Old Poland," *Canadian Slavonic Papers* 13 (1971): 21–43.

¹²² One of the greatest champions of the Counter-Reformation in the Commonwealth, Cardinal Stanisław Hosius, referring to "Bloody" Mary warned in 1571: "Let Poland never become like England", see Zamoyski, *The Polish Way*, 89.

magnates harbouring dissidents in their estates, in their private towns and cities, the Church authorities decided on persuasion and on education. If there were conflicts between different religious groups—Catholic and Protestants, or Christians and Jews—before the mid seventeenth century they were sporadic and rarely violent. Even after 1650, the Confederation of Warsaw was undermined more by wartime tensions than by a deliberate change of policy.¹²³ This was in contrast to the situation in Scotland.

The relatively favourable conditions extended to nonconformists were not necessarily the result of altruism on the part of the nobility. The -gentry, it seems, were well aware of the political considerations: to persecute would have been to strengthen the power of the monarch and the state, and they appreciated the economic benefits of bringing enterprising merchants and artisans to their estates, regardless of the immigrants' creed. The letters of Krzysztof Radziwiłł reveal that the magnates often competed to lure Protestant settlers into their estates. Radziwiłł himself was trying to recruit Scots from the Netherlands to Kiejdany, a town in his estate.¹²⁴

Scots were certainly aware of and impressed by this favourable situation. Eleazar Gilbert in his book *Nevves from Poland* marvelled, for example, at the religious freedom in Wilno:

There be also therein many Religions professed and tolerated, where-unto also belong many Churches and places of Divine worship, as a Synagogue to the Jewes, whereof there be many thousands in that City; a Ruthenian Church to the Russians, a Mahumetan Church to the Tartarians; a Church to the Lutherans; all which doe enjoy their exercises of Religion without trouble or interruption.¹²⁵

Hostility between Catholics and Protestants certainly existed, yet despite the problems Protestant communities had to face, the freedom of religion offered the immigrants an opportunity to practise their faith largely without fear of being persecuted or ostracised. Given the spirit of legality and

¹²³ Davies, *God's Playground*, vol. I, 166–172.

¹²⁴ Much competition existed apparently between Krzysztof Radziwiłł and Rafał Leszczyński. The latter took the financial burden of assisting religious refugees from abroad to migrate to Włodawa, a town on his estate and since the end of the sixteenth century, an important Calvinist centre. See U. Augustyniak, *Dwór i klientela Krzysztofa Radziwiłła (1585–1640): Mechanizmy patronatu* (Warszawa: 2001), 61.

¹²⁵ E. Gilbert, *Nevves from Poland wherein is declared the cruell practice of the popish clergie against the Protestants, and in particular against the ministers of the city of Vilna, in the great dukedome of Lithuania, under the governement of the most illustrious prince, Duke Radziwiłł / faithfully set downe by Eleazar Gilbert...* (London: 1641), 7.

humanism pervading Polish society, even during the Counter-Reformation, Scottish Protestants did not have to fear inquisition, anthemas, religious terrorism or confiscation of property. The patronage of magnate families towards religious dissidents must be also considered as one of the incentives for migration. Many Scottish migrants may have been aware of these conditions from the accounts of Scottish travellers to Poland who commented on the religious freedoms enjoyed by its inhabitants.

For all these reasons, from the sixteenth century onwards Scotland began to “send forth swarms” of migrants, of whom “great numbers did haunt Pole [Poland]”.¹²⁶

¹²⁶ Sir William Alexander, *An Encouragement to Colonise* (1624), quoted in Anderson, *Scotsmen in the Service*, 1.

CHAPTER THREE

THE INFLUX: THE SCALE OF MIGRATION OF SCOTS TO THE POLISH-LITHUANIAN COMMONWEALTH

One of the more debated topics in relation to the Scottish migration to Poland-Lithuania is its size. In spite of this, the figures suggested by contemporaries and by modern historians are often subjective and based on guesswork. To form a more accurate picture of the demographic situation and the chronology of the migration it is important first to acknowledge the gaps in the literature and, second, to investigate and reinterpret a variety of primary documents, including a critical but thus far largely overlooked source—parish records.

The first visitors from Scotland appeared in the Polish territories as early as the fourteenth century; however, their visits did not extend beyond the time necessary to conduct commercial transactions. It seems that only in the second half of the sixteenth century did a larger number of Scottish merchants settle in Gdańsk.¹ This settlement coincided with the growth of commercial contacts between Scotland and the Kingdom of Poland. At that time, Scottish goods constituted around 10 per cent of the total imports to Gdańsk.² By the first half of the seventeenth century the number of Scottish ships visiting Gdańsk harbour seems to have increased.³ Especially numerous were skippers from Aberdeen and Dundee.⁴ Along with them came the first waves of immigrants. From Gdańsk they moved on to other towns of the coastal provinces of the Polish Kingdom: Royal Prussia and Poland's vassal, Ducal Prussia; as well as other Baltic ports.⁵ In Royal Prussia the first edict against wandering Scottish peddlers was issued

¹ S. Gierszewski, *Obywatele miast Polski przedrozbiorowej: studium źródłoznawcze* (Warszawa: 1973), 49–60; H. Penners-Ellwart, *Die Danziger Bürgerschaft nach Herkunft und Beruf 1536–1709* (Marburg/Lahn: 1954), 155–156; Cf. Figure 4—"Grants of citizenship in Cracow, Gdańsk, Poznań and Lwów 1550s–1710s."

² M. Bogucka, "Scots in Gdańsk (Danzig) in the Seventeenth Century," in A. I. Macinnes, T. Riis and F. Pedersen, eds., *Ships, Guns and Bibles in the North Sea and Baltic States, c. 1350–c. 1700* (East Lothian: 2000), 40.

³ M. Bogucka, *Handel zagraniczny Gdańska* (Warsaw: 1970), 68.

⁴ Penners-Ellwart, *Die Danziger Bürgerschaft*, 156.

⁵ S. Gierszewski, "Szkoci w mniejszych miastach Pomorza Gdańskiego (XVI–XVIII w.)," *Zeszyty Naukowe WSP im. Powstańców Śląskich w Opolu, Historia* 26 (1988): 49–58.

in 1537. The migration at this point must have been already well advanced to warrant such measures. The act of 1537 was again promulgated in 1551, 1556 and 1580,⁶ which may indicate that it was ineffective. In Ducal Prussia Scots were also the subject of legal measures very early—for example, in 1588 Margrave Albrecht of Brandenburg, Duke of Prussia, issued an order prohibiting Scottish ‘vagabonds’ from travelling around the country.⁷ It seems that immigrants moved southwards and eastwards following the trade routes, from the coast to localities situated on main roads and rivers, and later to smaller municipalities, thus gradually exploring the whole Commonwealth (Map 3).

The records of the 1651 Polish Subsidy to Charles II indicate that by then more numerous Scottish colonies existed in the Crown, in large centres and a number of smaller townships. Although the available data is not conclusive, the register suggests that Scots showed a preference for settling in the royal towns—75 out of 120 locations in which Scots had settled belonged to the Crown; but many became residents in private towns, in the *latifundia* of the aristocracy (34 locations), or in monastic properties (11 locations). Thus about 68.1 per cent of Scots (324 people) were found in the royal towns, 25.6 per cent (122 people) in private towns belonging to individual wealthy nobles, and 6.3 per cent (30 people) in ecclesiastical estates. The document also shows that the majority of Scots settled in smaller towns and settlements, as 64 per cent (305 individuals) resided in such localities, and the remaining 36 per cent (171 individuals) lived in large municipalities, that is Gdańsk, Poznań, Warsaw, Cracow, Lublin and Zamość. Bigger Scottish colonies existed also in Brzeziny, Bydgoszcz, Ostróg, Raciąż, Sieradz, Sierpc, Tuchola and Zakroczym.⁸ Scots were reportedly detected also in another 400 localities in the Polish Crown.⁹

⁶ “Confirmation of an edict made with reference to Scots merchants and traders in Prussian territory” (29 January 1580) and “Confirmation of an edict made with reference to Scots and Jews in Prussian territory” (29 January 1580), quoted in PRSP, 92–100; Z. Guldón and L. Stępkowski, “Ludność szkocka i angielska w Polsce w połowie XVII wieku,” *Kwartalnik Historii Kultury Materialnej* 2 (1982): 203; idem, “Szkoci i Anglicy w Koronie w połowie XVII wieku,” *Kieleckie Studia Historyczne* (1977): 32.

⁷ SIG, 36.

⁸ *Exactio decimae partis substantiarum a mercatoribus cateris/q/ue nationis Scothiae et Anglicanae hominibus in Regno Poloniae degentibus iuxta ordinationem constitutionis comitalis die mensis Decembris 1650 pro subsidio serenissimi magnae Britanniae regis laudatae. Expedita Radomii sub tempus tribunalis die 13 mensis Martii anno 1651*, see ASK I, MS 134, fols 1–39. The document was transcribed by A. B. Pernal, and R. Gasse, “The 1651 Polish subsidy to the Exiled Charles II,” *Oxford Slavonic Papers*, vol. XXXII (1999): 1–50; cf. A. Biegańska, “A note on the Scots in Poland, 1550–1800,” in T. C. Smout, ed., *Scotland and the Sea* (Edinburgh: 1992), 157–165; Guldón and Stępkowski, “Szkoci i Anglicy w Koronie,” 35–36.

⁹ Biegańska, “A Note on the Scots,” 157–165.

Although the migratory movement directly from Scotland via the Baltic Sea appears to be most widespread, genealogies of some of the Scottish families in the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth reveal that some of them came by land. There could also have been an overland migration from Pomerania, where some Scots settled in around 1520–1560.¹⁰ Since there was conflict between the local merchants and immigrants, which resulted in legal measures against the Scots, and as Scottish Protestantism reflected more the views of Calvin, which were not tolerated in Pomerania, it is possible that some of those migrants moved eastwards into Prussia, and later to other regions of the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth.¹¹ A similar effect could also have been produced by the downfall of the Hanseatic League in the sixteenth century, which impacted negatively on the economy of cities of northern Germany and Pomerania.¹²

There is little consensus among twentieth-century historians on the size of the Scottish presence in the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth. Various discussions have failed to produce conclusive findings, apart from identifying faults in the methodology used in the past to establish numbers, and gaps in evidence.¹³

Fischer, who approached the issue first, believed that at one time the number of Scots in Poland-Lithuania 'must have exceeded by far

¹⁰ Russel family, ennobled 1593, reportedly came through Germany, see Z. Wdowiszewski, "Regesty nobilitacji w Polsce (1404–1794)," in *Materiały do biografii, genealogii i heraldyki polskiej*, vol. IX (Buenos Aires: 1987), 47; S. Uruski, *Rodzina: Herbarz szlachty polskiej*, 15 vols (Warszawa: 1904–1938), vol. XV, 312 (Rusel, Ruszel); A. Wajs, idem, *Materiały genealogiczne, nobilitacje, indygenaty w zbiorach Archiwum Głównego Akt Dawnych w Warszawie* (Warszawa: 1995), 104. The names of several immigrants who came from Italy appear in "Confessions of the Scots; Scottish pilgrims at Breslau" (circa 1470), quoted in SIG, 241–242. The Mier family, naturalised in 1726, came most certainly through Sweden, see Z. Wdowiszewski, "Regesty przywilejów indygenatu w Polsce (1519–1793)," in *Materiały do biografii, genealogii i heraldyki polskiej*, vol. V (Buenos Aires: 1971), 48; Konarski, *Szlachta kalwińska w Polsce*, 193; Uruski, *Rodzina*, vol. XI, 17; T. Żychliński, ed., *Złota księga szlachty polskiej*, 31 vols (Poznań: 1879–1908), vol. XXI, 139–142. Several examples of migration from Pomerania were given by Sembrzycki, see J. Sembrzycki, "Die Schotten und Engländer in Ostpreussen und die 'Brüderschaft Gross-Britannischer Nation' in Königsberg," *Altpreussische Monatsschrift*, Bd. XXIX (1892): 228–247, Bd. XXX (1893): 19; cf. I. von Wechmar and R. Biderstedt, "Die Schottische Einwanderung in Vorpommern im XVI. und frühen XVII. Jahrhundert," *Greifswalder Stralsunder Jahrbuch* 5 (1965): 10.

¹¹ von Wechmar and Biderstedt, "Die Schottische Einwanderung," 10–12.

¹² Sęczys, "Szkoci w Polsce XV–XVI wiek," 25.

¹³ A. Biegańska, "Wielka emigracja Szkotów w Polsce druga połowa XVI—koniec XVII wieku," (PhD Thesis, Uniwersytet Śląski, Katowice, 1974), 37–38; Guldon and Stępkowski, "Ludność szkocka i angielska," 203; idem, "Szkoci i Anglicy w Koronie," 31–61; C. Jeśman, "Szkockie gwardie w służbie Rzeczypospolitej," in *Dziennik Polski* 33, no. 44 (1972): 3; PRSP, xii; R. Rybarski, *Handel i polityka handlowa Polski w XVI stuleciu* (Warszawa: 1958), 228; S. Seliga and L. Koczy, *Scotland and Poland, a Chapter of Forgotten History* (Dundee: 1969), 1–16; SEWP, 198.

the numbers quoted by Lithgow', that is, included more than 30,000 individuals.¹⁴ Fischer's hypothesis was, however, contradicted by the estimates made by other experts in this field. Steuart estimated the number at some 10,000 at this time.¹⁵ Ruffmann, who was researching the Scottish migration in the Baltic seaside provinces between the sixteenth and the nineteenth centuries, estimated that about a thousand Scottish families settled in the cities of Gdańsk, Elbląg, Königsberg, Memel and Tilsit.¹⁶ Rybarski was inclined to accept an even more modest figure of some 800 families. His estimates were based on the 1651 tax register, which includes 476 individuals. Rybarski believed that since the register did not include Bełża, Volhynia, Podolia or Kiev provinces, this number should be at least doubled.¹⁷ Acknowledging that the figures put forward by Fischer were exaggerated, historians such as Seliga and Koczy,¹⁸ and Guldon and Stępkowski¹⁹ also questioned the computations made by Ruffman and by Rybarski. Their criticisms related to the fact that both historians based their research chiefly on the register of the tax levied on Scots in 1651, which—they argued—was not a totally reliable source. According to their research, the subsidy list includes 457 names,²⁰ yet other sources give the names of many other Scots who must have been in the Polish Crown that year and should have paid the levy, but were not listed. They have evaluated the register by crosschecking it against other sources (municipal and parish records). By investigating the situation in the Sandomierz prov-

¹⁴ SEWP, 198.

¹⁵ PRSP, xii.

¹⁶ Guldon and Stępkowski, "Ludność szkocka i angielska," 203.

¹⁷ Rybarski, *Handel i polityka handlowa Polski*, 228.

¹⁸ Seliga and Koczy, *Scotland and Poland*, 1–16.

¹⁹ Guldon and Stępkowski in "Szkoci i Anglicy w Koronie," 31–61; cf. Guldon and Stępkowski, "Ludność szkocka i angielska," 202–14.

²⁰ Guldon and Stępkowski made a list of Scots and Englishmen who appeared in the register, see Guldon and Stępkowski, "Szkoci i Anglicy w Koronie," 31–61. According to them, the roll includes 457 individuals. However, their computation has several errors, for example the authors make no reference to Mstów or two Scots—William Alwyn and John Veitch—who paid the tithe there, see *Ibid.*, 57–58. The number of Scots and Englishmen listed in the transcript of the register was put at 482 individuals by Pernal and Gasse. Nor are Pernal and Gasse's computations free of errors. For example, in their calculations they have included deceased persons as separate characters. They have also listed Peter Wall (Petro Walls) of Cracow and Peter Watts (Piotr Wattasz) of Serock as the same person, Peter Watts (no. 338). No explanation was given about the reason for merging those two individuals into the same identity. See Pernal and Gasse, "The 1651 Polish subsidy," 33, 35. The correct number of people who paid tax in 1651 is 451. Along with the names of another 25 individuals who were exempt from the tax, it constitutes a sum of 476 persons who were mentioned in the register. See Appendix I.

ince, they established that, apart from the eight locations mentioned in the register, at the time of the tithe, a further six towns were inhabited by Scots.²¹

The most recent estimate of Scottish population was put forward by Biegańska in 1974. Biegańska suggests much higher numbers than those given by Ruffman or Rybarski.²² Between the sixteenth and the end of the eighteenth centuries Biegańska found some 7,400 persons 'arrived' in the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth (1131 in the sixteenth century, 3,053 in the first and 2,190 in the second half of the seventeenth century, and 713 in the first and 273 in the second half of the eighteenth century).²³ Biegańska suggests that while an average family in Poland-Lithuania at that time (depending on the district) consisted of 4–8 people, the ratio for Scottish families should be 5–6. Based on that ratio, she estimates the Scottish population in the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth at more than 7,400 families or approximately 37,000 people.²⁴ This impressive figure added extra weight to Biegańska's argument that a 'great migration' of Scots had taken place. However, the estimate seems to contain one flaw; while the seventeenth-century travellers: Lithgow, Rey, Cochrane and later historians such as Ruffman and Rybarski were estimating of the number of Scots in precise periods, Biegańska gave a total figure for Scots that span a period of more than 200 years. This estimate, although clearly explained in her PhD thesis,²⁵ became lost in her subsequent articles²⁶ and was then quoted by other historians as representative of the Scottish numbers in a specified period.²⁷

²¹ Guldón and Stępkowski, "Ludność szkocka i angielska," 208–209.

²² Biegańska, "Wielka emigracja Szkotów w Polsce," 37–38.

²³ According to Biegańska's methodology, the idea of 'arrival' was linked to the date when the name of an individual immigrant, or his descendant, was first entered into the documents, see *Ibid.*; cf. A. Biegańska, "A Note on Scots," 162.

²⁴ Biegańska, "Wielka emigracja Szkotów w Polsce," 37–38; cf. *idem*, "A Note on the Scots," 158, 162.

²⁵ Biegańska, "Wielka emigracja Szkotów w Polsce," 38.

²⁶ "Na podstawie badań archiwalnych ustaliłam występowanie w Polsce ponad 7,400 rodzin szkockich, co odpowiadałoby około 37 000 osób" (transl. "Based on my research I was able to record the presence of 7400 Scottish families or circa 37,000 individuals in Poland."), see A. Biegańska, "Żołnierze szkoccy w dawnej Rzeczypospolitej," *Studia i Materiały do Historii Wojsk* 27 (1984): 68.

²⁷ "Estimates vary from the 800 families suggested by Roman Rybarski to 7,400 families (some 37,000 individuals) given by Anna Biegańska, who has conducted the most exhaustive study of the question," see R. I. Frost, "Scottish Soldiers: Poland-Lithuania and the Thirty Years' War," in S. Murdoch, ed., *Scotland and the Thirty Years' War* (Leiden: 2001), 192.

Table 3.1. The estimates of Scottish population in Poland-Lithuania in the sixteenth to the eighteenth centuries made by modern historians.

<i>Name of person</i>	<i>Date of the estimate</i>	<i>Estimated population</i>
Fischer	1902–1903	More than 30,000 people
Steuart	1915	10,000 people
Ruffmann	1958	1,000 families: 4,000–6,000 people
Rybarski	1958	800 families: 3,200–4,200 people
Jeśman	1972	50,000 people
Seliga and Koczy	1969	Less than 30,000 people, but more than 1000 families
Guldon and Stępkowski	1984	Less than 30,000 people, but more than 1000 families
Biegańska	1974, 1992	7,400 families: about 37,000 people

Biegańska's figures should be treated with caution, as many factors are not taken into account (at least they were not mentioned in her paper). Biegańska did not discuss at any length the methodology used for gathering the information in the first place. Although she has talked in general about sources used in her research, she did not explain how the information was collated or how she dealt with duplication (eliminating names of the same individuals appearing in town records of several cities due to their constant movement, or going back and forth between Scotland and Poland-Lithuania) or questionable information. More importantly, she did not present any evidence to justify the ratio between single Scots and those with families. Her supposition that 7,400 migrants equals 7,400 families seems to be very controversial, as not every Scottish migrant would have established a family in the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth or stayed there permanently. Nor did Biegańska discuss at any length the figures for marriages of Scottish men with Scottish and with local women. The sources generally relate only to adult males, and we do not know how many brought families with them, or later established them in the

Commonwealth. Although the genealogical data, parish records and histories of such prominent families as the Gordons, Youngs, Taylors and Davidsons support the notion that immigrants preferred to marry their compatriots, there is also evidence to suggest many mixed marriages.²⁸ Third, not all people who appeared in the Polish sources as 'Scots' were of that origin. Surnames such as Ross and Smith could have belonged to Scots, but just as well to Englishmen, Germans or Swedes—especially since the scribes were using a phonetic transcription while noting the names down. In Poland-Lithuania, all migrants from Britain were referred to as 'Scots', despite the fact that some of them came from England or Ireland. This was especially true after the crowning of James VI (I) (1603) and the signing of the personal union between England and Scotland (Biegańska acknowledged that fact in her work), when not too many people in the Commonwealth recognised the difference between these two 'nationalities'.²⁹

Even if one could make some generalisations, other questions remain. What portion of the names actually appear in the sources? How many 'vagrant' Scots or other migrants escaped being ever recorded? Biegańska argued that often the well-to-do citizens would employ their less successful compatriots in their businesses as pseudo-factors. Since this was

²⁸ On the Gordons: A. Boniecki, *Herbarz Polski*, 16 vols (Warszawa: 1901–1913), vol. VI, 238–240; J. M. Bulloch, *The Gay Gordons: Some Strange Adventures of a Famous Scots Family* (London: 1908), 44–45; J. M. Bulloch and C. O. Skelton, *Gordons Under Arms: A Biographical Muster Roll of Officers Named Gordon in the Navies and Armies of Britain, Europa, America and the Jacobite Risings* (Aberdeen: 1912), 429–30, 433; J. M. Bulloch, *The Gordons in Poland: 'Marquises of Huntly' with a line in Saxony* (Peterhead: 1932); idem, *The Gordons of Coldwells, Ellon, now Respresented by the Family of Von Gordon of Laskowitz* (West Prussia, Peterhead: 1914); A. Forbes, *The Records of Aboyne, MCCXXX–MDCCLXXXI* (Aberdeen: 1894), 540–541; S. Konarski, *Szlachta kalwińska w Polsce* (Warszawa: 1936), 90–92; B. H. Łuszczynski, "Silva Heraldica, rodowody i inny materiał do rodopistwa z akt grodzkich i ziemskich b. województwa krakowskiego i innych archiwów akt dawnej Rzeczypospolitej Polskiej," unpublished 19th century armorial, Biblioteka Narodowa (hereafter BN), Warszawa, rkps. IV 5582, vol. III, 125–132; Uruski, *Rodzina: Herbarz szlachty polskiej*, vol. IV, 268–270; Żychliński, *Złota księga szlachty polskiej*, vol. I, 75–77.

On the Youngs: Boniecki, *Herbarz Polski*, vol. VII, 245, 253, vol. IX, 89–90, 95 (Joungowie v. Jungowie v. Jounga); Uruski, *Rodzina: Herbarz szlachty polskiej*, vol. IV, 115–117 (Junga v. Younga); Żychliński, *Złota księga szlachty polskiej*, vol. XVIII, 81–91 (Youngowie herbu własnego).

On the Taylors: E. Taylor, *Historia rodziny Taylorów w Polsce* (Poznań: 1933); Cf. Łuszczynski, "Silva Heraldica," vol. VIII, 27.

On the Davidsons: A. Biegańska, "Andrew Davidson (1591–1660) and his descendants," *Scottish Slavonic Review* 10 (1998): 7–18; Uruski, *Rodzina: Herbarz szlachty polskiej*, vol. III, 80 (Dawidson).

²⁹ Biegańska, "Żołnierze szkoccy w służbie Rzeczypospolitej," 89.

illegal, the existence of such migrants had to be concealed. She suggested that formation of the so-called 'silent societies' was often so successful that neither names nor numbers of such Scotsmen could be precisely established.³⁰ This is certainly true of municipal-type documents (*advocatia*, *consularia*, *alba civium*, guild registers), of the official royal court documents (inscriptions, *sigillata*, chancellery registers, paper and parchment documents, appointments for *servitoratus*, *legitimatio*, ennoblements, naturalisations), and of documents related to the levies and poll taxes. However, the apparent lack of information about such migrants in church records such as lists of communicants, death or burial records, information on poor boxes, and records of sessions, that is, in the documents where the group should have no fear of being recorded, is baffling. Neither Biegańska nor other historians have attempted to explain this evident discrepancy. The only logical explanation is that the number of such migrants, at least from the 1630s, when the acts were first systematically recorded, was meagre.³¹

There is one further issue that ought to be considered when discussing the subject of numbers—the general impossibility of distinguishing between first-generation migrants and their descendants. By the same token, it is difficult to define precisely who should be regarded as a Scot.³² Should this include only genuine immigrants from Scotland, or also further generations born and raised in Poland-Lithuania? Should offspring from mixed marriages still be viewed as Scots, or rather as being of Scottish origin? This dilemma was already troubling contemporaries in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. The subsidy of Charles II clearly shows that the British monarch regarded as his subjects not only first-generation migrants but also their descendants to the fourth generation, on both paternal and maternal sides.³³ Use of such a definition of Scottish nationality was obviously in Charles II's interest, but must also have seemed reasonable in the minds of the court officials who permitted the tax collection. On the other hand, Scottish migrants who were naturalised as citizens of Polish cities or were entering the ranks of the Polish nobility

³⁰ Biegańska, "A Note on Scots in Poland," 159.

³¹ The social composition of parishes will be discussed in more detail in Chapter 6.

³² The most extensive discussion on defining the ethnicity of the seventeenth-century foreign-born Scots and on issues of Scottish identity in general was presented by Murdoch. Cf. S. Murdoch, "Children of the diaspora: the 'homecoming' of the second-generation Scot in the seventeenth century," in M. Harper, ed., *Emigrant Homecomings: The Return Movement of Emigrants, 1600–2000* (Manchester: 2005), 55–76.

³³ Guldon and Stępkowski, "Szkoci i Angli w Koronie," 34.

were technically becoming subjects of the Polish monarch or of a powerful magnate or ecclesiastical power.

The example of Alexander Dickson (Dixon) of Cracow shows that some second-generation Scots claimed exemption from the 1651 subsidy based on the fact that they had been born in Poland and had been living there for a considerable period of time.³⁴ Yet many others born and bred abroad, second- and third-generation migrants, regarded themselves, and were perceived by others, as Scots. If Dickson fervently opposed the tithe, other Polish-born Scots contributed to it without evident protestations or having considered possible advantages of paying a one-off tax for that year,³⁵ for example: second-generation Scots James Carmichael jnr, son of James and Anna Dickson (Dixon);³⁶ and Casper Hunter son of Andrew and Elizabeth Gordon, both of Cracow.³⁷ Third-generation Scots such as Matthew (Matthias) Danielczyk (perhaps Daniels or Danielson), Christopher Jamieson (Christophorus Giemzon) and James Seath (Jacob Seyt), made their payments in Tuchola.³⁸ In Koronowo (district of Bydgoszcz) 15 florins were contributed towards the subsidy by Albert Tochiński “per Lineam Maternam descendens In 4^o gradu”.³⁹

It is nearly impossible definitively to identify the origins of names such as Lewis, Payne, Suter, Simpson or Taylor. Similarly, names such as Anderson (Andersen), Ross, Brown (spelling variations include: Bran, Brun, Braun, Bron, Bruno), Johnson (Janson, Jansen, Jonson), Smith (Smit, Schmitt), Daniels (Daniel), Edwards (Edward), Chalmers (Csammer, Tschammer), or Williamson (Willemson, Wilhelmson, Willemsen) are problematic. These

³⁴ “Admonition of the Ursula Gružek (3 March 1651),” and “Admonition of the Alexander Dixon (3 March 1651),” quoted in PRSP, 82.

³⁵ The enactment of the *Sejm* approving the subsidy for Charles II Stuart stipulated that: “... kupcy Angielscy y Szoccy oddawszy ten podatek, do innych podatków Rzpltey na tym Seymie uchwalonych, okrom ceł naszych y Rzpltey nie będą powinni.” (transl. “... English and Scottish merchants who contributed the tithe, shall be freed from the payments of all other taxes enacted [by the *Sejm*] with the exception of customs.”), see VL IV, 154, no. 13.

³⁶ ASK I, MS 134, fol. 33; SPLC no. 176; KW AParEA Kraków, passim. Guldon and Stępkowski list Iacobus Karmichel and Iacobo Karmichel, father and son, as two separate identities, while Pernal and Gasse list them as the same person (no. 1). There is no explanation given about the reason for merging these two individuals into one. Cf. Guldon and Stępkowski, “Szkoci i Anglicy w Koronie,” nos. 360, 370; Pernal and Gasse, “The 1651 Polish subsidy,” 20, 35.

³⁷ ASK I, MS 134, fol. 3; SPLC no. 645; KW AParEA Kraków; cf. Pernal and Gasse, “The 1651 Polish subsidy,” no. 6.

³⁸ ASK I, MS 134, fol. 36; SPLC nos. 253, 682, 1129; cf. Pernal and Gasse, “The 1651 Polish subsidy,” nos. 448, 449, 450.

³⁹ ASK I, MS 134, fol. 36; SPLC no. 1262; cf. Pernal and Gasse, “The 1651 Polish subsidy,” no. 461.

have only been considered as belonging to 'Scots' rather than to Germans, Dutch, French Huguenots, or Flemish who were also frequenting the same parishes if the vital record of an individual of such name was witnessed by a number of Scots or his/her spouse had a Scottish family name. The matter is further complicated by the fact that the original names have been often Polonised or Germanised almost beyond recognition. Only through cross-checking the records and checking against other sources was it possible to conclude that, for example, Litko is a corrupted version of Lithgow, Makke is a garbled version of most possibly MacKay or McKay,⁴⁰ Nory is an equivalent of Norrie⁴¹ or that Crichtsun is Crichton.⁴² The process also allows us to identify certain individuals: the Jacob Lion mentioned numerous times in the acts of St Elizabeth in Gdańsk, is most probably the same as James Lyon who paid the subsidy of 1651.⁴³ Similarly, Thomas Schmagk, father of James (Jacob) baptised in 1644, was identified as Thomas Smart (other spelling variations include Schmart, Schmert).⁴⁴ Probably the same person, listed this time as Thoma Smardt, contributed and was recorded in Gdańsk in the tax register of 1651.⁴⁵ Sometimes the correct identification was only possible when the name was accompanied by a reference to origin such as *Scotus*, *Szkot* or *Scot*. For example, only because the baptismal record of Arturus *oder* Artus, son of Hanuß and Anna Fasters whose family name Bruno was accompanied by the reference *Scotus*, was it possible to determine the ethnic origins of the family.⁴⁶ As it turned out, John Brown (other corruptions of his surname included Brunn, Brún, Prun) and Anna Foster baptised another four of their children at St Elizabeth.⁴⁷

The matter is further complicated by the fact that some people of Scottish origin entered the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth through

⁴⁰ The name of Thomas Mackie has at times also been spelled as Magge, Macky, Macke, Magga, see "LB1631–1655," APGd. sig. 351/5, fol. 134, 163, 206, 232.

⁴¹ James (Jacob) Norrie baptised three of his children in St Elizabeth in the 1640s, see *Ibid.*, fols 191, 218, 242.

⁴² James Crichton (Jacob Krichton) married Magdalena former wife of Nichol? (Niclaus) in 1645, see "LC 5 September 1645," APGd. sig. 351/6, fol. 29. The same Magdalena appeared as a witness at the baptism of James Morrison (Jacob Mauritzon) in 1647, see "LB 22 September 1647," APGd. sig. 351/4, fol. 225.

⁴³ "LB 1631–1655," APGd. sig. 351/5, *passim*; ASK I, MS 134, fol. 35.

⁴⁴ "LB 1631–1655," APGd. sig. 351/5, fol. 183. cf. fol. 149 (listed as Schmart), 152 (where his wife is described as Elisabeth Schmardin).

⁴⁵ ASK I, MS 134, fol. 35.

⁴⁶ "LB 1631–1655," APGd. sig. 351/5 fol. 138.

⁴⁷ John Brown and Anna Foster baptised the following: Alexander in 1623, James [I] in 1633, Reinhold in 1635, James [II] in 1646, see "LB1631–1655," APGd. sig. 351/5 fol. 138.

neighbouring countries, being already of the second or third generation.⁴⁸ It is clear, however, that Scots and locals were well aware of Scottish 'national' identity expressed through their language, religion (the criterion pertaining principally to the Presbyterians), traditions, culture and customs, since they added a qualifier *Scotus* after, or sometimes instead of, their family name.

Even though there are evident, problems associated with determining the ethnicity of persons appearing in the records as Scots (that is, bearing Scottish-sounding surnames), for the purposes of this work an individual is considered as belonging to that nationality if he/she was born in, or one of his parents was from, Scotland. Other people bearing Scottish names, foreign-born descendants of Scots and those whose country of birth or parentage is unknown, have also been included in the computations, provided there is evidence that they have retained a strong sense of Scottish identity. Such Scottish connection could be manifested, for example, through their appearance among other Scots in the parish or Scottish brotherhoods records, contacts with relatives in Scotland, or opinions regarding their nationality, formed and passed on by the indigenous population of the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth.

*The Possible Scale of the Migration as Reflected in Accounts
of Contemporaries*

The magnitude of the Scottish migration to the Commonwealth may also be reflected in Scottish influence on the Polish and German languages and the toponymy of Poland-Lithuania. The usage of the words *szot* or *szkot* (Polish: Scot) and *szoci* (Polish: Scots) not only indicated the immigrants' origin, but also became synonymous with wandering 'peddlers' or 'traders' and were sometimes used by contemporaries to describe itinerant peddlers of local origin—peasants who escaped from serfdom or even thugs—who were moving about the countryside.⁴⁹ In the same fashion

⁴⁸ Among the best known foreign-born Scots who migrated to the Commonwealth were twins Henry and Catherine Gordon, children of George 2nd Marquis of Huntly and Anne of Argyll. They were born in France and arrived in Poland as teenagers, see Bulloch, *The Gordons in Poland*, 3–16; A. Przyboś, "Henryk Gordon de Huntley (w. XVII)," in *Polski Słownik Biograficzny*, vol. VIII (hereafter PSB) (Wrocław: 1990), 302.

⁴⁹ B. Baranowski, "Ludzie luźni w południowo-wschodniej Wielkopolsce w XVII–XVIII wieku," *Przegląd Nauk Historycznych i Społecznych* 3 (1953): 262–263; Gierszewski, "Obywatele miast polski przedrozbiorowej," 71. Cf. B. Klec-Pilewski, *Studies and Contributions to Polish History, Genealogy and Heraldry* (London: 1991), 132.

men from the Cracow and Lwów region trading in skins in Greater Poland were known as *Węgrzynowie* (Hungarians) or *Wołochowie* (Valachians).⁵⁰ There is evidence to suggest that sometimes the synonym *szkot* was also adopted by Jewish traders as a surname.⁵¹ The wide use of words such as *szot*, *szkot* or *szoci* may suggest if not the size of the Scottish migration widespread contact of Poles with particular members of this group. Yet such use of the word indicates further complications in estimating the precise number of the migrants. How is one to distinguish if *szoci* mentioned in various sources meant ethnic Scots or instead, other foreigners involved in peddling, or even native-born fugitives?

On the other hand, homonyms of words 'szot', 'skot' and 'scot' were also widely used in sailing, fishing, textile, weights and measures and as monetary units.⁵² Similarly, the wooden goods that peddlers were selling became known as 'Scottish goods'. The useful function of peddlers transporting commodities to people living in the countryside, away from major towns, could have been possibly shown in the old Prussian proverb *Warte? bis der Schotte komt* (German: Wait until the Scot comes).⁵³ However, the word 'szot' was also used in less positive circumstances: as a derogatory term in *szlachta się teraz w szotów obróciła* (Polish: "Polish nobility has turned into Scots"—meaning: they took up trade instead of being involved in the activities traditionally attributed to that state), or derogatory phrases ('stinks like a *szot*'; 'pea brain *szot*'). The usage of the word, in some ways, shows the position of Scottish peddlers in a seventeenth-century Polish society.⁵⁴

The important influx and movement of the newcomers seems also to be reflected in toponymy—the naming of geographical locations. Places that may bear witness to that migration include Schottland (village near Schubin), Schottland (village in Stuhm county), Alt Schottland (suburb of Gdańsk), Neu Schottland (village near Gdańsk), Schottenkrug (village near Chełmno)—all in Royal Prussia; Schotten Hügel (hills near Czarnikau), Skottau (village in Neidenburg county), Schotten See (lake in Neidenburg county)—all in Ducal Prussia; Szotniki—village in Lesser Poland; and

⁵⁰ Baranowski, "Ludzie luźni," 263.

⁵¹ Lewek *Szkot* was recorded as a Jewish trader of Kazimierz (a suburb of Cracow) in 1650. See J. Wijaczka, *Handel zagraniczny Krakowa w połowie XVII wieku* (Kraków: 2002), 140.

⁵² Biegańska, "Wielka emigracja Szkotów w Polsce," 114.

⁵³ SEWP, 48.

⁵⁴ Biegańska, "Wielka emigracja Szkotów w Polsce," 113.

Szoty—settlement in Red Ruthenia.⁵⁵ In Gdańsk one could find Scottish Jetty, Scottish Passage and Douglas' Gate.⁵⁶ Altogether, according to Biegańska, some 25 geographical names from the Crown and former territories of Royal and Ducal Prussia contain the word *Szot*, *Skot* or *Schott*.⁵⁷

Although the issue of the size of the Scottish presence in Poland-Lithuania will most likely be never satisfactorily resolved, its extent between the last decades of the sixteenth century and the middle of the seventeenth century seems to be reflected in numerous mentions of Scots in the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth in contemporary travellers' accounts. Careful investigation of the sources allows some generalisations. It is also possible to determine the overall scale of the migration in specific periods, as well as to get an impression of when the biggest movements occurred, which places Scots chose, and why.

The magnitude of the Scottish migration was first commented on by Sir John Skene of Curriehill, who visited Poland in 1569.⁵⁸ Skene was so impressed by the number of Scots encountered there, that in his famous dictionary *De verborum significatione*, describing 'pedders' (peddlers) he wrote that he saw "great multitude" of them "in the town of Cracovia anno Dom 1569".⁵⁹ Patrick Gordon of Braco, the Scottish factor at Gdańsk, in his poem retelling the story of Stercovius, a Pole who published a libel against the Scottish nation and because of that was prosecuted by Gordon at the instigation of James VI, characterised the size of migration by using the word 'squadrons'.⁶⁰ Having visited some of the large Polish cities during

⁵⁵ F. Sulimierski, et al., eds., *Słownik geograficzny Królestwa Polskiego i innych krajów słowiańskich*, 15 vols (Warszawa, 1880–1902, reprinted Warszawa, 1975–1977), vol. IX, 524, vol. X, 392–393, vol. XI, 923–924, vol. XII, 23–25; cf. S. Rospond, *Słownik nazw geograficznych polski zachodniej i północnej* (Warszawa: 1951), vol. I, 324, 384; vol. II, 690.

⁵⁶ SEWP, 124.

⁵⁷ Biegańska, "Wielka emigracja Szkotów w Polsce," 35.

⁵⁸ A. Murray, "Skene, Sir John, of Curriehill (c. 1540–1617)," in ODNB, <http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/25669> (accessed 28 September 2006); cf. W. Forbes Skene, ed., *Memorials of the Family Skene of Skene: From the Family Papers with Other Illustrative Documents*, (Edinburgh: 1887).

⁵⁹ "Pedder," in J. Skene, *De verborum significatione the exposition of the termes and difficill wordes, contined in the foure buikes of Regiam Majestatem...* (London: 1641), 104–105.

⁶⁰ Patrick Gordon of Braco (d. before 1657), diplomat, younger son of John Gordon of Braco (or Brackay), in Inverurie parish, and Agnes Strachan. Gordon probably entered Marischal College, Aberdeen, in 1606 and graduated as master of arts in 1610. In the same year he was commissioned as the agent of James VI (I)'s to Poland and Prussia. His work concentrated mainly on Poland and on matters relating to the Scottish expatriate community there. Gordon retained his position as agent until 1621 although he reportedly spent much time in Britain. In 1617 when he was in Edinburgh, complaints were made about his gross neglect of duty, in particular in failing to prevent the Poles imposing a special tax

the reign of Zygmunt III Vasa (1586–1632), the Scottish traveller Lithgow⁶¹ called Poland the “...mother and nurse of the youths and younglings of Scotland... besides 30,000 Scots families that live incorporate in her bowels” and declared it “...the first commencement of all our [Scottish] best merchants’ wealth, or at least most part of them.”⁶² It is impossible to ascertain how he came up with the figure of 30,000, but it is clear that even if he repeated a popular notion, he quoted the number because it was confirming his own observations. In his accounts he listed the names of places he visited and his contacts with other Scots. For example, he wrote that in Cracow, at that time the capital city of Poland-Lithuania, he “met with divers Scottish merchants” and among them “two brothers Dickson, men of singular note for honesty and wealth”. Similarly, in the south-eastern city of Lublin, he met an “abundance of gallant rich merchants”—his countrymen. Lithgow’s recollections show that he met Scots in practically every place he visited in the Crown. This is especially significant since his paper clearly displays amazement at the vibrancy of the Scottish community there. Lithgow met Scots in other countries he visited, but it seems he never met as many of his compatriots living outside Scotland as in the Commonwealth.⁶³

The large number of Scottish migrants was also reflected in no less subjective estimates by Lithgow’s contemporaries. Jerzy Ossoliński, Polish Ambassador in London (1621),⁶⁴ and Sir John Cochrane, Scottish Ambassador at the Polish court (1652),⁶⁵ estimated the Scottish population in the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth at 30,000 people, but other reports suggest quite different numbers. The French Ambassador, Baron Guy de Charnacé (1629), suggested 15,000 men as the aggregate figure for all the British living in Poland and “trading in fancy goods, hardware, cloth and linen”;⁶⁶ while Francis Gordon, James’ envoy and merchant fac-

on Scottish traders there. Later he returned to Scotland, became a burghess of Aberdeen, and bought the lands of Brackay, which had passed out of his family’s ownership in 1623 he married Margaret, daughter of John Erskine of Balhagartie, see D. Stevenson, “Patrick Gordon of Braco (*d. before 1657*),” in *ODNB*, <http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/11072> (accessed 28 September 2006); Biegańska, “Wielka emigracja Szkotów w Polsce,” 37–38; G. M. Bell, *A Handlist of British Diplomatic Representatives 1509–1688* (London: 1990), 216.

⁶¹ M. Garrett, “Lithgow, William (b. 1582, d. in or after 1645),” in *ODNB*, <http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/16774> (accessed 28 September 2006).

⁶² Lithgow, *The Totall Discourse*, 244.

⁶³ *Ibid.*, 243, *passim*.

⁶⁴ TNA SP 14/120 fol. 38.

⁶⁵ PRSP, xviii.

⁶⁶ Borowy, *Scots in Old Poland*, 10.

tor to Poland (1627),⁶⁷ and Andrzej Rey, the Polish Ambassador in London (1637), spoke of “40,000 Scots scattered about Poland”.⁶⁸ The figure of “fourtie thousand” was also mentioned in a remark by a character in John Webster’s early seventeenth-century play *The White Devil*.⁶⁹

Peter Mundy, who visited Royal Prussia and parts of the Crown in 1640–43, noted that while attending a fair in Toruń during the Feast of the Epiphany he met there many Scottish merchants:

Here were many ritche and wellfurnished shoppes of Scotts, There beeing Many 100 (I may say 1,000) Families off that Nation inhabitants off this land. Noe City or towne off Note withoutt some, generally dealing in Merchandize For More or lesse. Many handicraftts, these quarters abounding with them, as Holland etts [and other] low Countries with English.⁷⁰

Mundy’s estimate of the number of Scots in Poland—1,000 Scottish families, which can be converted to 4,000–5,000 migrants—is of note, first, because Mundy travelled around the Polish Crown more than any other traveller to the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth, and second, because it does not sound as far fetched as the accounts left by others.

Table 3.2. The estimates of Scottish population in the Poland-Lithuania in the sixteenth to the eighteenth centuries made by contemporary travellers and diplomats.

<i>Name of person</i>	<i>Date of the estimate</i>	<i>Estimated population</i>
Sir John Skene	1569	“great multitude”
Patrick Gordon of Braco	c. 1612	“squadrons”
William Lithgow	1615	30,000 Scots families
Jerzy Ossoliński	1621	30,000 people
Francis Gordon	1627	40,000 Scots

⁶⁷ TNA SP 88/4 fol. 142; cf. Bell, *A Handlist*, 215; SEWP, 223; SPLC no. 1553; SSNE no. 1520.

⁶⁸ TNA SP 88/10 fol. 54.

⁶⁹ Who shall doe mee right now? Is this the end of service? Ide / rather go weede garlick; trauaile through France, and be mine / owne ostler; weare sheepe-skin lininges; or shoos that stinke of / blacking; bee entred into the list of the fourtie thousand pedlars / in Poland, see J. Webster, *The White Devil, or, Vittoria Corombona, a lady of Venice a tragedy acted (formerly by Her Majesties servants) at the Phoenix in Drury-lane, and at this present (by His now Majesties) at the Theatre Royal* (London: 1665), 138.

⁷⁰ Mundy, *Travels of Peter Mundy*, vol. IV, 100–101.

Table 3.2. (*cont.*)

<i>Name of person</i>	<i>Date of the estimate</i>	<i>Estimated population</i>
Baron Guy de Charnacé	1629	15,000 “men”
Andrzej Rey	1637	40,000 people
Peter Mundy	1641	1000 families [circa 5000 people]
<i>Nouvelles Ordinaires</i> *	1650	50,000 Scots
Sir John Cochrane	1652	30,000 people

* “Warsaw, 19 December 1650,” *Nouvelles Ordinaires*, no. 11, (Paris 1651): 102. quoted in Pernal and Gasse, “The 1651 Polish subsidy,” 8.

Bargrave, who travelled in the Polish Crown “convoys by diverse Scotchmen” commented on their large presence in several locations. On his arrival at Zamość he noted that the city was “inhabited much by Scotts” and that it is “the Chief place of Residence they now have in Poland”. He made similar observation about a “protestant Toune called Bêlitt [Bełżyce], whose inhabitants (while it had any) were chiefly Scotts”.⁷¹

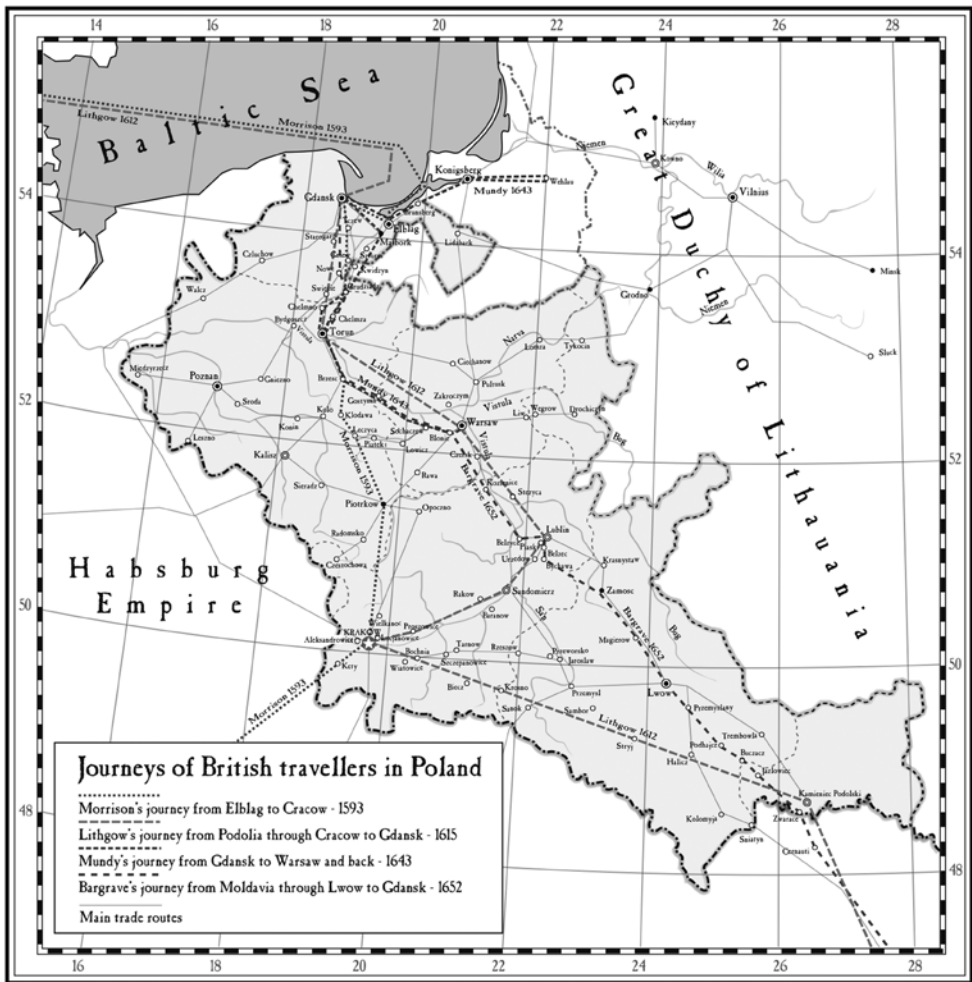
The presence of Scots in Cracow and Englishmen in Elbląg did not escape the attention of another traveller, Roberts.⁷²

Nevertheless all these estimates should be treated with great caution, especially those quoted by diplomats such as Ossoliński, Rey or Francis Gordon. They were not only unsubstantiated guesses, but the diplomats had very good reasons to exaggerate them. Ossoliński, for example, mentioned the issue in London, where he was attempting to secure the permission of James VI (I) to levy recruits for the Turkish war.⁷³ Reminding the King about the Scots in Poland and possibly amplifying their numbers was part of a political strategy of this flamboyant politician, who was also

⁷¹ Bargrave, *The Travel Diary*, 146–147.

⁷² In his guide for merchants Roberts noted: “...many *Scotch-men* have attained to some estate here [Cracow] by *trading*, but it may more properly be called *pedlerising* than *merchandising*, for they have a moveable magasin which they transport by horse, from town to town wherein their *commodities* are inclosed; and not a few such are found to have begun this *traffique* at first by their backs, and afterwards by horses.”, see Roberts, *The merchants mappe of commerce*, 166.

⁷³ *Calendar of the State Papers and Manuscripts relating to the English Affairs existing in the archives and collections of Venice and in other libraries of Northern Italy* (hereafter CSPMV), vol. XVIII (London: 1911), 33.



Map 3. Journeys of British travellers in Poland.

known for his spirited oration, which was so well received by the monarch that he ordered the speech to be published at his own expense in several languages.⁷⁴ Similarly, Andrew Rey used the migration in trying to secure an audience with Charles I—he was threatening to expel the Scots from

⁷⁴ Ossoliński, *A True Copy of the Latine Oration*. Cf. Borowy, "Anglicy, Szkoci i Irlandczycy," 302–304; Biegańska, "Żołnierze szkocky," 101; Frost, "Scottish Soldiers," 201–203.

Poland-Lithuania should his effort yield no positive result.⁷⁵ The accounts of Scottish travellers, on the other hand, may have been distorted by the fact that they were travelling in the company of and were visiting centres frequented by Scots. Almost every traveller's account mentions Scots who offered them their assistance in finding directions, learning about local customs, establishing contacts or organising stays in guest houses. Lithgow was assisted by William Baillie (Bailey), a young Scottish trader from Clydesdale who accompanied him on certain legs of his voyage.⁷⁶ Bargrave travelled in the company of Scottish merchants, among them Thomas Murray, who in autumn 1641 took him from Lwów to Gdańsk.⁷⁷

Not coincidentally, Scots such as Baillie and Murray, using their local contacts—more often than not their compatriots—were leading the travellers along the trade routes used since at least the late sixteenth century. Meeting Scots in different, sometimes unexpected locations, may have influenced travellers' judgements about the size of the diaspora. A careful look at the itinerary of travels by Skene, Lithgow, Mundy and Bargrave reveals another important factor that may have influenced their estimates of the strength of the community. All travellers visited almost exactly the same places—Lwów, Cracow, Lublin, Toruń and Gdańsk—which were all bases of sizeable Scottish communities, and also followed the main trade route frequented by Scottish traders linking north and south of the Crown (Map 3). The same travelling path and places along it—perhaps because of strong Scottish presence there—were used by British intelligence agents working for the secretary of state to maintain links between London and Constantinople.⁷⁸ Likewise, the second most important trade route connecting Gdańsk with Königsberg and Memel was used by the secretaries of state to receive fortnightly reports from Moscow.⁷⁹ It is also interesting to note that the names of the people whom the travellers met along the way are well known from other sources. The already mentioned travelling companion of Bargrave, Thomas Murray, is likely none other than the merchant of Lublin who in 1651 subscribed to the subsidy for King Charles II and in 1649–51 was recorded among the communicants

⁷⁵ TNA SP 88/4 fol. 142; cf. Biegańska, "Wielka emigracja Szkotów w Polsce," 36–37.

⁷⁶ Lithgow, *The Total Discourse*, 243.

⁷⁷ Bargrave, *The Travel Diary*, vol. IV, 146.

⁷⁸ P. Frazer, *The Intelligence of the Secretaries of State and Their Monopoly of Licensed News 1660–1688* (Cambridge: 1956), 60–62, Map I, The location of English Consuls, and some main postal routes used by the Secretaries of State, c. 1670.

⁷⁹ *Ibid.*, 62.

in Wielkanoc.⁸⁰ The Dickson brothers who assisted Lithgow in 1615 were probably Alexander, Robert and Thomas—prominent merchants and citizens of Cracow.⁸¹

It is intriguing that of the reportedly hundreds of Scottish officers serving under the banner of His Majesty of Poland, Patrick Gordon was only encountering the same half a dozen or so well-known individuals: Colonel Patrick 'Steelhand' Gordon who tempted him in 1657 to join the Poles;⁸² Lieutenant Adam Gordon who was killed in action by Swedes;⁸³ Captain James Burnett of Leys whom Gordon met in Ukraine;⁸⁴ Colonel Henry Gordon of Huntly,⁸⁵ with whom Gordon celebrated the victory over the

⁸⁰ ASK I, MS 134, fol. 20; KW AparEA Kraków, passim; cf. SPLC no. 924; Pernal and Gasse, "The 1651 Polish subsidy," no. 193.

⁸¹ It is not certain that these three were brothers, but they were the only three Dicksons of substantial wealth and affluence in the Scottish community in Cracow at the time of Lithgow's visit, see Lithgow, *The Totall Discourse*, 243. Cf. SPLC nos. 270, 271, and 272.

⁸² Colonel Patrick Gordon, nicknamed 'Steelhand (Steilhand)' or 'of the Steelhand'. As one of the northern royalists, in June 1647 he was excommunicated by the commission of the General Assembly of the Kirk of Scotland, for rising in arms with the Marquis of Huntly. Later he repented and the excommunication was lifted, but Gordon migrated to the Continent nonetheless. In 1656 he was recorded as a Captain of Polish cavalry. Elevated to the rank of Colonel in 1657, he commanded a German Reiter regiment. He was wounded in the Cudnów campaign in 1660, fighting against the Muscovites. His further whereabouts are unknown. However, he is most probably the same as Patrick Gordon "S.[erenissimae] R.[egiae] Maiestatis regis Poloniarvm legionarivs praefectvs" and father of the Robert Gordon who died in Ilża on 17 May 1663 and was buried there. His tombstone can be found in the presbytery of St Mary of the Snows Catholic Church in Ilża. see Gordon, "Diary 1635–1659," fols 146v, 241v; Gordon, "Diary 1659–1667," fol. 14; SPLC no. 536; W. Borowy, *Scots in Old Poland* (Edinburgh-London: 1941), 25; R. Brzeziński, "British Mercenaries in the Baltic 1560–1683," *Military Illustrated: Past and Present* 4 (1986–87): 20; R. Gordon and G. Gordon, *A genealogical history of the earldom of Sutherland from its origin to the year 1637, with a continuation to the year 1651* (Edinburgh: 1813), 474; *Corpus Inscriptionum Poloniae*, vol. VIII: *Palatinatus Radomiensis, fasciculus I: Radom et I a regioque*, [ed.] V. Kowalski, qui edendo praefuit Z. Guldon (Varsoviae: 1992), no. 12; Bulloch and Skelton, *Gordons Under Arms*, 453.

⁸³ Lieutenant Adam Gordon (d. 1659), killed by a cannon ball while fighting against the Swedes near Marienburg, see Gordon, "Diary 1659–1667," fols 12v, 14; SPLC no. 504; Borowy, *Scots in Old Poland*, 25.

⁸⁴ Captain James Burnett of Leys served in the Polish Army in about 1650. In 1659 Patrick Gordon of Auchleuchries met him in the retinue of an envoy from the voivode of Kiev in Ukraine, see Gordon, "Diary 1635–1659," fol. 169; idem, "Diary 1659–1667," fol. 6; SPLC no. 536; Borowy, *Scots in Old Poland*, 25.

⁸⁵ Colonel Henry Gordon (d. 1674–75), fifth son of George Gordon 2nd Marquis of Huntly and Anne of Argyll; commanded German Reiter regiment; wounded in the Cudnów campaign in 1660, fighting the Muscovites; naturalised in 1658; and returned to Scotland in 1664, see Gordon, "Diary 1635–1659," fol. 241v; idem, "Diary 1659–1667," fols 61v, 89, 120v; SPLC no. 537; Biegańska, "Żołnierze szkoccy," 103; Boniecki, *Herbarz szlachty*, vol. V, 323–324; Brzeziński, "British Mercenaries in the Baltic 1560–1683," 20; Bulloch, *The Gay Gordons*, 44–45; idem, *The Gordons in Poland*, 3–16; Bulloch and Skelton, *Gordons Under Arms*, 429–30, 433; Przyboś,

Muscovites at Cudnów in 1660; Lieutenant-Colonel Thomas Menzies, a fellow Roman Catholic refugee, who probably at first was Gordon's travelling companion, and later met him at Cudnów on the opposing side;⁸⁶ Major Carstairs (Karsters, Kaster), by whom he was very kindly entertained in Kiejdany;⁸⁷ and lastly Captain Paul Menzies who, like Gordon, decided to swap sides and join the Muscovite banner.⁸⁸ During his adventure-packed years in the Commonwealth Gordon met a number of other Scots who always offered him a helping hand and who, like the army men, are also well known from other documents. In 1654 in Poznań he met his "kind countreyemen" James Lindsay (Lindesay),⁸⁹ Robert Farquhar

"Henryk Gordon de Huntlej," 302. Cf. B. Robertson, "The Gordons of Huntly: A Scottish noble household and its European connections, 1603–1688," in D. Worthington, ed., *British and Irish emigrants and exiles in Europe, 1603–1688*, (Leiden: 2010), 84.

⁸⁶ Lieutenant-Colonel Thomas Menzies of Białogoniew (d. 1660) came like Gordon, from a Roman Catholic family that was driven from Scotland by the Covenant. In Poland since about 1651. He was probably the Thomas Menzies who accompanied Gordon on his trip from Gdańsk to the Jesuit College at Braniewo. Later he served in the army of His Imperial Majesty of Russia. He is mentioned in a testimonial given to his eldest son John Lodovick, recorded in the Propinquity Books of Aberdeen on 17 February 1672. Menzies was mortally wounded in the battle of Cudnów, where he was taken prisoner by Lieutenant-Colonel Henry Gordon (see above). Gordon looked after Menzies until his death. After his return to Scotland Gordon witnessed the signing of the above mentioned testimonial, see Gordon, "Diary 1659–1667," fol. 89; SPLC no. 3543; MSC 352–353.

⁸⁷ Major Carstairs (Kaster) was recorded in the parish register of the Protestant Assembly in Kiejdany. On 16 December 1659 he was a godfather of James (Jakub) Paterson (jnr), son of James (Jakub) Paterson (snr) and Zofia Boniszewska [?]. He is known to have served with four other Scottish officers in the private army of Prince Radziwiłł family, see Gordon, "Diary 1659–1667," fols 121v–122; "LB 1641–1757," LVIA Fond 606, B 144–145, fol. 15v; SPLC no. 4181; Cf. R. Žirgulis, "The Scottish community in Kėdainiai c. 1630–c. 1750," in A. Grosjean and S. Murdoch, eds., *Scottish Communities Abroad in the Early Modern Period* (Leiden: 2005), 235; S. Murdoch, "The Scottish community in Kėdainiai (Kiejdany) in its Scandinavian and Baltic context" (paper presented to the Colloquium Balticum, Kėdainiai, June 2001). I am most indebted to the author who kindly sent me the article in its pre-print version.

⁸⁸ Major-General Paul Menzies of Pitfodells (1637–1694) was born at Maryculter, Aberdeenshire. The fourth son of Sir Gilbert of Pitfodells a staunch Roman Catholic. Educated at Douai (France). In 1660 Captain in Polish Army. In 1661 left Polish service and with Gordon enlisted in Tsar's army. In 1672–73 Menzies was Russian envoy to Germany, Austria, and Italy. Elevated to the rank of colonel, he became the first foreign tutor to the young Tsarevich, the future Peter the Great. Menzies took part in the Chigirin and Crimean campaigns of 1677 and 1678. In 1689 he was made a major-general. Together with Gordon, Menzies was heavily involved in securing permission to open the first Catholic church in Muscovy. Died in Moscow, see Gordon, "Diary 1659–1667," fol. 128v; J. W. Barnhill and P. Dukes, "North-east Scots in Muscovy in the seventeenth century," *Northern Scotland* 1, no. 1 (1972): 49–63; D. Fedosov, *The Caledonian Connection: Scotland–Russia Ties, the Middle Ages to the Early Twentieth Century* (Aberdeen: 1996), passim; MSC, 352–353; SPLC no. 1474; SSNE no. 4015.

⁸⁹ Most probably the same as James Lindsay merchant of Poznań who in 1650 acquired civic rights there and who subscribed to the subsidy for King Charles II in 1651, see Gordon,

(Ferquhar),⁹⁰ James Ferguson,⁹¹ James Watson⁹² and James White, who equipped him “with money and other necessities very liberally”.⁹³ James Innes the “Provincial of the Franciscans” rescued him from an arrest in Stary Sącz in 1656.⁹⁴ In 1659 he crossed paths with one of the most notable Scots in Poland-Lithuania, Dr William Davisson.⁹⁵ Finally, at the end of his service for the Crown, Gordon had financial dealings with three “merchants and indwellers [*sic*] in Zamoisiz [Zamość]”: James Birnie (Birney),⁹⁶ George Gordon⁹⁷ and James Wenton.⁹⁸ In Gordon’s diary there are other

“Diary 1635–1659,” fol. 11; ASK I, MS 134, fol. 4; cf. Pernal and Gasse, “The 1651 Polish subsidy,” no. 16; Guldón and Stępkowski, “Szkoci i Anglicy w Koronie,” no. 46; SEWP, 211; PRSP, xviii.

⁹⁰ Most probably Robert (Albert, Woyciech, Rodbert) Farquhar (Farqhar, Ferquhar), merchant of Poznań and son of William Farquhar of Delab (Dillab, Dillabe), Monymusk, Aberdeenshire, and Jean Mercer. Birth brief dated 19 January 1642. In 1649 Farquhar together with Robert Blackhall, Alexander Dickson (Dixon), George Elmslie, Benedykt Kezler of Cracow, and James Chalmer of Poznań was importing goods into Cracow. Farquhar subscribed to the subsidy for King Charles II in 1651, see Gordon, “Diary 1635–1659,” fol. 11; ASK I, MS 134, fol. 4; cf. SPLC no. 387; MSC, 327; Pernal and Gasse, “The 1651 Polish subsidy,” no. 14; Guldón and Stępkowski, “Szkoci i Anglicy w Koronie,” 46.

⁹¹ Most probably James (Jacob) Ferguson, merchant of Poznań who in 1649 acquired civic rights in Poznań, see Gordon, “Diary 1635–1659,” fol. 11; ASK I, MS 134, fol. 4; Cf. SPLC no. 399; SEWP, 210.

⁹² Most probably James (Jacobus) Watson (Watson de Dondi), burgher of Poznań (granted citizen’s rights in 1636). Originally of Dundee, see Gordon, “Diary 1635–1659,” fol. 11; ASK I, MS 134, fol. 4; cf. SPLC no. 1344; SEWP, 208; SIG, 249.

⁹³ Gordon, “Diary 1635–1659,” fol. 11.

⁹⁴ James Innes (later when in the order he took name Karol, i.e. Charles), son of Alexander Innes and Regina née unknown, residents of Zamość. Prior of the Grey Friars in Stary Sącz 1656, 1660, see Gordon, “Diary 1659–1667,” RSAMH, Fond 846, Op. 15, vol. II, fol. 52v; Boniecki, *Herbarz Polski*, vol. VIII, 53.

⁹⁵ Dr William Davisson (D’Avissonne), (c. 1593–1669), chemist and physician, the youngest of three sons of Duncan Davisson of Ardmakrone (d. c. 1600) and Jonet Forbes. Migrated to France. During his first years there, he may have qualified as a doctor of medicine at Montpellier. In 1644 he became physician to King Louis XIII. Davisson became intendant of the Jardin du Roi in 1647, and began lecturing there on 23 July 1648. In 1651 he became the first physician to King Jan Kazimierz and keeper of the royal garden in Warsaw. He left Poland in 1667, see Gordon, “Diary 1659–1667,” fol. 6v; SPLC no. 4164; Borowy, *Scots in Old Poland*, 25; L. M. Principe, “Davisson, William (c. 1593–1669),” in ODNB, <http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/7307> (accessed 1 November 2006); A. Birkenmajer and W. Ziembicki, “William Davidson (c. 1593–1669),” in PSB vol. IV, 457–458.

⁹⁶ James (Iakub) Birnie (Bemy, Birney) subscribed to the subsidy for King Charles II in Zamość (1651): Gordon, “Diary 1659–1667,” fol. 115; ASK I, MS 134, fol. 20; SPLC no. 100.

⁹⁷ George (Georg, Ierzy) Gordon (Gordan) subscribed to the subsidy for King Charles II in Zamość (1651).—Gordon, “Diary 1659–1667,” fol. 115; ASK I, MS 134, fol. 20; SPLC no. 502.

⁹⁸ James (Jacobus) Wenton was active as an assessor in the municipal council in Zamość in 1678. Wenton also held offices of councillor in 1660–79 and lord mayor in 1661, 1698–1702. Mentioned as a *mercator et proconsul Zamosciensis* in a book of baptisms in 1663 as a godfather of Catharina and again in 1672 of Barbara, daughters of John Wenton and Anna, see Gordon, “Diary 1659–1667,” fol. 115; APLub. sig. 105, fol. 101, 150; SPLC no. 1565; Biegańska, “Wielka emigracja Szkotów w Polsce,” Tabl. VI (Ława), VII (Rajcy), VIII (Burmistrzowie).

Scots who cannot be identified, but when compared to those who left their trace elsewhere, there are really not as many as one would expect. Gordon's account leaves an overwhelming impression that the Scottish population, although substantial, was by no means of the proportions suggested by Lithgow or Cochrane. Instead, the community seems to be highly itinerant, capable of networking and showing support for countrymen, despite apparent differences in the religious or social backgrounds of the migrants.

The Scale of the Migration as Reflected in State and Municipal Documents

The scale of migration from the last decades of the sixteenth century to the middle of the seventeenth century may be also indicated to some degree by the frequency with which Scots appear in state and municipal documents of Poland-Lithuania, Scotland and England. The presence and activities of Scots in the Commonwealth did not escape the attention of the Court and the *Sejm*. After 1537 a number of special royal decrees regulated Scottish rights and privileges in the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth. From 1562 until 1661 Scots were also being mentioned in tax laws. The existence of such texts indicates that the group was significant enough for the officials to take notice of it. It would be a mistake, however, to overstate the populousness of the group based on the frequency of the appearance of Scots in the constitutions, as often the same laws were replicated word for word in subsequent years. For instance, the poll-tax law formula of 1564 was used without any changes every year until 1613. Only once, in 1564, are Scots singled out to pay the poll tax.⁹⁹

Similarly, it would be a mistake to draw the conclusion that Scots were singled out by the court officials and specifically targeted by certain tax laws. Taken out of context, the laws may create an impression that only wandering Scots were "resented as undesirable competitors to local traders" and that they alone were the subject of decrees of 1565 that describe them "as people who injured the towns and did not help the crown".¹⁰⁰

⁹⁹ The 1564 constitution proclaimed "Sztotowie którzy na sobie noszą swoje rzeczy ku przedaniu, płacić mają po złotemu monety; Sztotowie którzy końmi swoje towary wożą, od każdego konia po kopie monety." (transl. "Scots, who carry their merchandise for sale on their backs, shall pay one *złoty*; and those Scots who use horses to transport their goods, shall pay sixty *groszy* from each horse used."), see VL II, 40, no. 665.

¹⁰⁰ Borowy, *Scots in Old Poland*, 13. A similar argument was proposed by Biegańska, see "National and municipal authorities promulgated a series of edicts against the vagrant

A close inspection of *Volumina Legum* reveals that the decrees of 1565 and an earlier one of 1562 targeted all foreign merchants, among them Scots and Italians, because, as explained in the text, their trading caused financial losses to the monarchy, gentry and local merchants alike.¹⁰¹ Later, measures refer to Scots and other nationalities: Germans, Italians, Englishmen, Frenchmen, Armenians, Muscovites, Persians and Greeks.¹⁰² Similarly, the often quoted edict of 1551 by King Zygmunt August issued against peddlers wandering about the countryside mentions not only 'Scots', but also Jews and hucksters. This law, confirmed and endorsed in 1556 and 1580, contains an interesting description of the itinerant traders: "Scot, pedlar, vagrant (or by whatever other name they may be called)", putting in question the supposition that all mentioned were ethnic Scots.¹⁰³ After 1652, only the legislation of 1661 mentions Scots as a separate ethnic group.¹⁰⁴

The economic activity of Scots in Poland-Lithuania in preceding years had to be considerable enough, however, to warrant the strong opposition of burghers to Scots, as shown by continuous attempts to limit their activities. As early as 1567 Poznań obtained a decree that banished all Scottish tenants from that town, famous for its spring fairs.¹⁰⁵ In Bydgoszcz in 1568 Scottish peddlers were forbidden to settle.¹⁰⁶ The town of Kcynia obtained a mandate against "Jews, Scots and other vagabonds".¹⁰⁷ In Kościan they were forbidden to sojourn.¹⁰⁸

There are also several petitions of prominent Scottish merchants such as the ones issued in 1569¹⁰⁹ or 1592 to crack down on illegal traders from their "nation" who "crowd the streets" and to limit migration from

Scots. As early as 1562 and 1565 the *Sejm* (Diet) enacted laws against the Scottish peddlers", see Biegańska, "A Note on Scots," 158. Cf. C. Ożóg, "Scottish merchants in Poland 1550–1750," *Journal of the Sydney Society for Scottish History* 3 (1995): 59.

¹⁰¹ VL II, 20, no. 61; VL II, 51, no. 65.

¹⁰² The Constitution of 1611 mentions Armenians, Greeks and Scots, while the Royal Universal of 1613 mentions Scots among Italians, Germans, Greeks, Muscovites, Armenians and Jews, see VL III, 29, no. 53; VL III, 128, no. 262.

¹⁰³ AGAD MK 123, fol. 226 quoted in PRSP, 96–100. Cf. Guldon and Stępkowski, "Ludność szkocka i angielska," 203; idem, "Szkoci i Anglicy w Koronie," 32; SEWP, 157; W. Kowalski, "The placement of urbanised Scots in the Polish Crown during the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries," in A. Grosjean and S. Murdoch, eds., *Scottish Communities Abroad in the Early Modern Period* (Leiden: 2005), 56.

¹⁰⁴ VL IV, 326–327, no. 8.

¹⁰⁵ Steuart, *Papers relating to Scots*, xiii.

¹⁰⁶ SIG, 35.

¹⁰⁷ PRSP, xiii.

¹⁰⁸ Guldon and Stępkowski, "Szkoci i Anglicy w Koronie," 33.

¹⁰⁹ "Petition of the Guild of Krämar of Prussia (Königsberg 1569)," quoted in SIG, 34.

Scotland.¹¹⁰ The complaints and the responses from James VI (I)—like the letter of 1625¹¹¹ or an undated one from the late seventeenth century¹¹²—clearly indicate some competition between Scots in Poland-Lithuania.

The size of the Scottish diaspora in the Commonwealth might also be reflected in remarks made in the state papers of the English parliament. There exist a variety of decrees and edicts relating to that matter, but none is more meaningful than the record of the debate of 1606 and the attempt in 1651 to raise a subsidy for Charles II in Poland. In the first instance, the example of migration of Scots to Poland-Lithuania was successfully used in 1606 as a counter-argument to stop Francis Bacon's project of granting naturalisations to Scots who followed James VI (I) to London. The opposition argued that:

If we admit them into our Liberties, we shall be over-run with them, as Cattle pent up by a slight Hedge will over it into a better soyl, and a Tree taken from a barren place will thrive to excessive and exuberant Branches in a better, witness the multiplicities of the Scots in Polonia.¹¹³

Bacon used this migration as an argument in favour of his contention that Scots would not overrun England if offered the prospect of naturalisation.

Similarly, the property tithe levied by the 1650 Constitution of the *Sejm* as a subsidy for Charles II—imposed upon all his subjects residing in the Crown—must also be viewed as an indication of the importance of this group of migrants to Charles II.¹¹⁴ Charles and his court must have had some good knowledge about the character, financial status and, most importantly for this discussion, the size of the Scottish diaspora there, to face the considerable trouble in raising these funds. In 1649 Charles II sent to Poland his agent, Sir John Cochrane. Having been received favourably at the Polish Court, Cochrane visited several towns and collected considerable sums. However, Charles II's sudden change of policy, entering negotiations with the Covenanters, alienated Cochrane. Abandoning the Stuart cause, Cochrane supposedly withheld most of the money so that

¹¹⁰ "Letter to the Magistrates of Gdańsk (Gdańsk 1592)," quoted in SEWP, 29–30.

¹¹¹ "Letter of James VI (Newmarket, 22 February 1625)," quoted in SIG, 243.

¹¹² "An undated Letter of James VI to all his subjects, honest Scottemen trafiquing in Poland, Pruss and Germanie, etc. (late sixteenth century)," quoted in PRSP, 105–106.

¹¹³ A. Wilson, *The History of Great Britain, being the Life and Reign of King James the First, relating to what passed from his first access to the Crown till his death* (London: 1653), 34.

¹¹⁴ ASK I, MS 134.

very little reached Charles.¹¹⁵ The disappointed but persevering monarch, in a letter to his subjects in Poland, disowned Cochrane's mandate for levying money, and later that year dispatched William Crofts and John Denham with the same purpose. In December 1650 the ambassadors successfully persuaded the *Sejm* to ordain the levy, a 10 per cent property tax on all Scots and English living in the realm, which raised the substantial sum of £10,000.¹¹⁶

Charles' final attempt in 1656 to collect money—this time by way of loans and through his new envoy, Lieutenant-General John Middleton—can be viewed in a similar light.¹¹⁷ If Charles II attempted to tap the same source yet again, it shows that he was pleased at the sums raised the first time around, and that he thought there were many Scots in the Polish Crown. Although, as discussed, the source has a number of limitations—it does not contain all locations inhabited by Scots or list all Scots who resided in the locations visited by Charles' agents—it is possible to calculate the margin of error in the register and then use the formula to determine a more precise estimate of the size of the Scottish diaspora in the Polish Crown in the early 1650s. For example, the tax register shows 16 contributors in Cracow. Using the records of the Lucianowice and Wielkanoc chapels frequented by Cracow's Scots, it is possible to verify that of the 33 men who were receiving communion there on a regular basis and who did not pay the tax in other locations, about half managed to avoid the subsidy.¹¹⁸ A higher disproportion between those who paid the tithe and those whose names appear in the parish records was registered in Gdańsk. Even if one considers only Scottish male adult parishioners who appeared in the records of St Peter and St Paul and St Elizabeth churches on a regular basis and for a longer period of time, that is, about 85 individuals, the evidence suggests that only about 36.5 per cent of them (31 individuals) contributed to the tithe.¹¹⁹

¹¹⁵ A. Grosjean, *An Unofficial Alliance: Scotland and Sweden, 1569–1654* (Leiden: 2003), 226–227; S. Murdoch, *Britain, Denmark-Norway and the House of Stuart, 1603–1660* (East Linton: 2003), 157–158.

¹¹⁶ VL IV, 154, no. 13; ASK I, MS 134 fols 1–39. Cf. Pernal and Gasse, "The 1651 Polish subsidy," 16–17.

¹¹⁷ Middleton's mission ended in failure, as at the same time the "Swedish Deluge" began, when most of Poland was occupied by Swedes, after Karl X Gustav's invasion of July 1655.

¹¹⁸ There were further four Scots who on regular basis visited the parishes. They resided permanently either in Lublin, Lubowla and Lwów, and paid their tithe there.

¹¹⁹ ASK I 134, fol. 35.

If the ratio of those who contributed to the subsidy to those who managed to evade it was of similar proportion elsewhere, it would mean that the number of Scots in the register should be at least doubled and thus equal about 1000 men. A tentative estimate of the total Scottish population of the Polish Crown based on the aforementioned tax register can be calculated by multiplying that number by the estimated household size. According to the most up-to-date demographic research, in municipal centres such as Warsaw, Gdańsk and Poznań, in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, couples had on average four children. The figure was higher in the rural communities, where on average 4.5 children were born per couple. At the end of the sixteenth century the average size of a household (including servants) in well-populated Poznań was estimated at 5.6 people. In the second half of the seventeenth century—after the destructive wars and epidemics—a household in Warsaw was estimated at 4.3, in Lwów at 3.8 and in Cracow at 2.6 people. At the same period, in Guttstadt, a small town in Ducal Prussia, the average was 4.8 persons.¹²⁰ Moreover, this study has established that the Scottish couples of the Cracow parish had on average 3.5 children, and at least 30 per cent of them were second generation—their households may have included their parents and/or older relatives who might have enlarged the household.¹²¹ Assuming that every Scot had a family—in Cracow 14 of 37 men listed in the parish register at that time were recorded as having wives and siblings—and each family unit consisted on average of four to five souls, the total Scottish population by the middle of the seventeenth century in the Polish Crown could be approximately 4,000–5,000 persons strong.

An earlier document of a similar value is the roll of the Scottish traders in Ducal Prussia compiled in 1615 by James Cook (Jacob Koch). The register ordered by the Elector to be used for taxation purposes refers in the prefix to “a great number of the Scottish nation in this Dukedom of Prussia, scattered here and there”, but the list itself contains 410 names.¹²² Unfortunately, no studies have been done to assess the completeness

¹²⁰ C. Kuklo, *Demografia Rzeczypospolitej przedrozbiorowej* (Warszawa: 2009), 177, 360–361; idem, “Próba sondażowego określenia wartości wybranych zespołów metrykalnych do badań nominatywnych,” *Przeszłość Demograficzna Polski* 13 (1981–82): 132ff; S. Waszak, “Ludność i zabudowa mieszkaniowa m. Poznania w XVI i XVII w.,” in M. Suchocki and Z. Wojciechowski, eds., *Studia poznańskie*, vol. II (Poznań: 1954), 117.

¹²¹ See Table 6.3, Scottish families of the Cracow parish (Wielkanoc-Lucianowice) in 1650s.

¹²² SIG, Appendix to Part I/XVI, 258–261.

of this register; therefore, at this stage, it is impossible to estimate the Scottish population of Ducal Prussia based on this source alone.

The Chronology of Migration

A statistical list of Scottish arrivals in the Commonwealth composed by Biegańska—when an individual was recorded for the first time in the sources—led her to conclude that the main influx of Scots—genuine newcomers—must have occurred in the last three decades of the sixteenth century, chiefly in the 1580s, and then during the first half of the seventeenth century, in particular in the 1610s (Fig. 3.1).¹²³

Biegańska's observations can be supported by the evidence available through the number of rolls of admittance to the civic rights (Fig. 3.2). The *Libris Iuris Civilis Cracoviensis*, the citizenship record books for Cracow, indicate a similar timing and scale of migration. The records show that a great majority of grants—57 of 78—were given to Scots or people of Scottish descent between 1590 and 1630. Of those, 17 Scots were granted citizenship in the 1590s, nine in the 1600s, and nine in the 1610s. The numbers peaked in the 1620s when the number of grants rose to 22.¹²⁴ A

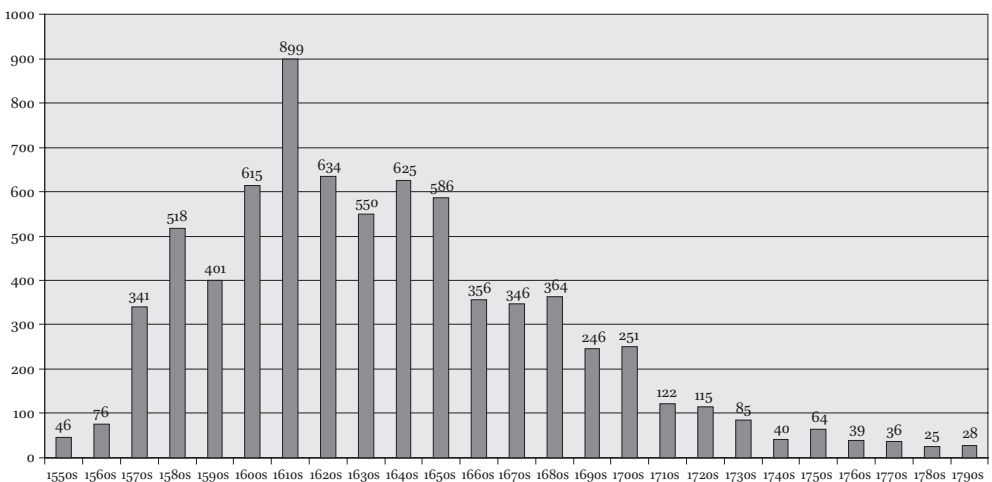


Fig. 3.1. The arrival of Scots in Poland 1550–1799 based on the research done by Biegańska (1974).

¹²³ Biegańska, “A Note on Scots,” 158–159.

¹²⁴ LICCr I; LICCr II; cf. Kowalski, “From Aberdeen to Poland,” tables 1 and 2. Cf. “Records of those Scots granted Citizenship in Cracow,” quoted in PRSP, 39–58.

similar trend can be observed in Poznań and Gdańsk. In Poznań 19 grants of citizenship were conferred to Scots between 1580 and 1608, and further 17 between 1624 and 1650.¹²⁵ In Gdańsk the largest number of citizenships, 32, were granted between 1573 and 1606, and 60 between 1610 and 1669.¹²⁶

The records of two Reformed churches of Gdańsk attended by Scots, St Peter and St Paul, and St Elizabeth, corroborate trends displayed by the citizenship rolls. Both Scottish congregations grew in numbers in the first decades of the sixteenth century, to peak in the 1640s–1650s. The sudden decline recorded in the next decade was a direct result of the war with Sweden and Gdańsk's decision not to surrender to the advancing army of Karl X Gustav. While preparing for an inevitable siege, the magistrates, knowing that many of the Scottish and English settlers were supporters of Cromwell who himself favoured the Swedes, made a decision to compel all those who were not already naturalised, either to submit to the admin-

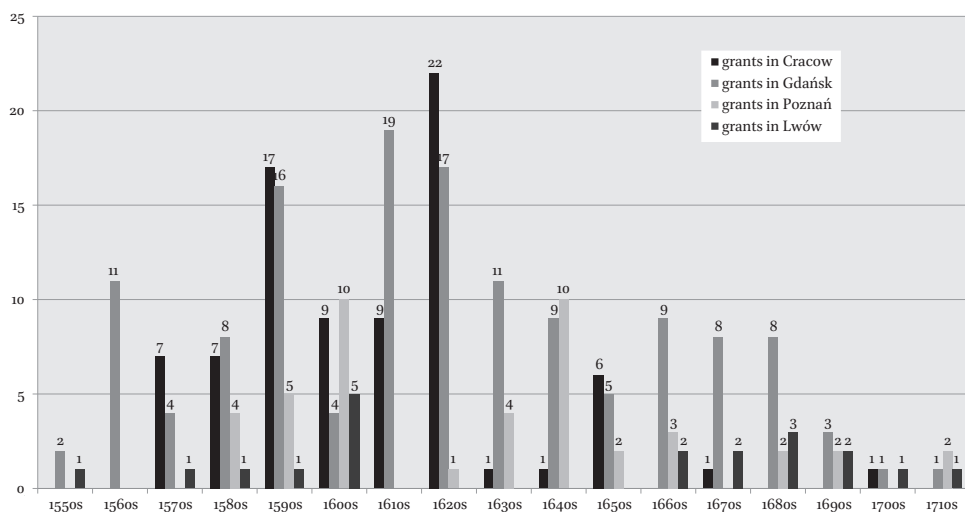


Fig. 3.2. Grants of citizenship in Cracow, Gdańsk, Poznań and Lwów 1550s–1710s.

¹²⁵ "List of Scotsmen who became burghesses of Posen 1585–1713," quoted in SEWP, 204–214.

¹²⁶ Penners-Ellwart, *Die Danziger Bürgerschaft*, Tafel I, Die Herkunft der Danziger Neubürger in den Jahren 1558 bis 1709. Penners-Ellwart lists 135 Scots admitted to citizenship in Gdańsk for the period 1558–1709, while Fischer lists only 124 Scots. Cf. "List of Scotsmen who became burghesses of Danzig 1531–1710," quoted in SEWP, 193–197.

istration by taking the oath of fidelity, to military service and a war-tax, or to leave the city (1656).¹²⁷

According to Fischer, the Scots unanimously refused all three requirements and, as a result, were expelled on 12 July 1656. In the light of the evidence available through the parish registers, it can be assumed that about 50 per cent of them had indeed left the city, never to return. This contradicts Fischer's hypothesis that the banishment did not have lasting effects.¹²⁸ According to the data, the numbers never rose again, and dropped further in the subsequent decades.

A slightly different picture of settlement can be obtained from the documents of parishes located in the Grand Duchy of Lithuania and Ducal Prussia. The movement into the Reformed centres of Lithuania took place a little later than in Royal Prussia and in the Crown. Although the numbers peaked roughly during the same period as elsewhere, that is in the 1640s–1650s, the Scottish congregations in Lithuania retained almost the same number of followers right the 1680s. In Kiejdany, the biggest centre of Scottish presence in the Grand Duchy of Lithuania, the first migrants did not appear until 1628. Throughout the next decade, the number of Scottish settlers rose to 20 to 30 families by the 1660s. The community retained its prominence until the late 1690s, that is, later than in the majority of municipal centres in the Crown, but in the 1700s showed symptoms of decline.¹²⁹ Although the precise number of Scots who obtained the citizenship of Kiejdany is unknown, most of the Kiejdany magistrates books for the seventeenth century have perished and the parish records are possibly the only available primary source from which to reconstruct information

¹²⁷ "They have required the English merchants to beare armes, and take an oath of fidelity to the citty, which they have generally refused, alledginge the Sweades would then seize their estates in Elbinge and other parts; but they feare they shall be constrayned to doe it, or be put out of the city, if they receive not countenance from his highness... It seems their ancient privileges with that city are now but little regarded.", see "Richard Bradshaw, resident at Hamburgh, to secretary Thurloe (Hamburg, 22 January 1655)," in T. Birch, ed., *A collection of the State Papers of John Thurloe* (London: 1742), vol. 4: Sept 1655–May 1656, 441–442. <http://www.britishhistory.ac.uk/report.aspx?compid=55434> (accessed 14 Jan 2008); cf. R. Hinton, *The Eastland Trade and the Comon Wealth in the Seventeenth Century* (Hamden: 1975), 127–131.

¹²⁸ SIG, 48–49; APGd 300, 53/750 quoted in Biegańska, "Wielka emigracja Szkotów w Polsce," 54.

¹²⁹ "Metryka Zboru Kiejdańskiego," LVIA, Fond 606, B 144–145 (1663–1799); "Collecta Zboru Kiejdańskiego: To jest rachunek wszystkich recept i expens zborowych zaczęty roku 1628 dnia 20 novembra," unpublished print (Wilno: 1939), Lietuvos Mokslų Akademijos Biblioteka (hereafter LMAB), RS F9–3040; cf. Žirgulis, "The Scottish community in Kėdainiai," 225–247.

about the positions of responsibility and the civic rights held by the Scots. Based on this material, it is apparent that between 1658 and 1735 at least 20 Scots obtained civic rights in Kiejdany.¹³⁰

Similar trends were recorded in Königsberg, the capital of Ducal Prussia, and in other Lithuanian towns under the patronage of the Radziwiłł family (at least until 1669). Correspondingly, the records of Burgkirche in Königsberg show that the community was at its peak in the 1630s–1640s and remained high until the end of the seventeenth century. This was possibly due to several factors. First of all, during the Swedish Deluge, as a result of negotiations between Friedrich Wilhelm the Elector of Brandenburg, Duke of Prussia, and Karl X Gustav, Ducal Prussia, of which Königsberg was the capital, surrendered to the Swedes and became a Swedish fief (1656). Until 1657 the Elector supported the Swedes, only to swap sides when Poland-Lithuania regained the upper hand. Using the Commonwealth's need for an ally against the Swedes, the Elector offered help for the price of revoking Polish sovereignty over Ducal Prussia (1657).¹³¹ While the Reformed parishes in the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth, with perhaps the exception of Kiejdany, because of the support given to Karl X by a considerable number of their members, had to face retribution during and in the aftermath of the war, large parts of Ducal Prussia, including Königsberg, suffered minimal, if any, damage.

When in the 1700s the number of Scottish parishioners in Königsberg substantially declined, it had more to do with the economic situation in the region or new commercial opportunities opening elsewhere, than with political events. Second, the distribution of migrants may have had a direct connection with the aftermath of the Swedish Deluge on the one hand, and a stronger British presence in the Grand Duchy of Lithuania in the post-1685 period on the other. In that year, King Jan III Sobieski granted the firm Hurst and Archer permission to establish a trading company at Połaga (Palanga, Polangen), at the mouth of the Świąta River (Šventoji, Heiligen Aa). In return, the English and possibly some Scottish merchants were to improve the port facilities of Świąta, otherwise known as Jan-Marienburg, to which Sobieski granted a town charter and a 40-year

¹³⁰ Of those, four: George Anderson (1663, 1679, 1668, 1669, 1672, 1675, 1677, 1681), George Mollison (Jerzy Moleison) (1694–95), Alexander Cuthbert (Kuthbert) (1718), and George Forsyth (1741, 1748–49) acted as town mayors. Nine of them were elected to the office of magister, and seven played the role of *tawnik* (alderman) in the municipal assembly, see Appendix X.

¹³¹ S. Salmonowicz, *Prusy: dzieje państwa i społeczeństwa* (Warszawa: 1998), 94–99.

dispensation from all taxes. Although not much has been written about this enterprise, it is clear that it expanded commerce in the region. Its competition with Memel (Klaipėda) and Libau (Liepāja) must have been considerable if, at the outbreak of the Great Northern War, the merchants of these cities persuaded the Swedes to block off the port with stones (1701).¹³² Another factor that could have influenced the trends shown in Lithuania was that the Counter-Reformation was not as successful there as in the other provinces of the Commonwealth.

Although the position of the Lithuanian Reformed Church declined substantially in the last quarter of the seventeenth century, the Bretheren were more powerful there than in other provinces. After the extinction in the male line of the Calvinist branch of the Radziwiłł family, which had protected the Church up until then, their role was effectively assumed by less affluent but still influential nobility. Their collective patronage and protectorship may have created favourable conditions for the Scots to remain in the selected parishes.¹³³

In addition, a slightly different set of data can be obtained from the civic documents of much smaller regional centres located deep inland. In the towns of the Sandomierz Palatinate (*województwo sandomierskie*) in Lesser Poland, Scots begin to appear in records only in the early seventeenth century. For example three Scots were recorded in Chęciny in 1600–01, five in Secemin in 1601–05, three in Sandomierz in 1601–02, and six in Tarnów in 1600–04.¹³⁴ In Tarnów, the group of Scottish merchants grew to nine individuals by the 1630s. At that time the Scots represented 50 per cent of all Christian merchants residing there in the first half of the seventeenth century.¹³⁵ The example of the colony in Chęciny shows that they were most active during that period, and that by 1650 a great majority of them had left that town.¹³⁶ In Brody, the town belonging to the then powerful Koniecpolski family and located even deeper inland, in the Lwów district (Ukraine), 156 Scots were recorded, but it is unclear how

¹³² VL V, 399, no. 12; L. R. Lewitter, "Russia, Poland and the Baltic, 1697–1721," *The Historical Journal* 11, no. 1 (1968), 6; S. Sužiedėlis, ed., *Encyclopedia Lituanica*, (Boston, Mass: 1972), s.v. "Palanga," vol. VI, 159–163, "Šventoji," vol. V, 344–345.

¹³³ The situation of the Lithuanian Bretheren during the Counter-Reformation has been discussed in W. Kriegseisen, *Ewangelicy polscy i litewscy w epoce saskiej (1696–1763). Sytuacja prawna, organizacja i stosunki międzywyznaniowe* (Warszawa: 1996), 88–89, 99–102.

¹³⁴ Altogether they were recorded in 21 towns of that district. Z. Guldón, *Żydzi i Szkoci w Polsce w XVI–XVII wieku: studia i materiały* (Kielce: 1990), 8, 24–25.

¹³⁵ S. Bidwell-Holdys, "Kupcy w siedemnastowiecznym Tarnowie," *Sobótka* 2 (1975): 222.

¹³⁶ Guldón, *Żydzi i Szkoci w Polsce*, 8, 24–25.

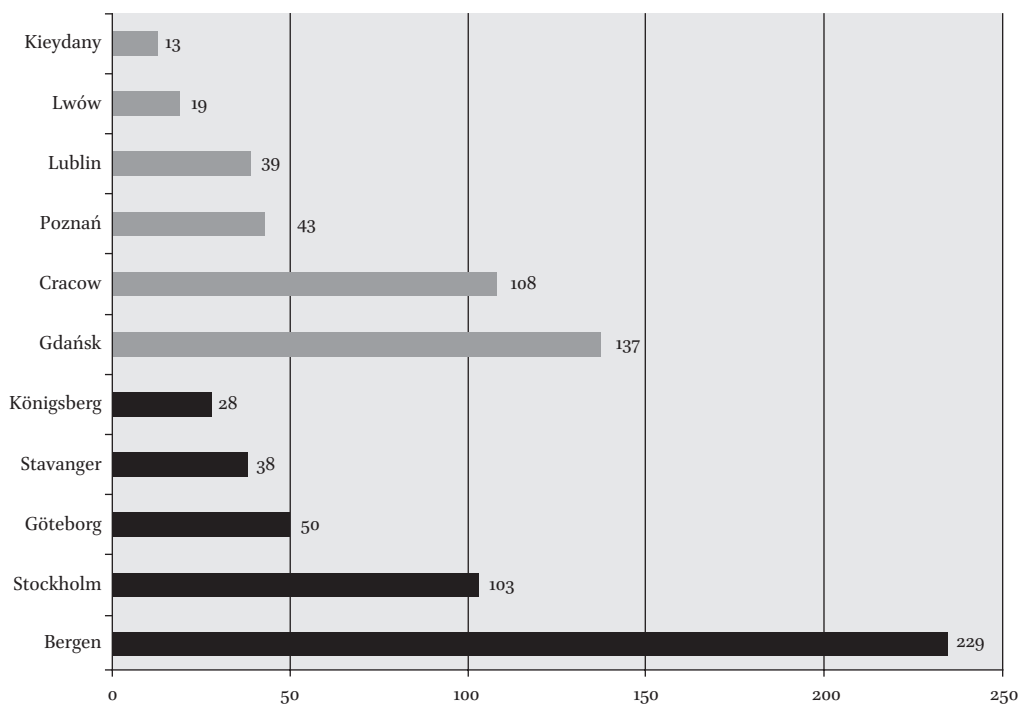


Fig. 3.3. Number of Scots who obtained burgher right in Polish-Lithuanian towns and in other municipal centres of Central Europe and Scandinavia 1550–1710.

many resided there. The first documents about their activities date back to 1630. This date marks two decades of very high Scottish economic activity in the region during which they made some 41 property transactions in the town—the last recorded in 1650 when William Andrews (Wilhelm Andrys) and John Kilgour (?) (Jan Kilo) bought shops from their countryman William Logan (Wilhelm Loga) for 2500 złoty. After that date Scottish names quickly disappear from the town's records.¹³⁷

Based on the figures obtained from the rolls of admittance to the burgher estate and other documents, it is quite clear that Gdańsk and Cracow in particular played a significant role for the diaspora community in Central Europe. Recent research shows that in terms of settled Scottish population both urban centres were possibly second in importance only to Bergen in Norway (Fig. 3.3).¹³⁸

¹³⁷ Ibid., 66–71.

¹³⁸ I am indebted to Steve Murdoch and Nina Østby Pedersen who provided me with the most up-to-date figures of Scots who obtained civic rights at Bergen, Göteborg,

An Attempt to Assess the Scale of the Migration Based on Parish Records

Parish records are perhaps the most important group of sources that have been largely overlooked in attempts to measure the Scottish presence in the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth.¹³⁹ Although the quality of sources differs substantially—there is no single full set of books for a longer period of time than a decade—the records confirm the chronology of the Scottish migration to the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth.¹⁴⁰

The data from the books of the Reformed congregations in Cracow (Wielkanoc-Lucianowice), Gdańsk (St Peter and St Paul, and St Elizabeth churches), Wilno, Kiejdany and Königsberg shows that the Scottish communities were sizeable and numerically strongest in the fourth and fifth decades of the seventeenth century. However, only the records from the 1640s have been chosen to form a sample for analysis. This was because demographically the Scottish population seemed to be at its peak and the documents from the 1640s survived in a relatively good condition in all of the above-mentioned parishes.

Looking at a sample of records from the principal centres where Scots were recorded and extrapolating to draw conclusions about the scale of migration has obvious problems. Sampling reveals, however, that only a small number of Scots can be found in rural areas, especially in more remote, inland locations, and in Roman Catholic parishes. The sampling also indicates that major parishes drew Scots from surrounding regions, not just nearby towns. This was, to an extent, facilitated by the Reformed practice of infrequent communion.

The books of Reformed parishes from 1640 to 1649 show that in Gdańsk alone approximately 254 Scots and their descendants were baptised (143 at St Peter and St Paul and 111 at St Elizabeth).¹⁴¹ A similar number was

Stavanger and Stockholm. See Murdoch, "The Scottish community in Kėdainiai," 191–224; Østby Pedersen, "Scottish immigration to Bergen in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries," in Grosjean and Murdoch, *Scottish Communities Abroad In The Early Modern Period* (Leiden: 2005), 135–165; idem, "Skotsk innvandring til Norge i tidlig moderne tid," (MA Thesis, Universitetet i Oslo, Oslo, 2000), 179–189, Veldlegg 5; E. Grage, "Scottish merchants in Gothenburg, 1621–1850," in T. C. Smout, ed., *Scotland and Europe 1200–1850*, (Edinburgh: 1986), 112–115.

¹³⁹ This problem was highlighted in a recent paper by Kowalski. See Kowalski, "The placement of urbanised Scots," 68, 64.

¹⁴⁰ There are only two sets of more complete records. The parish books of Lucianowice and Wielkanoc parishes near Cracow and Kiejdany in the Grand Duchy of Lithuania, in addition to information about births, marriages and deaths, contain lists of communicants, names of alms givers, notes of sessions and so on.

¹⁴¹ See Appendix II and Appendix III.

recorded in Königsberg—114,¹⁴² while in Kiejdany, Cracow and Wilno the numbers were much smaller, 36,¹⁴³ 28¹⁴⁴ and 17¹⁴⁵ respectively. Records of marriages provide the following figures for Scots and their descendants: Gdańsk, St Peter and St Paul 33, St Elizabeth 38; Königsberg Burgkirche 31, Lucianowice and Wielkanoc 9; Kiejdany 10 and a church in Wilno 4. The figures may contain a small margin of error, because of problems with identifying the ethnic origins of the parishioners, and especially in differentiating between Scots and Englishmen.

It has been established that although the parishes under investigation attracted many 'local' Scots, the churches also acted as centres for migrants living in the surrounding localities. Thus in Lucianowice and Wielkanoc chapels we can identify regular visitors from Olkusz, Tarnów, Lublin and Lubowla; in Gdańsk from Iława (German: Polnische Eylau), Toruń, Nowe (German: Neuenburg), Kwidzyń (German: Marienwerder), Chełmno (German: Culm) and other places in the vicinity. Likewise in Kiejdany we see Scots from Elbląg, Wilno, Kielmy, Tylża or Königsberg. Similar patterns have been recorded in the remaining parishes.

The inquiry into the records of Roman Catholic parishes overwhelmingly returned a negative result. For example, no Scottish-sounding names were found in parish books of Braniewo—famous for its Jesuit College, which is known to have been attended by Scots.¹⁴⁶ Similarly, no Scots appear in the acts of the church in Brody.¹⁴⁷ Sporadically, one or two families were found in Alt Schottland,¹⁴⁸ Zamość,¹⁴⁹ Kcynia¹⁵⁰ and Szydłowiec.¹⁵¹

¹⁴² See Appendix IV.

¹⁴³ See Appendix VIII.

¹⁴⁴ See Appendix VI.

¹⁴⁵ See Appendix VII.

¹⁴⁶ RCC Braniewo, "LB 1567–1588," GSTABD Vol B 3633, "LB 1631–1644," GSTAB Vol B 3560, "LB 1665–1700," GSTABD Vol B 1847.

¹⁴⁷ RCC Brody, "LN 1610–1678," "LC 1610–1662," APWar sig. 301/1.

¹⁴⁸ "Liber Baptizatorium in Schotlandia et Hopenbruch, 1615–1642," Katholisches Kirchbuchamt, München, sig. 123.

¹⁴⁹ John and Anna Wenton (Wentoun, Wentoon) were recorded in the 1660s–70s, see RCC Zamość, "LB 1659–1665," APLub. 107/37 fol. 101; "LB 1668–1735," APLub. 105/37 fols 150, 192, 223, 273, 300; James and Regina Donaldson (Donalson) were recorded in the 1700s, see RCC Zamość, "LB 1668–1735," APLub. 105/37 fols 402, 496; William (Wilhelm) and Sophia Lindsay (Ledza, Lendza) were recorded in the 1710s, see *Ibid.*, fols 98, 131, 152, 160, 177, 259.

¹⁵⁰ David and Marianna Urquhard (Orchard, Urchard, *Szot*) were recorded in the 1660s.—RCC Kcynia, "LB 1671–1695," Archiwum Archidiecezji Gnieźnieńskiej, Gniezno (hereafter AAG), AP 80/2; "LC 1671–1714," AP 80/6 fol. 7 (7 October 1675), fol. 30a (7.02.1694). Cf. M. Górny, "List pochodzenia Dawida Urquharda z 1663 roku. Źródło do dziejów osadnictwa szkockiego w Polsce," *Genealogia: Studia i materiały historyczne* I (1991): 81–84; ASK I, MS 134 fol. 37; SPLC no. 1118.

¹⁵¹ Alexander Russel, his first wife Margareth Sanxter, and his second wife Elizabeth Lork were recorded in the 1610s and 1620s, Daniel Russel (*Scotus*) and Agnieszka

The only exception to this rule is a parish in Chełmno, where in the 1640s approximately 10–15 Scottish families attended the church. Records show that five marriages took place there during that decade, and another nine in the 1650s.¹⁵² The lack of Scots among parishioners of the Roman Catholic congregations and their sizeable presence in Reformed parishes seems to indicate that the majority of the immigrants were either Presbyterians or Episcopalians.

Moreover, the fact that virtually no traces of Scots were found in smaller country estate parishes of the Grand Duchy of Lithuania such as Zarój (Zaroj),¹⁵³ Nowe Miasto (Naujamiestis),¹⁵⁴ Szwabiszki (Švobiškis),¹⁵⁵ Bielica (Belitsa),¹⁵⁶ Żuprany (Zhuprany),¹⁵⁷ Dokudowo,¹⁵⁸ Kielmy (Kelme),¹⁵⁹

Abrachamowska were recorded in the 1610s, and James Todt (*Scotus*) and Sophia Sanxter were recorded in the 1610s and 1620s, see F. Kiryk, "Przyczynki do dziejów Szydłowca w pierwszej połowie XVII stulecia," in C. Kukla, ed., *Cała historia to dzieje ludzi... Studia z historii społecznej ofiarowane profesorowi Andrzejowi Wyczańskiemu w 80-tą rocznicę urodzin i 55-lecie pracy naukowej* (Białystok: 2004), 241–254; W. Guldon and Z. Guldon, "Saga szkockiego rodu Russellów w Szydłowcu w pierwszej połowie XVII wieku," in J. Wijaczka, ed., *Szydłowiec. Z dziejów miasta: materiały sesji popularnonaukowej 20 lutego 1999 roku* (Szydłowiec: 1999), 35–38.

¹⁵² RCC Chełmno, "LB 1641–1649," AFCh sig. 6, fols. 6–49.

¹⁵³ No names of Scots were recorded among the communicants of that parish, see "Parish registers 1656–1807," LVIA Fond 606, AP. 1, B 189–190.

¹⁵⁴ No names of Scots were recorded among the communicants of that parish, see "Parish registers 1708–1864," LVIA Fond 606, AP. 1, B 157–160.

¹⁵⁵ No names of Scots were recorded among the communicants of that parish, see "Parish registers 1692–1830," Fond 606, AP. 1, B 173–152.

¹⁵⁶ Five Scots were recorded in Bielica. In 1691 Miss Ogilvie (Ogilbianka) received there her first communion. During a Synode of 1697, among the communicants were Joseph Gibson (Gipson), Mrs Maria Muir (Mirowa) and Miss Morton. Finally, Reverend James Inglis attended communion there in 1748, see "Parish registers 1692–1839," Fond 606, AP. 1, B 180–182.

¹⁵⁷ It seems the only Scot in that parish was Major David Ramsay (Dawid Ramza), who was a godfather at a baptismal ceremony in 1695, see "Index baptisatorum 1668–1691," "LComm 1668–1721," "Metryka Zboru Żuprańskiego Aktów Komunii Świętej y Pogrzbów przez w Boga Przewielebnego JMP Xiędza Michała Ko...dysje Komseniara Wileńskiego Kaznodzieie Żuprańskiego y Lebidziewskiego sporządzona 1782," LVIA Fond 606, AP. 1, B 184–185.

¹⁵⁸ The only traces of Scots in Dokudowo were two baptismal records. The first in 1696 of John (Jan) Mier, son of George (Jerzy) Mier and Marianna, and the second in 1763 of Stanisław Jakub Alexander Hewison (Hujson), son of George (Jerzy) and Ludwika Inglis. Of possible Scottish descent was Alexander Hewison? (Hui), who attended communion there in 1694, see "Parish registers 1692–1783," Fond 606, AP. 1, B 183; J. Łukaszewicz, *Dzieje kościołów wyznania helweckiego w Litwie*, 2 vols (Poznań: 1842–43), vol. II, 13.

¹⁵⁹ During major celebrations, for example Feast of St Michael, Corpus Christi, Christmas and Easter, about 35–40 parishioners attended Communion at Kielmy. The only individuals who could have been of Scottish descent and were recorded in the parish included David, Mikołaj and Fryderyk Schotland or Szootland (recorded among the communicants eleven times in 1770–1795), Ludwik Tory (1770, 1776, 1780) and David Porteous (Dawid Portuse), recorded in 1795, see "Metryka Zboru Kielmowskiego w której zapisują się Imiona

Koydanów¹⁶⁰ and Kopyl,¹⁶¹ or smaller parishes under the protection of the Reformed nobility in Greater Poland such as Krokowo,¹⁶² Orzeszków,¹⁶³ Barcin,¹⁶⁴ Karmin,¹⁶⁵ Lutomiersk¹⁶⁶ and Żychlin,¹⁶⁷ suggests that perhaps for economic reasons, the Scots were more likely to settle in larger municipal centres, than in small country estates and villages.

A very important source of information for the assessment of the scale of migration is the already mentioned communicants' lists. In Cracow's two parishes—where the records span, almost without interruption, 1636 to 1716—some 190 adults of Scottish extraction were recorded as having received communion in the 1640s. This indicates a 200–250 person strong community if children, the elderly and the infirm were to be included in

Kommunikantów, Chrzstów, Ślubów, Pogrzebów sporządzona przez Xiędza Samuela Bernackiego Conseniora Żmudzkiego Kaznodzieię Zboru Kielmeńskiego roku 1751 A to po spaleniu przez złośliwą osobę Plebaniey Zborowey, y Pogorzeniu w Niey dawniejszych Metryk od Sta Lat Tegoż Zborze,” Fond 606, AP. 1, B 151–152 (1696–1864).

¹⁶⁰ Between 1653 and 1731 only 11 Scots were recorded in Koydanów, among them William Dempster and Nicholas Donaldson, both residents of the castle in Mitawa (today Jelgava, Estonia), see “Xsięga Kościelna Zboru Koydanowskiego w której Rejestr porządkie spisany, Tych, Którzy do Stołu Bożego przystępowali, Których nowo-przymowano do Społeczności Stołu Bożego, Których chrzczono, Którym ślub dawano, Których chowano. Za usługą Daniela Redera na ten czas Kaznodzieie Zboru Koydanowskiego którym do Koydanowa przyjechał w Wilii Wniebowstąpienia Pańskiego, To jest, dnia 21 Maia Roku Pańskiego MDCLIII [1653],” LVIA, Fond 606, AP. 1, B 195–197.

¹⁶¹ No names of Scots were recorded among the communicants of that parish, see “Parish registers 1663–1864,” LVIA Fond 606, Ap. 1, Bb. 204–207, 323.

¹⁶² A detailed investigation of the baptismal books available for the period 1615–1665 revealed only five records pertaining to possible Scots, see “Taufen 1617–1665,” EZAB, sig. 7139.

¹⁶³ The church was apparently attended by some Scots from Grodzisk who made a significant contribution towards the building of the church in Orzeszków. Another member of the Musonius family, John Samuel, was its minister in 1713–19, see J. Dworzaczkowa, *Bracia czeszy w Wielkopolsce w XVI i XVII wieku* (Warszawa: 1997), 133; J. Łukasiewicz, *O kościołach braci czeskich w dawnej Wielkopolsce* (Poznań: 1835), 323–330.

¹⁶⁴ A Catholic visitation of 1582 recorded there one Scot who was listed as *neutrales* (not belonging to any denomination). Nevertheless, some Scots attended services there during the next decade, possibly until the parish termination in 1620, see Dworzaczkowa, *Bracia czeszy w Wielkopolsce*, 57; Łukasiewicz, *O kościołach braci czeskich*, 265–266, 293–294.

¹⁶⁵ Six Scots attended the parish in 1635. Their numbers had probably slightly increased by the 1640s. According to financial records of the church, the local noble families and the Scots contributed enough funds to support the parish and its minister, erect a new church (1641) and a vestry (1646), see Łukasiewicz, *O kościołach braci czeskich*, 293–294; Dworzaczkowa, *Bracia czeszy w Wielkopolsce*, 134.

¹⁶⁶ In 1615, only two Scots, Alexander Szot and Andrew (Jędrzyj) Szot, were recorded among 22 communicants of the parish, see “Dziennik M. G. Gertycha X 1608—31 VIII 1616,” in M. Sipayło, ed., *Akta synodów różnowierczych w Polsce, t. 4* (Wielkopolska 1569–1632), (Warszawa: 1997), 386.

¹⁶⁷ Between 1638 and 1700 only four Scots were recorded in Żychlin, all of them most likely visitors from the nearby Konin, see Gorczyca, *Żychlin pod Koninem*, 105.

the computation. When cross-checked with the baptismal and marriage records, the lists also allow us to clearly identify 21 couples who attended services in Lucianowice and Wielkanoc. Several more people appearing in the list of communicants give the impression that they were couples, but this cannot be confirmed beyond doubt. Nevertheless, it would be safe to assume that the number of Scottish families in Cracow parish (i.e. attending Lucianowice and Wielkanoc churches) in the fourth decade of the seventeenth century parish was as high as 25.

The number of couples in relation to the total number of parishioners includes the hypothesis that the community was roughly ten times as big as the number of couples in the parish; that is, 20–25 couples equals a 200–250 person strong community. Since no records of communicants exist for the 1640s for any of the other parishes, but precise numbers of couples can be established based on the number of baptisms and marriages, the size of individual communities could be calculated using this formula.¹⁶⁸ An enquiry into the number of couples per parish yields the following results. In the 1640s, the parishes in Gdańsk attracted some 170–180 couples (approx. 80 at St Elizabeth and approx. 100 at St Peter and St Paul), that is about 1700–1800 people.¹⁶⁹ This would equal to approximately 2.4–2.5 per cent of the total population of Gdańsk, which at the time was estimated at around 70,000.¹⁷⁰ In Königsberg this amounted to 70–80 families or 700–800 people. Kiejdany could claim perhaps 20–25 couples, that is 200–250 people, and Wilno 8–10 couples, that is 80–100 people (Table 3.3). Of the other localities with larger Scottish communities in the Crown, Elbląg,¹⁷¹ Lublin and Poznań probably had equivalent

¹⁶⁸ The other lists of people receiving communion exist only for later periods, see St Elizabeth 1684–1730; Königsberg 1691–1709; Kiejdany 1663–1799 and Wilno 1682–1781.

¹⁶⁹ At St Elizabeth there were 111 baptisms among 55 couples and 38 marriages. Nearly half of the married couples were then recorded as parents at their children's baptisms. In St Peter and St Paul 143 baptisms were recorded among 86 couples and 33 marriages. The figure shown above eliminates doubles, that is, families that baptised their siblings in both churches and couples who were married in one church but baptised their children in the other. It should be noted that in both parishes a number of English families such as Bilton, Handford, Hudson, Jennkins and Traffel, were recorded, further swelling the number of people of British ancestry in Gdańsk's two Reformed parishes.

¹⁷⁰ This figure contradicts an estimate by Bogucka, who proposed a much more modest figure of 400–500 persons based on the roll of inhabitants composed by the City Council in 1650, see Bogucka, "Scots in Gdańsk," 40; cf. idem, *Obcy kupcy osiadli w Gdańsku*, 67–68, 80–81.

¹⁷¹ Numerically, the Scottish and English community was at its peak in Elbląg between 1585 and 1628, when it was the headquarters and the emporium of the Eastland Company. At that time, the Anglo-Scottish community constituted about 170 families. Between 1581

Table 3.3. Number of Scots appearing in baptismal, marriage, death records and lists of communicants attending major Reformed parishes in the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth and in Königsberg in the 1640s.

	<i>Cracow</i> (<i>Wielkanoc/</i> <i>Lucianowice</i>)	<i>Gdańsk</i>		<i>Kiejdany</i>	<i>Wilno</i>	<i>Königsberg</i>
		St Peter & St Paul	St Elizabeth			
LB	28	143	111	36	17	114
LC	8	33	38	10	4	31
LM	24	n/a	n/a	4+*	n/a	n/a
COM	190**	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a

* LM Kiejdany records start from 1646. Years 1648 and 1649 are missing.

** There were 134 Scotsmen and 56 Scotswomen.

numbers to those of Cracow and Kiejdany, while Wilno-sized settlements probably existed in Lwów and Zamość. There were also Scots in Warsaw, but it is hard to conceive their numbers being larger than the figures presented for Cracow.

The numbers show that approximately 4,000–5,000 Scots and their descendants lived in the major municipalities and surrounding areas of the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth and its vassal states in the fourth decade of the seventeenth century. There were of course other places of settlement, but it is almost inconceivable to think that the remaining population was larger or even equal in size to that given above, especially if one takes into account the fact that the centres were drawing in Scots living in neighbouring, smaller localities. Thus it is appropriate to hypothesise that the total Scottish population in the 1640s, that is demographically at its peak, was not larger than 5,000–7,000 souls.

To conclude, it must be accepted that it is impossible to establish a precise number of Scottish immigrants in the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth at any given period. It is as difficult as separating first-generation migrants

and 1605, 42 men—predominantly Englishmen—acquired civic rights there. The liquidation of the emporium in 1628 had a negative effect not only on Elbląg's trade and economy but also on its population. Most English and Scottish merchants reportedly moved to Gdańsk or Königsberg, or decided to return to their homeland, see A. Groth, *Kupcy angielscy w Elblągu w latach 1583–1628* (Gdańsk: 1986), 21–35, 39; cf. H. Zins, *Anglia a Bałtyk w II połowie XVI wieku: Bałtycki handel kupców angielskich z Polską wpoce elżbietańskiej, Kompania Wschodnia* (Wrocław-Warszawa-Kraków: 1967), Table 6.

from those who were assimilated enough to lose their national identity. Those Scots who constantly moved between the cities, hiding in the documents behind garbled names, and mixed among other non-ethnic *scots* and *szots*, make the calculation that much more difficult. It is a matter of intuition and a subjective but educated guess. The current research concludes that at its zenith, that is in the fourth decade of the seventeenth century, the group consisted of no more than several thousands, perhaps as many as 5,000 to 7,000 individuals. That figure equals the population of an above average size early-modern Polish city—Bochnia, Bydgoszcz, Kowno, Przemyśl, Gniezno, Sandomierz, or Lublin. The importance of this ethnic group in the context of Polish-Lithuanian history should therefore be measured not in terms of numbers but rather in the light of its social and religious impact and its expertise in trade.

CHAPTER FOUR

THE MIGRANTS AND THEIR MOTIVES: THE SOCIAL MAKE-UP OF THE SCOTTISH MIGRATION AND SPHERES OF COMMERCIAL ACTIVITY

The socio-economic background of the Scottish emigrants to Poland-Lithuania has thus far received relatively little attention. The studies dealing with the issue acknowledge that the group was not homogeneous, and that apart from the numerically dominant and generally untraceable “vagrant” Scots, there were also educated and wealthier individuals: merchants, militarymen, traders and clergy.¹ Although this assessment is, on the whole, correct, it fails to recognise that the largest group comprising of less affluent individuals was not uniform either. Such representation, overlooking findings of the multiple studies of the socio-economic background of internal migrants in Scotland, gives a rather disjointed view and does not acknowledge changes over time. The literature fails also in another respect. One of the least researched and yet most significant aspects of the topic is the plight of a sizable group of emigrants—the Scottish women.

Very few Scots recorded their reasons for migrating to the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth, so the motives put forward by historians are usually assumed rather than demonstrated by the available source documents. A better understanding of motives can be formed by taking a closer look at which part of Scotland they migrated from, who they were and what they did.

¹ Cf. A. Biegańska, “A note on the Scots in Poland, 1550–1800,” in T. C. Smout, ed., *Scotland and the Sea* (Edinburgh: 1992), 157; R. Brzeziński, “British Mercenaries in the Baltic 1560–1683,” *Military Illustrated: Past and Present* 4 (1986–87): part 1, 17; W. Kowalski, “The placement of urbanised Scots in the Polish Crown during the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries,” in A. Grosjean and S. Murdoch, eds., *Scottish Communities Abroad in the Early Modern Period* (Leiden: 2005), 58.

The Geographical Origins of the Migrants

Parish, municipal records and the like indicate a variety of locations along the east coast of Scotland from which the migrants originated. Among the most important, it seems, were Aberdeen, Dundee and Edinburgh.

The records of admittance to civil rights of Cracow, Gdańsk, Poznań and Lwów provide a very important source of information about the origins of migrants. The municipal records show that of 172 Scots whose origins were entered into registers of citizenship, 74 (43 per cent) came from Aberdeen and Aberdeenshire, 27 individuals (15.7 per cent) originated from Dundee, 19 (11 per cent) came from Edinburgh, six (3.5 per cent) from St Andrews and five (3 per cent) from Dunfermline. The data shows that 41 migrants (23.8 per cent) came from a multitude of smaller towns and hamlets of eastern Scotland (Table 4.1).

The largest number of Scots from Aberdeenshire acquired civic rights in Cracow. Of the 36 Aberdonians, 31 came directly from the city of Aberdeen,² while a further six originated from smaller locations in the shire.³ A large contingent of Scots from the same region was admitted to

² John Allan (adm. 1573): LICCr II no. 34 (Alauth); Robert Blackhall (adm. 1622): W. Kowalski, "From Aberdeen to Poland: the Seventeenth Century Aberdeen Birth-briefs as a source for Scottish-Polish relations," (paper presented to the Britain and Poland-Lithuania: Contact and Comparison from the Middle Ages to 1795 Conference, Jagiellonian University, Cracow, September 15-18, 2005), Table II (hereafter Kowalski II), no. 55; William Buchan (adm. 1602): *Advocatalia Cracoviensia*, Vol. 521, fol. 1241; John Burnet (adm. 1608): LICCr. II no. 2340 (Burneth); Thomas Burnet (adm. 1617): Kowalski II no. 46; James Chalmer (adm. 1655): Kowalski II no. 78; John Chalmer (adm. 1596): LICCr. II no. 1677 (Chalmer); cf. MTSC no. 12; Robert Chalmer (adm. 1621): Kowalski II no. 51; Alexander Clark (adm. 1703): S. Kutrzeba and J. Ptaśnik, "Dzieje handlu i kupiectwa krakowskiego," *Rocznik Krakowski* 14 (1911): 114; James Clark (adm. 1623): Kowalski II no. 57; John Craig (adm. 1589): LICCr. II no. 1135; Alexander Cruickshank (adm. 1622): Kowalski II no. 54 (Cruschanke); George Cruickshank (adm. 1646): Kowalski II no. 72; Alexander Dickson (adm. 1599)—LICCr. II no. 1850 (Dickson); Robert Dickson (adm. 1595)—LICCr. II no. 1599 (Dickson); George Elmslie (adm. 1608): LICCr. II no. 2349, cf. MTSC no. 143; John Forbes (adm. 1588): LICCr. II no. 1005; Andrew Fraser (adm. 1625): Kowalski II no. 63; William Harrison (adm. 1625): Kowalski II no. 62 (Harriesoune); Andrew Hunter (adm. 1609): LICCr. II no. 2415; John Hunter (adm. 1624): Kowalski no. 61; Daniel Ingram (adm. 1585): LICCr. II no. 795; Robert King (adm. 1576): LICCr. II no. 319 (König de Eberding); Patrick aka Peter Orem (adm. 1599): LICCr. II no. 1849; Thomas Orem (adm. 1607): LICCr. II no. 2337 (Horam); Peter Robertson (adm. 1676): PSB XXXI/2, 329-330; Thomas Rolland (adm. 1598): LICCr. II no. 1799; John Strachan (adm. 1617): Kowalski II no. 47; William Torrie (adm. 1626): Kowalski II no. 70 (Tori); Peter Wood (adm. 1625): Kowalski II no. 68; Thomas Wright (adm. 1589): LICCr. II no. 1055.

³ Andrew Angus of Balgove, par. Tarves (adm. 1597): LICCr. II no. 1688, cf. MTSC 101; John Udny of Camphill (Campbell) par. Peterculter (adm. 1598): LICCr. II no. 1801, cf. MTSC 132; James Johnstone of Crimond (adm. 1598): LICCr. II. no. 1769; John Monkhouse

Table 4.1. The geographical origins of Scots admitted to citizenship of Cracow, Gdańsk, Poznań and Lwów.

<i>Place where admitted to citizenship</i>	<i>Aberdeen and Aberdeenshire</i>	<i>Edinburgh</i>	<i>Dundee</i>	<i>St Andrews</i>	<i>Dunfermline</i>	<i>Other locations</i>
Cracow	31 + 6	5	6	1	1	12
Gdańsk	19 + 6	7	13	5	4	19
Poznań	10	7	7	0	0	7
Lwów	2	0	1	0	0	3
Total:	74 (43%)	19 (11%)	27 (15.7%)	6 (3.5%)	5 (3%)	41 (23.8%)

the civic rights of Gdańsk. Of those, 19 men came from the city,⁴ while another six from the surrounding parishes.⁵ Aberdonians featured also on the burgher rolls of Poznań, where there were ten⁶ and Lwów, two.⁷

Migrants from Dundee were also found in all four locations. The largest number of them, 13, acquired citizenship of Gdańsk,⁸ while seven

of Loinmuie (Luinen) (adm. 1595): AP Kr. 1424 k. 167; Patrick aka Peter Forbes of Mounie (Mowney) par. Daviot (adm. 1670): AP Kr. 469 k. 539–540, AP Gd. 300, 60/5 k. 251; John Udny of Selbie (Selby) par. Keith Hall (adm. 1598): LICCr. II no. 1829, cf. MTSC 79.

⁴ John Abernethy (adm. 1624); James Brown (adm. 1592); Robert Chalmer (adm. 1668); Thomas Davidson (adm. 1691); Andrew Dehlhoff (adm. 1565); William Duncan (adm. 1598); John Forbes (adm. 1566); Thomas Fraser (adm. 1682); John Gore (adm. 1598); John Kinfauns (adm. 1566); Thomas Leslie (adm. 1689); James Lithgow (adm. 1669); Robert Mill (adm. 1675); Thomas Murray (adm. 1682); Alexander Ramsay (adm. 1598): SEWP, 194; Andrew Robertson (adm. 1558); George Robertson (adm. 1559); Andrew Steven (adm. 1598); John Watson (adm. 1592): SEWP, 193–196.

⁵ Archibald Rait of Aberdeenshire (adm. 1677); William Turner of Kinnimond (adm. 1691); Robert Angus of Lochhead (adm. 1640); William Ramsay of Rattray (adm. 1641); Andrew Turner of Rathen (adm. 1691): SEWP, 195–196; Patrick aka Peter Forbes of Mounie (adm. 1670): AP Kr. 469 fol. 539–540; AP Gd. 300, 60/5 fol. 251 quoted in A. Biegańska, "Wielka emigracja Szkotów w Polsce druga połowa XVI—koniec XVII wieku," (PhD Thesis, Uniwersytet Śląski, Katowice, 1974), 123.

⁶ Gilbert Blenschel (adm. 1630); Patrick Chalmer (adm. 1600); George Gibson (adm. 1630); James Gordon (adm. 1597); William Hewison (adm. 1649); Thomas Jamieson (adm. 1649); George Johnstone (adm. 1600); James Lindsay (adm. 1650); Erasm Lylestone (adm. 1630); James Cheap of Berwick in Aberdeenshire (adm. 1595): SEWP, 150, 205–211.

⁷ William Allan (adm. 1557): ACLeop no. 2449; Robert Stuart (adm. 1677): Ibid. no. 4001 (Stoard).

⁸ Peter Blair (adm. 1598); Theodore Blair (adm. 1598); Andrew Brown (adm. 1567); William Brown (adm. 1668); unnamed Butchart (adm. 1563); James Gellatly (adm. 1587) (Gelletlie); John Gellatly (adm. 1582); Thomas Gilzet (adm. 1531); Andrew Hardy (adm.

were admitted to the civic rights in Poznań,⁹ six in Cracow¹⁰ and one in Lwów.¹¹

Scots from Edinburgh featured on the citizenship rolls of only three of the above-mentioned cities, seven were recorded in each of Poznań¹² and Gdańsk,¹³ and a further five in Cracow.¹⁴

Dunfermline and St Andrews were the only two other locations in Scotland from which several individuals managed to obtain civic rights in Gdańsk or in Cracow. Of the six Scots from St Andrews, five were recorded in Gdańsk and one in Cracow,¹⁵ while four from Dunfermline ended up in Gdańsk and one in Cracow.¹⁶

Nearly a quarter of all Scots who managed to become citizens of the four above-mentioned Polish cities came from smaller towns and villages. In Cracow such smaller locations included Arbroath and Tyside, par. Brechin (both in Angus), Birgham (The Borders), Culross, Dunfermline and Letham (all three in Fife), Dumfries, Elgin (Morayshire), Perth, St Andrews,

1587); Thomas MacKenzie (adm. 1623); James Man (adm. 1632); Thomas Smart (adm. 1639): SEWP, 193–195; Andrew Thayne (adm. between 1612–1623): Biegańska, “Wielka emigracja Szkotów w Polsce”, Tabl. VI. (Ława) (Then, Thene).

⁹ James Hewitt (adm. 1640); David MacKilroy (adm. 1645); Walter Rob (adm. 1600); Robert Smart (adm. 1642); Robert Watson (adm. 1696); James Watson (adm. 1636); William Watson (adm. 1685): SEWP, 205–212.

¹⁰ James Carmichael (adm. 1625): Kowalski II no. 67 (Karmichell); James Carmichael (adm. 1654): Kowalski II no. 77 (Karmischel); Andrew Johnstone (adm. 1602): LICCr. II no. 1964 (Ihonstone); James Morrison (adm. 1509): LICCr. I no. 148 (Morrison von Dondey ex Scotia); George Stirling (adm. 1591): LICCr. II no. 1257 (Sterlin); David Strachan (adm. 1624): Kowalski II no. 59.

¹¹ Peter Yeaman of Dundee (adm. 1602): ACLeop no. 3555 (Jman de Dyndi).

¹² James Brown (adm. 1608); William Brown (adm. 1624); Alexander Findlayson (adm. 1642); James Murray (adm. 1649); John Ondrom (adm. 1605); Robert Ramsay (adm. 1598); Alexander Reid (adm. 1585): SEWP, 204–211.

¹³ John Chambers (adm. 1621); James Gregor (adm. 1598); James King (adm. 1593); Abraham Lindsay (adm. 1598); Alexander Newlands (adm. 1614); Andrew Taylor (adm. 1593); Andrew Thomson (adm. 1593): SEWP, 194–195.

¹⁴ John Christie (adm. 1709): A. Cameron and H. Polaczek, “Diploma of Nobility of Thomas Cumming 1727,” *Juridical Review* (1938): 54–55; Robert Christie (adm. 1702): Ibid.; William Dalglish (adm. 1593): LICCr. II no. 1462 (Dalglisz); Andrew Dziowski (perhaps Jousie), (adm. 1577): LICCr. II no. 1577 (Dziowski); William Henderson (adm. 1600): LICCr. II nos. 1929, 1963.

¹⁵ In Gdańsk: William Balfour (adm. 1634); William [snr] Haliburton (adm. 1680); John Morton (adm. 1643); George Smith (adm. 1581); James Smith (adm. 1614): SEWP, 195–196. In Cracow: David Dundas (adm. 1576): LICCr. II no. 299.

¹⁶ In Gdańsk: Unnamed [I] Clerk (adm. 1676), Unnamed [II] Clerk (adm. 1676), William Clerk (adm. 1676): SEWP 196; John Pratt (adm. 1622): SEWP, 195 (Pratus). In Cracow: Lawrence Smart (adm. 1586): LICCr. II no. 1802.

Saughton and Stirling.¹⁷ The placenames recorded in Gdańsk included Arbroath, Auchentoul (Banffshire), Banff, Brechin and Minus (both in Angus), Burntisland and Coupar (both in Fife), Douglas and Lamington (both in Lanarkshire), Dumfries, Dunblane (Stirlingshire), Glasgow, Sandwick (Invernessshire), Stirling, Whitsome (Berwickshire), as well as a number of unidentifiable locations: Bamoyll, Dalkona, Skellitoun, parish of Dunserf (near Edinburgh) and St Colross.¹⁸ Seven citizens of Poznań of Scottish origin traced their ancestry to: Carnock (Kinross), Clackmannan and a number of unidentifiable places: Brattellen, Dupertat, Eaverun, Fano, and Leswad.¹⁹ Meanwhile, Kinross, Portlethen (Kincardineshire) and Saughton (Midlothian) were recorded as places of origin of three Scottish-born burghers of Lwów.²⁰

The origins of migrants recorded in the book of marriages of St Elizabeth's church in Gdańsk between 1631 and 1660 demonstrate a similar result. Of the twelve newlyweds whose origins were listed, seven came from Aberdeen, four from Edinburgh and one from Leith (Litt).²¹

The prevalence of Aberdeen and Aberdeenshire among the places of origin of Scottish immigrants to the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth is clear. In Cracow 59.6 per cent, in Gdańsk 33.8 per cent and in Poznań

¹⁷ Hercules Rents of Arbroath (adm. 1579): LICCr. II no. 463; David Liddell of Tyside (adm. 1592): LICCr. II no. 1286 (Ledel, *Brihinensis*); Adam Logan *ex civitate Burgi* (adm. 1606): LICCr. II no. 2282 (Legan); John Baptist Murray of Culross (adm. 1592): LICCr. II no. 1300 (Mora); Bernard Murray of Culross (adm. 1586): LICCr. II no. 918 (Mora); John Murray of Letham (adm. 1580): LICCr. II no. 498 (Morcha de Letha); Thomas de Dumfries (adm. 1576): LICCr. II no. 315 (de Dumfrais); George Guthrie of Elgin (adm. 1624): Kowalski no. 63 (Guthry); Thomas Robertson of Perth (adm. 1604): LICCr. II no. 2149; Colquhoun of Saughton (adm. 1575): LICCr. II no. 162 (Tukolko von Santon); James Drummond of Stirling (adm. 1597): LICCr. II no. 1755 (Drummonth); William Paterson of Sterling (adm. 1611): LICCr. II no. 2510.

¹⁸ Unnamed Paterson of Arbroath (adm. 1656); John Smith of Auchentoul (adm. 1652); Alexander Murray of Banff (adm. 1581); Alexander Dempster of Brechin (adm. 1616); Robert Guthrie of Minus near Forfar (admitted 1662); Alexander Moncrieff of Burntisland (adm. 1678); John White of Cupar (adm. 1573); Reinhold Porteous of Douglas (adm. 1631); Robert Baillie of Lamington (adm. 1664); George Kirkpatrick (?) of Dumfries (adm. 1581); John Duncan of Dunblane (adm. 1642); George Cuik of Glasgow (adm. 1647); William Lamb of Sandwick (adm. 1621); David Hogg of Stirling (adm. 1621); George Cleghorn of Whitsome (adm. 1633); Alexander Bell of Bamoyll (adm. 1642); Robert Hutton of Dalkona (adm. 1565); James Bruce of Skellitoun (adm. 1674); William Kendrick of St Colross (adm. 1638): SEWP, 193–197.

¹⁹ John Elder of Dupertat (?) (adm. 1602); George Leslie of Kinross (adm. 1606); Robert Reid of Clackmannan (adm. 1696); John Orrock of Brattellen (?) (adm. 1645); William Ferguson of Eaverun (?) (adm. 1713); Andrew Watson of Fano (?) (adm. 1650); Bernard Ballentine of Leswad (?) (adm. 1600): SEWP, 205–214.

²⁰ George Liddell of Kinross (adm. 1582); Thomas Gordon of Saughton (adm. 1684); Rudolph Hes of Portlethen (adm. 1697): ACLeop nos. 3018, 4078, 4275.

²¹ "LC 1631–1660," APGD. sig. 351/5, fols 6, 16, 17, 23, 30, 31, 35, 43.

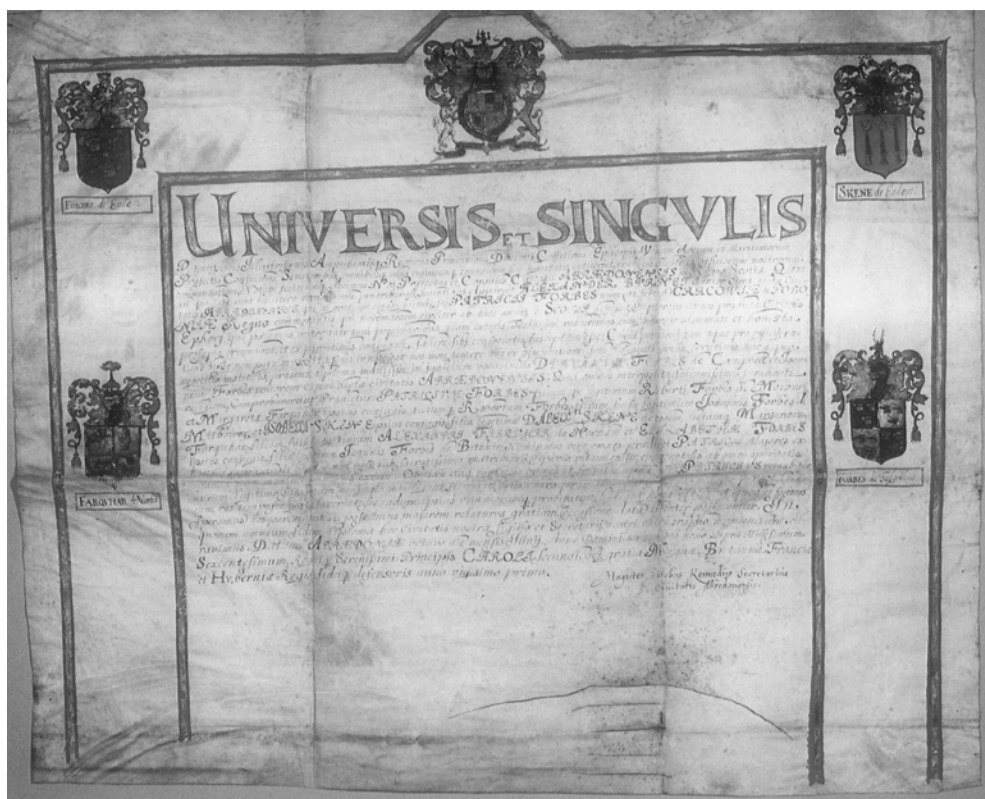
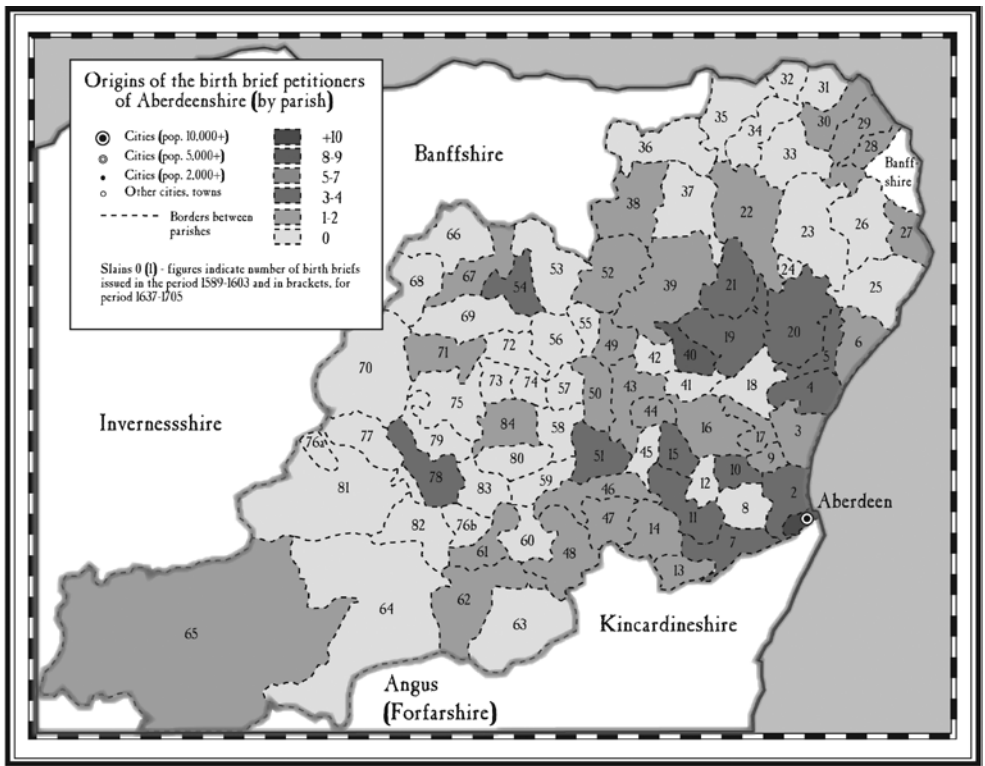


Fig. 4.1. The birth-brief issued to Patrick Forbes by the City Council of Aberdeen on 7 June 1669 (APGd., sig. 300R/Uu9, 01058).

41.6 per cent of Scots whose origins are known came from this area. The figures seem to be constant throughout the two centuries under investigation, and give a strong impression that more than a third of migrants came to Poland-Lithuania from Aberdeenshire.

A close inspection of birth briefs issued by the Aberdeen City Council gives even more detailed information about the origins of migrants within this particular shire. Map 5 shows that the petitioners came predominantly from the City of Aberdeen and the south-eastern parishes of the shire, such as: Old Machar, Peterculter, Skene, Dyce or Kintore, as well as parishes located along the main routes connecting Aberdeen with Peterhead in the North-East, Elgin in the North-West and Braemar, West of Aberdeen. It is reasonable to assume that in regard to other shires, a similar pattern of migration was taking place. The evidence shows that the majority of migrants came from the municipal centres and others from parishes



Map 4. Origins of the birth brief petitioners of Aberdeenshire (by parish).

Aberdeenshire Parishes

1 Aberdeen 20 (5)	23 Old Deer o (o)	45 Kemnay o (o)	65 Crathie & Braemar 2 (o)
2 Old Machar 2 (o)	24 Savoch S.Q. o (o)	46 Cluny 2 (o)	66 Cairnie o (1)
3 Belhelvie 1 (1)	25 Cruden o (o)	47 Midmar 1 (o)	67 Huntly (Dumbennan & Kinnoir) 1 (o)
4 Foveran 3 (1)	26 Longside o (o)	48 Kincardine O'Neil 1 (o)	68 Glass o (o)
5 Logie Buchan 2 (1)	27 Peterhead 1 (o)	49 Rayne o (1)	69 Gartly o (o)
6 Slains o (1)	28 Crimond 1 (o)	50 Oyne 1 (1)	70 Cabrach o (o)
7 Peterculter 2 (1)	29 Lonmay 1 (o)	51 Monymusk o (4)	71 Rhynie o (1)
8 Newhills o (o)	30 Rathen o (1)	52 Auchterless 1 (o)	72 Kennethmont o (o)
9 Newmachar 1 (o)	31 Fraserburgh o (o)	53 Forgue o (o)	73 Clatt o (o)
10 Dyce 2 (2)	32 Pitsligo o (o)	54 Drumblade 2 (2)	75 Auchindoir & Kearn o (o)
11 Skene 3 (o)	33 Strichen o (o)	55 Culsalmond o (o)	74 Leslie o (o)
12 Kinellar o (o)	34 Tyrie o (o)	56 Insch o (o)	76 Tarland & Migvie o (o)
13 Drumoak (2)	35 Aberdour o (o)	57 Premnay o (o)	77 Glenbuchat o (o)
14 Echt 1 (1)	36 King Edward o (o)	58 Keig o (o)	78 Towie 1 (3)
15 Kintore 2 (1)	37 Monquhitter o (o)	59 Tough o (o)	79 Kildrummy o (o)
16 Keithhall & Kinkell o (o)	38 Turriff 1 (o)	60 Lumphanan o (o)	80 Alford o (o)
17 Fintray 1 (1)	39 Fyvie 2 (o)	61 Coull 1 (1)	81 Strathdon o (o)
18 Udney o (o)	40 Oldmeldrum 5 (3)	62 Aboyne & Glentannar 2 (o)	82 Logie Coldstone o (o)
19 Tarves 3 (1)	41 Bourtie o (o)	63 Birse o (o)	83 Leochel-Cushnie o (o)
20 Ellon 4 (o)	42 Daviot o (1)	64 Glenmuick, Tullich & Glengairn o (o)	84 Tullynessle & Forbes o (1)
21 Methlick 2 (1)	43 Chapel of Garioch 1 (1)		
22 New Deer 1 (o)	44 Inverurie 2 (o)		

located in their close proximity. Of note is the absence of migrants from the north and north-east shires, especially from the Highlands, probably the poorest areas. However, this evidence does not necessarily negate the participation of Highlanders in the migration. In a recent study, David Worthington has exposed the complexity of the problem of interpreting place of origin in regards to emigration from northern and western Scotland. Using a number of examples, Worthington demonstrated that Highlanders were involved in step migration that led them from the rural areas to the port towns of the Lowlands and from there, in some instances, to Poland-Lithuania.²²

Table 4.2. Scottish migrants to Poland-Lithuania from Aberdeenshire applying for birth briefs and testimonials (power of attorney) to the Aberdeen City Council 1589–1603.

Date	Birth briefs			Testimonials			Total by location		
	The Crown	Other locations	Sub total	The Crown	Other locations	Sub total	The Crown	Other locations	Grand Total
1589	4	3	7	1	3	4	5	6	11
1590	3	9	12	3	1	4	6	10	16
1591	2	6	8	0	2	2	2	8	10
1592	6	6	12	4	7	11	10	13	23
1593	5	9	14	2	4	6	7	13	20
1594	5	5	10	0	2	2	5	7	12
1595	4	5	9	0	1	1	4	6	10
1596	8	7	15	1	0	1	9	7	16
1597	5	10	15	2	4	6	7	14	21
1598	9	3	12	0	0	0	9	3	12
1599	3	7	10	1	2	3	4	9	13
1600	4	3	7	1	5	6	5	8	13

²² D. Worthington, “‘Men of noe credit’? Scottish Highlanders in Poland-Lithuania, c. 1500–1800,” in T. M. Devine and D. Hesse (eds.), *Scotland and Poland: Historical Encounters, 1500–2010* (Edinburgh: 2011), 91–108. I am much obliged to Dr Worthington for sharing his observations with me.

Table 4.2 (*cont.*)

Date	Birth briefs			Testimonials			Total by location		
	The Crown	Other locations	Sub total	The Crown	Other locations	Sub total	The Crown	Other locations	Grand Total
1601	1	5	6	3	3	6	4	8	12
1602	1	6	7	1	3	4	2	9	11
1603	3	4	7	0	0	0	3	4	7
Total	63	88	151	19	37	56	82	125	207
%	42	58	100	34	66	100	40	60	100

The registers of birth briefs and the inventories of testimonials (documents similar to modern day power-of-attorney) affirming a person's identity by establishing relationships to other individuals issued by town councils—but only after providing sufficient documentary and/or oral proofs—to satisfy application procedures for town citizenship, are an unrivalled source of detail about the mobility of both the urban and rural population in Scotland and overseas. The most important inventories of such documents are the Propinquity Books of Aberdeen containing records for the periods 1589–1603²³ and 1637–1797,²⁴ and records of the Town Council of Dundee²⁵ covering the period from 1606 to 1638.²⁶

The data from the registers demonstrates that about 40 per cent of all applications for such proofs of identity from Aberdeen (63 of 151 between 1589–1603, and 52 of 120 between 1637–1655),²⁷ and about 60 per cent from Dundee (18 of 29 records) came from Scots in the Crown, while the other applications came from diverse locations. The inventory of the birth briefs from Aberdeen reveals that during the period 1589–1603 the second most popular destination of Aberdonians was Ducal Prussia. Nearly 17 per cent (25 records) of all applications originated from that area. Other overseas destinations included *Est Partis* (a term describing territories east of the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth, usually Muscovy), Pomerania,

²³ MSC, 1–85.

²⁴ MTSC, 324–368; cf. F. McDonnell, *Birth Briefs of Aberdeen, 1637–1705* (Lovettville, Va.: Willow Bend Books, 1998).

²⁵ “Birth-Briefs ordered by the Town-Council of Dundee, 1606–1638,” in SIG, 247–249.

²⁶ See Table 4.2.

²⁷ Kowalski, “From Aberdeen to Poland,” Table 6; MTSC, 324–368; cf. Table 4.3.

Table 4.3. Scottish migrants from Aberdeenshire applying for birth briefs 1637–1655, as a percentage of the whole number of applicants to the Aberdeen City Council.*

<i>Date</i>	<i>Poland-Lithuanian Commonwealth</i>	<i>Other locations</i>	<i>Total number of briefs issued</i>
1637	3	14	17
1638	6	2	8
1639	0	2	2
1640	0	1	1
1641	4	1	5
1642	6	2	8
1643	6	4	10
1644	1	0	1
1645	4	4	8
1646	3	2	5
1647	0	2	2
1648	5	8	13
1649	3	3	6
1650	2	0	2
1651	0	3	3
1652	3	6	9
1653	1	2	3
1654	2	6	8
1655	3	6	9
Total	52	68	120
%	43.33	56.67	100.00

* Source: W. Kowalski, "From Aberdeen to Poland: the Seventeenth Century Aberdeen Birth-briefs as a source for Scottish–Polish relations," (paper presented to the Britain and Poland-Lithuania: Contact and Comparison from the Middle Ages to 1795 Conference, Jagiellonian University, Cracow, September 15–18, 2005), Table II.

Germany, Hungary, Bohemia, Sweden, Denmark, Holland and France. In the case of Aberdeen, of note is the period 1590–1599.

The increase in the numbers of certificates issued may be indicative of general trends of migration. During this decade (from 1590 to 1599) on average five birth briefs were issued every year to Aberdonians applying from Poland-Lithuania and about seven per year to migrants from other destinations. When compared to the fourth decade of the seventeenth century, the figures show a marked decrease in processed applications. Between 1640–1649 on average only three such documents per year were issued to Aberdonians in the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth and three to Aberdonians from other destinations.

This is consistent with trends indicated by other sources, for example records of admittance to civic rights. In addition, the testimonials reveal yet another variable that needs to be considered when attempting to establish the make-up of the Scottish group. All of the documents of that type relate to men who either failed to produce offspring or, most likely, did not establish families in Poland-Lithuania. The proportion of testimonials to birth briefs during the period 1589–1603 shows that for every three birth briefs issued at Aberdeen, the city council issued one testimonial. This ratio may indicate more general trends and if so challenges the accuracy of the estimate of migration proposed by Biegańska.²⁸

This great mobility among the Scots of Poland-Lithuania was also noted by Szewczyk. Comparing lists of Scots recorded in Lublin, Szewczyk estimated the ratio between permanent residents and those who sojourned in Lublin at 1:1.3.²⁹ A much more precise picture of mobility within the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth has been found in the registers of communicants of the Cracow parish. The inventories covering the Scottish presence in the two assemblies over nearly a century enable us to separate regular parishioners such as Robert Blackhall (recorded among the communicants several times every year from 1637 till his death in 1656) from visitors such as James Cunningham (Königam) (recorded in 1644) or Robert Farquhar (1688), who took communion in the parish once or twice during the extended period under investigation. Based on the Cracow documents, it was possible to identify 391 Scotsmen who attended the two chapels of the Cracow parish in 1636–1716. Of those, 232 individuals

²⁸ Biegańska, "Wielka emigracja Szkotów w Polsce," 37–38; cf. idem, "A note on the Scots," 158, 162.

²⁹ R. Szewczyk, *Ludność Lublina w latach 1583–1650* (Lublin: 1947), 88.

(59.3 per cent) were identified as visitors rather than regular worshippers. The 1:1.5 (159:232) ratio between the permanent parishioners and individuals attending communion in the parishes less than three times during the period under investigation, demonstrates that involvement in mercantile activity demanded constant travel.³⁰

Motives for Migration

According to Clarke, in sixteenth- and seventeenth-century England, and presumably also in Scotland, there existed two distinctive categories of migrants to pre-industrial towns: betterment migrants—those who were looking for improvement of their existence; and subsistence migrants—the desperate poor without means.³¹ A tentative generalisation can be made that the migrants to the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth were also divided into these two groups.

Subsistence migrants, in the Scottish context, were motivated by influences driving them out of the countryside: sheer desperation, poverty, lack of food, pestilence and possibly the attractions of the town. The group was made up of the poorest among the nation: the landless, cottars, beggars, vagrants, orphans, widows and the infirm, and during years of bad harvest, even tenants, artisans and burgess families.³² Among the underprivileged poor there were also ‘unfreemen’, inhabitants of the major towns who accrued no rights or privileges for themselves from living in them. Precisely because of that, little is known about them. Some were petty tradesmen, artisan apprentices, servants or casual unskilled labourers.³³ It is highly unlikely that the widows or the beggars could afford the cost of the long trip to the south shores of the Baltic Sea, but the latter group consisting of artisans, poor burghers and more industrious unfreemen had a far better chance to get across the sea. It is probable that Captain Thomas Chamberlayne, who visited Poland in 1609–10, referred specifically to them when he described the Scots as “Height landers men of noe

³⁰ The investigation was based on three chronologically related records, “Reiestr Kommunikantów w Zborze Wielkanocki(m) y Lucianowskim (1636–1651)”; “Reiestr Kommunikantów w Zborze Wielkanocki(m) y Lucianowskim (1651–1653),” KW AParEA Kraków, fols 43–89, 104–106a; “Rejestr komunikantów 1657–1716,” KT AParEA Kraków, fols 1–125a.

³¹ P. Clarke, “The migrant in Kentish towns, 1580–1640,” in P. Clarke and P. Slack, eds., *Crisis and Order in English Towns 1500–1700* (London: 1972), 122–129.

³² R. A. Houston and I. D. Whyte, eds., *Scottish Society 1500–1800* (Cambridge: 1989), 13.

³³ T. C. Smout, *A History of Scottish People 1560–1830* (London: 1970), 176–177.

credit, a Company of peddling knaves".³⁴ His opinion could, however, have been tainted by comparisons between them and affluent English merchants in Elbląg.³⁵

What is significant is that the immigrants were in most cases male and overwhelmingly young. At their arrival in Poland, the majority were aged 15–17.³⁶ Documents such as the letter of James VI (I) to the Scottish shipmasters transporting migrants to the "easterne countreyis" (1625) seem to suggest that these mostly unskilled young men were unable to look after themselves properly and thus their status was very low.³⁷ Their standing was further undermined if they migrated of their own accord and without the safety net of family members or other kin with established roots in Poland-Lithuania. The lack of assistance would have led them inevitably into peddling, illegal trade, begging or theft, giving a bad name to their homeland and their better-off compatriots.³⁸ The possibility of migratory movement of such underprivileged Scots is not to be discounted if one considers the example of the Irish migration to France in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, which, included a sizable group of *cosmhuin-tir*, the 'plain people'.³⁹ These unskilled, poor and very mobile Irish made up the mass of the earliest migrants. They resorted to begging, receiving alms and sometimes to robbery. As in the case of the Polish Scots, they were targeted by the law. Seen as potential carriers of disease in the time of plague, they were banned from towns. In 1605–06 ships were commissioned in Paris to take hundreds of them away, as they were deemed a threat to public order, mugging Parisians by night near the Pont Neuf.⁴⁰

The reaction of the well-off Scots in the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth to their poor compatriots bears a significant resemblance to hostility between English merchants of the Eastland Company and interlopers—less eminent, but not necessarily poorer merchants.

³⁴ "Thomas Chamberlayne to Robert Cecil (Elbląg, 29 Novembris 1610)," in EFE, Vol. IV, no. 68, 81–82.

³⁵ C. S. L. Dunning, "Chamberlayne, Thomas (fl. 1609–1638)," in ODNB, <http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/75153> (accessed 28 September 2006).

³⁶ W. Borowy, *Scots in Old Poland* (Edinburgh-London: 1941), 11.

³⁷ SIG, 243.

³⁸ According to a letter of James VI (Newmarket, 22 February 1625), such migrants did cause "foull imputation on that our kingdome, to the grite hinderance and detriment of those our subjects of the better, who trafique [there]," quoted in *Ibid.*

³⁹ E. Ó Ciosáin, "A hundred years of Irish migration to France, 1590–1688," in T. O'Connor, ed., *The Irish in Europe 1580–1815* (Dublin: 2001), 94.

⁴⁰ *Ibid.*

However, the motives behind such measures may not be the same.⁴¹ Since the majority of poorer Scots in Poland-Lithuania took up peddling rather than begging or stealing, it is possible that they were not as desperate as their Irish counterparts and that their well-off compatriots were more distressed by their economic activity and competition than by what they claimed in their grievances—begging and thievery. Whatever the reason, the antagonisms between wealthier Scottish merchants and their poorer compatriots involved in peddling were evident from the mid-sixteenth century.⁴²

In Königsberg, Scottish merchants complained about their countrymen living outside the city walls and being involved in peddling. According to their protestations, this activity was negatively affecting their own businesses.⁴³ In Gdańsk in 1592, ten prominent Scottish merchants complained to the city council about their countrymen peddling goods. In their notice, the merchants complained that many of their “nation now arrived in this city sit with their baskets” on streets and bridges, making illegal transactions in homes of citizens, and using “lazy” women and young boys to gather clients. The Scots from the subsistence migrant group generally could not fulfil the economic requirements to obtain *ius civile* (citizenship) and, in the best case scenario, could become peddlers, moving around the country, selling their goods in villages, small towns or even, against the law, *libra et ulna* on the streets and in homes in the cities.⁴⁴ Others “lazy and unwilling to work as they are” were not only accused of illicit trade but also of pretending “to be crooked or lame” and begging. The complainants demanded action against such people, as their activities were, in the merchants’ opinion, not only damaging to the activity of the lawful merchants but also tarnishing their good name. The dissatisfaction with the presence of their countrymen of low socio-economic standing and the lack of action from bailiffs or city guards (night watchmen) with whom they allegedly lodged numerous complaints, resulted in a proposition to take other measures.

We therefore approve of the proposal of some good citizens to appoint men among ourselves—being most willing to mend matters according to our simple minds—who are to work with the already appointed public servants,

⁴¹ B. Krysztopa-Czupryńska, “Interlopersi—kupcy czy szmuglerzy?,” *Echa Przeszłości* 2 (2001): 49–62.

⁴² These antagonisms will be explored in the following chapter.

⁴³ SEWP, 31.

⁴⁴ Biegańska, “Wielka emigracja Szkotów w Polsce,” 125.

keeping an eye on these traders, reporting to magistrates, and making daily seizures.⁴⁵

The number of such complaints, it seems, intensified in the first decades of the seventeenth century and they were forwarded to James VI (I) through his resident in Gdańsk, Consul Patrick Gordon of Braco. In 1615, aware of the existence of the subsistence migrants among the Scots in the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth, Gordon wrote:

Your Majesty's subjects from Scotland trafficking here many years ago for their virtue and good behaviour were esteemed equal (if not superior) to any Christians whosoever, and many of them lived here with credit, and others returned home with riches, without any offence, because good order was observed amongst them; but now, discipline being dissolved, the most part of them use such a dissolute form of living that they are odious to the inhabitants, hurtful to themselves, and despised by strangers, to the great ignominy of the whole nation.⁴⁶

In his report, referring, it seems, to subsistence migrants, Gordon suggested that no means would be successful unless the authorities in Scotland prevented the multitudes of "debauched people from being yearly transported to the Baltic coast".⁴⁷

The protestations brought the desired effect as James decided to limit migration and rid their ranks of these less desired elements—"the grite numbers of young boyes uncapable of service [...] miserablie in grite numbers dyeing in the streets..."⁴⁸ In 1625, as a consequence of most likely his Consul's report,⁴⁹ the British monarch ruled that:

by oppin proclamatioun yee cause prohibite all maisters of shippis to transport anie youthes of either sex to the said easterne countreyis bot such as either salbe sent for by thair friendis dwelling there or then sall carrie with thame sufficient meanis of meaintenance at least for ane yeare under the payne of fyfe hundreth markis monie of that our kingdome toties quoties they sall offend in that kind.⁵⁰

The complaints and the royal edict helped produce a change in the nature of migration. Although it did not cease, the exclusion of subsistence

⁴⁵ "Letter to the Magistrates of Gdańsk (Gdańsk, 1592)," quoted in SEWP, 29–30.

⁴⁶ "Francis Gordon to James VI (Gdańsk, 1615)," quoted in Borowy, *Scots in Old Poland*, 18.

⁴⁷ Borowy, *Scots in Old Poland*, 18.

⁴⁸ "Letter of James VI (Newmarket, 22 February 1625)," quoted in SIG, 242–243.

⁴⁹ "James VI to Johannes Sigismund Margrave of Brandenburg, Duke of Prussia (undated)," quoted in PRSP, 37.

⁵⁰ "Letter of James VI (Newmarket, 22 February 1625)," quoted in SIG, 242–243.

immigrants—poor, untrained Scots—could have resulted in the reduction of the number of migrants arriving in the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth. The exclusion may also signal a growth in the importance of the more established individuals. Next, it could suggest change from sojourning to more permanent migration, with merchants of Scottish origin wanting to establish families in the country of settlement. It could also indicate a bigger intake than before of migrants with skills and ambition coming into Poland-Lithuania under an ‘assisted migration’ scheme (to use modern nomenclature).

This supposition is further supported by the mention of “youthes of either sex” in James’ edict which, not coincidentally, is one of the first official documents that mentions women migrants. There is no doubt that Scottish women were always part of this migration, however; as a ‘silent society’ they were largely omitted from the documents.⁵¹ We shall look at female migration in more detail later in this chapter, but the growing number of baptisms and marriages involving Scots seems to corroborate both the increased number of women among the migrants and the changes in the nature of migration. In Cracow parish (Wielkanoc-Lucianowice), for example, the number of marriages involving Scots grew from approximately three in the 1610s to nine in the 1640s.⁵² At St Peter and St Paul in Gdańsk the number of baptisms rose from 37 in the 1590s, to 69 in the 1610s, to reach the figure of 167 at its apex in the 1640s.⁵³ Such trends are further supported by contemporary accounts. Sir John Cochrane, the British Ambassador at the Court of Poland, spoke in 1652 of “many thousand Scots in the country besides women, children and servants”.⁵⁴

Due to their mobility and the resultant scantiness of documentary evidence, it is impossible to present a continuous historical sketch of the lives of the subsistence migrants in Poland-Lithuania. Only here and there can one find traces of information that may relate to them. In Wielkanoc-Lucianowice we learn, for example, about a death of certain *Ubogi Wilhelm nationi Scotus* (d. 20 October 1642).⁵⁵ Apart from being described as *ubogi* (impoverished), he was recorded simply by his Christian name, William. The records of the Reformed Parish in Piaski near Lublin contain a num-

⁵¹ For example only men, as heads of families, were admitted to citizenship, were ennobled or naturalised.

⁵² “LC 1609–1656,” KW AParEA Kraków, fol. 131a–135a.

⁵³ “LB 1573–1684,” APGD. sig. 351/1, 351/2, 351/3.

⁵⁴ PRSP, xviii.

⁵⁵ “LM 1615–1656,” KW AParEA Kraków, fol. 144.

ber of similar records. Between 1624 and 1627 the following were recorded as attending the assembly: William (Wilem) *Szot*, Robert (Albricht) *Skot* and Bartholomew (Bartosz) *Szot*.⁵⁶ In 1626 the passing and burial of one Scot was simply noted in the same documents as: *3 Aprilis 1626 pochowan stary Szot* (Polish: an old Scot was buried).⁵⁷ Others, possibly belonging to the group of subsistence migrants may have been Robert (Woyciech) *Szot* and his companion Alexander *Szot*, recorded together in Secymin in 1601 and described as knife peddlers,⁵⁸ Peter *Szot* recorded in the Żychlin Calvinist parish in 1638, 1653 and 1654,⁵⁹ as well as several Scottish peddlers recorded towards the end of the sixteenth century in Warsaw: James (Jakub) *Szot*, Alexander *Szot* and David (Dawid) *Szot*.⁶⁰ Although the practice of using Christian names accompanied by a specific ethnic suffix in lieu of a surname usually denotes less successful migrants, this criterion alone cannot be used to distinguish the social background of an individual. David Urquhard, merchant and citizen of Kcynia, was at times referred to as *Scotus* or *Szot*—denoting his country of origin—rather than by his foreign family name. Such a practice could have taken place when the original Scottish name proved too difficult for the local clerk to jot down.⁶¹

The parish records, likewise, do not provide much information on the subsistence migrants. Their deaths, it seems, went largely unrecorded, as the registers often contained information copied from the gravestones—a luxury that could only be afforded by the wealthier migrants.⁶² Nor do they appear on the lists of communicants—theoretically the most likely source capturing traces of their existence—as the lists survived only for a later period, when the numbers of subsistence migrants may

⁵⁶ H. Łopaciński, ed., "Odpisy z księgi zboru ewangelickiego w Lublinie," Lublin: Biblioteka Publiczna im. H. Łopacińskiego, Zbiory Hieronima Łopacińskiego, Manuscript no. 1386, fol. 5.

⁵⁷ Ibid.

⁵⁸ Z. Guldon, *Żydzi i Szkoci w Polsce w XVI–XVII wieku: studia i materiały* (Kielce: 1990), 8, 22; SPLC nos. 530, 1441.

⁵⁹ K. Gorczyca, *Żychlin pod Koninem. Dzieje wsi i zboru* (Warszawa: 1997), 105.

⁶⁰ A. Biegańska, "Scottish merchants and traders in seventeenth- and eighteenth-century Warsaw," *Scottish Slavonic Review* 5 (1985): 20.

⁶¹ M. Górny, "List pochodzenia Dawida Urquharda z 1663 roku. Źródło do dziejów osadnictwa szkockiego w Polsce," *Genealogia: Studia i materiały historyczne* 1 (1991): 81–84; ASK I, MS 134, fol. 37 (listed as David *Scotus*); SPLC no. 1118.

⁶² A death register constructed in such way was put together in the Wielkanoc-Lucianowice parish (1631 to 1656): "Reiestr Umarłych w Panu y Pogrzebionych Ex Epitaph appens," (transl. Register of those who passed in the presence of the Lord and were buried, taken from the epitaphs.), KW AParEA Kraków, fols 141–149.

have already dwindled. Even the earliest register of the Cracow parish (Wielkanoc-Lucianowice) beginning in 1636 contains names that can mostly be verified in other sources.⁶³ Likewise, the poorest among the immigrants do not appear by name in the records of sessions or visitations. On the other hand, every Protestant community to which Scots belonged, in the spirit of Calvin's doctrine, kept the so called 'poor-boxes'. Money from such collections would have been shared, however, among all underprivileged parishioners regardless of their national origin and did not necessarily go to the destitute, but to the 'honest' poor.⁶⁴ One exception to that was perhaps the poor-box of Gdańsk's community, which, according to Fischer, had been in existence since the beginning of the seventeenth century. After the Union of England and Scotland in 1707 and the subsequent amalgamation of the English and Scottish churches, this box became the property of the new *Groszbritannische Nation* (Nation of Great Britain).⁶⁵

The Commerce and Trade-Oriented Migrants

Apart from the subsistence migrants, there existed another category of migrants in pre-modern Scotland, those generally young, single and upwardly mobile. They were the most dynamic of the migration stream into the Scottish cities. Many migrants of this group were recorded in the apprenticeship records of the Scottish burghs.⁶⁶ The apprenticeship group of migrants cannot be treated as a uniform group either. For example, the Edinburgh apprentice registers indicate that most craft apprentices of that city came from a distinctly lower social origin than the merchant apprentices. The latter, but also apprentice to higher status trades, such as goldsmiths and surgeons, were predominantly the sons of lairds or of merchants in other burghs. At the same time, apprentices to the lower-status trades were almost never the sons of lairds and not often the sons

⁶³ See "LComm 1636–1651," *Ibid.*, fols 43–89.

⁶⁴ In Kiejdany 2 *złoty* from the poor-box was given to woman known as Ogilbina (wife of Ogilvie) in 1635. At about the same time, another poor parishioner, Danowski, received 5 *złoty*, see "Collecta Zboru Kiejdańskiego to jest rachunek wszystkich receipt i expens zborowych zaczęty roku 1628 dnia 20 novembra" (transcript of the original manuscript, Vilnius, 1939), LMAB Rankrasciu skyrius, Fond. 9–3040, 33–34.

⁶⁵ SIG, 189.

⁶⁶ P. A. Slack, "Patterns of migration and movement of labour to three pre-industrial East Anglian towns," in P. Clarke and D. Souden, eds., *Migration and Society in Early Modern England* (London: 1987), 114.

of merchants. The great majority of them came from a craft or tenant background; they were the children of other craftsmen, of peasants, of sailors, even of unfreemen.⁶⁷

The available evidence from Poland-Lithuania shows that among the migrants there was indeed a large group whose conditions would place them among the 'betterment migrants'. Those included the people from two distinct groups: lower gentry (small lairds) and townsfolk freemen (merchants, craftsmen and apprentices).

Among them there were young noblemen—descendants of lairds and titled nobility—forced from the land by the strict laws of primogeniture, still practised in sixteenth- and seventeenth-century Scotland. Deprived of a living on the land, younger sons of the nobility were forced into military service, trade or commerce. With the very poor state of the Scottish economy, they often sought their fortunes overseas. Patrick Gordon of Auchleuchries wrote in his *Diary* that being "the younger son of a younger brother of a younger house," he had but little prospect of a patrimony. Accepting also that his prospects were further hindered by his "dissenting in religion", his family decided to send him to study overseas. Gordon embarked for Gdańsk, or more precisely for the Jesuits' College at Braniewo, which was to give him a chance to continue his education.⁶⁸ Similarly, William Davisson declared that it was more desirable for him, the third son of Duncan Davisson of Ardmakrone and Jonet Forbes, to "...live industriously and honestly among foreigners, than to live in poverty and degradation amongst...[his] own countrymen and illustrious relatives".⁶⁹ It is highly probable that immigrants of similar backgrounds to that of Davisson were seeking not only betterment, but also an occupation consistent with their rank. The documents show that such migrants were arriving in the Commonwealth at a very young age. In the 15–16 years age group we can find John Gordon,⁷⁰ Patrick Gordon of Auchleuchries,⁷¹

⁶⁷ Houston and Whyte, *Scottish Society 1500–1800*, 46; Smout, *A History of the Scottish People*, 174–175.

⁶⁸ Gordon, "Diary 1635–1659," fol. 5.

⁶⁹ J. Small, "Notice of William Davidson, MD (Gulielmus Davissonus), first professor of chemistry, and director of the Jardin des Plantes, Paris, afterwards physician to the king of Poland," *Proceedings of the Society of Antiquaries of Scotland* 10 (1872–74): 277. Cf. L. M. Principe, "Davisson, William (c. 1593–1669)," in ODNB.

⁷⁰ J. M. Bulloch, *The Gordons of Coldwells, Ellon, now Respresented by the Family of Von Gordon of Laskowitz* (West Prussia, Peterhead: 1914), 18.

⁷¹ Gordon, "Diary 1635–1659," fols 3–4.

Andrew Davidson,⁷² Alexander and William (Wilhelm) Forbes,⁷³ David Urquhard,⁷⁴ Robert Farquhar,⁷⁵ William (Wilhelm) Abercrombie,⁷⁶ to mention but a few. Some immigrants came at an even younger age—William (Wilhelm) Farquhar⁷⁷ reportedly came to Poland as a 12-year-old boy. Among them there was also a group of younger sons of titled nobility: George Barclay (Barkle),⁷⁸ James Burnet,⁷⁹ James Drummond *de Bortland*,⁸⁰ Alexander and James Gordon from the Earls of Sutherland,⁸¹ John Keith of Camculter⁸² and Alexander Ross of Balnagowan.⁸³ As will be shown else-

⁷² A. Biegańska, "Andrew Davidson (1591–1660) and his descendants," *Scottish Slavonic Review* 10 (1998): 8.

⁷³ Alexander and William were sons of Alexander Forbes of Drumallachie (Drumlasie) and Issobell Forbes.—MSC, 344; cf. SPLC no. 413, no. 431.

⁷⁴ Górny, "List pochodzenia Dawida Urquharda," 81–84; Cf. SPLC no. 1118.

⁷⁵ Robert was a son of Archibald Farquhar of Delab (Dillab, Dillabe) and Margaret Ritchie, and an older brother of mentioned below William, see MSC, 360–361; cf. SPLC no. 3533.

⁷⁶ William was the son of Rev. Andrew Abercrombie and Margaret Forbes, see MSC, 342; Cf. SPLC no. 5.

⁷⁷ Son of Archibald Farquhar of Delab (Dillab, Dillabe) and Margaret Ritchie, and a younger brother of the above mentioned Robert, see MSC, 360–361; Cf. SPLC no. 393.

⁷⁸ Biegańska, "Wielka emigracja Szkotów w Polsce," 141; SPLC no. 3896.

⁷⁹ James Burnet, son of Thomas Burnet "dominus a Campbell" and Margaret Keith. Burnet received a birth brief recorded in the Propinquity Books of Aberdeen issued on 17 June 1652, see MSC, 334–335; SIG, 244 (note wrong issue date of the birth brief, 1644 instead of 1652); SEWP, 176; SPLC no. 152.

⁸⁰ James Drummond de Borland, most probably the son of James, grandson of Gavine of Kildees, appears in the record books of the city of Cracow. From them we learn that at first he acquired the citizenship of Kleparz, and become a citizen of Cracow on 20 November 1597. To fulfil the necessary criteria he surrender his civic rights in Kleparz, presented a birth-brief from Stirling dated 22 March 1582 and payed an admission fee of 10 florens. In the birth-brief Drummond was described as *ex familia magnifici baronis de Bortland* (i.e. Borland), and a cousin of Abraham Drummond de Ladmachani, see LICR II no. 1755 [Drummonth]; cf. W. Kowalski, *Wielka imigracja. Szkoci w Krakowie i Małopolsce w XVI—pierwszej połowie XVII wieku* (Kielce: 2010), 41, 48, 133, 142, 184, 192; SIG, 256; Kutrzeba and Ptaśnik, "Dzieje handlu i kupiectwa krakowskiego," 113–115 (erroneously listed as son of Malcolm); W. Drummond, *The Genealogy of the Most Noble and Ancient House of Drummond* [1681] (Glasgow: 1889); SPLC no. 291.

⁸¹ Alexander and James Gordon, sons of Patrick Gordon of Harlaw and Rachel Leslie (Lesly), received a birth brief recorded in the Propinquity Books of Aberdeen issued on 20 February 1703. They were listed as grandsons of Alexander Gordon of Kincairgy and Marjorie Gordon, and great-grandsons of Patrick Gordon of Craig (who descended from the Earl of Sutherland) and Elizabeth Gordon, see MSC, 365; cf. Biegańska, "Wielka emigracja Szkotów w Polsce," 141; SPLC nos. 3537, 3538.

⁸² John Keith, son of Alexander Keith of Camculter and Margaret Fraser, received a birth brief recorded in the Propinquity Books of Aberdeen issued on 5 June 1672. According to this document he was a grandson of William of Camculter and Jealls Fraser (daughter of John Fraser of Ardglassie). William was listed as a descendant of "the noble family of Keiths, who for many ages had been Earl Marshals of Scotland". He left Aberdeen for Poland in 1658, see MSC, 354–355; cf. SIG, 246; SPLC no. 726.

⁸³ Alexander Ross was recorded in Warsaw in 1697 and listed as Purveyor to the Court (Royal Merchant). In the same year Ross was also cited as a royal secretary and postmas-

where in this volume, with a small capital and a network of kin, such immigrants were able to make the best of their opportunities.⁸⁴ However, this group made up just a fraction of the 'betterment migrants' group, while the bulk of it, as it appears from the records, comprised of younger children of urban merchants, tradesmen and apprentices. The birth-briefs presented by Scots while trying to obtain citizenships in various Polish cities often show such a pedigree. In Gdańsk for example there are records of Francis Anderson, son of Gilbert, skipper and burgess of Aberdeen; Robert Ainslie, son of James, barber at Jedburgh; James Learmonth (Jacob Lermont), son of John, late burgess and gunsmith of St Andrews; and William Henderson, son of William, the Earl of Orkney's late court butcher.⁸⁵ Genealogies appearing in the birth briefs and testimonials provide a similar picture. Among the parents of the applicants one can find burgesses, baillies and inhabitants of major towns and cities in Scotland and especially in Aberdeenshire.

The records from Gdańsk reveal another interesting characteristic of the new migrants by sometimes listing their occupations. Documents show that among the Gdańsk Scots there were a baker,⁸⁶ a glover,⁸⁷ a goldsmith,⁸⁸ a shoemaker,⁸⁹ a skinner,⁹⁰ a buttonmaker,⁹¹ a haberdasher⁹² and a twiner.⁹³ In Wilno, Andrew MacKean (Andrzej Makien) was recorded as a goldsmith and an elder of the local guild of goldsmiths (*starszy cech złotnickiego*) (1704–07).⁹⁴ Scots were involved in a wide range of professions from

ter. In 1717 his genealogy was recorded in *Metryka Koronna* (MK 189 fol. 601). Biegańska erroneously lists him as of Balnagorin, see Biegańska, "Wielka emigracja Szkotów w Polsce," 141, Tabl. X; cf. Uruski, *Rodzina: Herbarz Szlachty Polskiej*, Vol. XV, 258; SIG, 257; SPLC no. 1079.

⁸⁴ For further discussion on migrants of that estate, and Scots who acquired nobility status in Poland-Lithuania, see chapter 8.

⁸⁵ SEWP, 175–181; cf. SPLC no. 3575, 3565, 3739, 3714.

⁸⁶ Steven Porteous (Steffan Barthuss) was listed as a baker from Scotland in 1653, see APGd. sig. 300/60, fol. 325.

⁸⁷ Robert Bartels (Albrecht Barthels), a glover, was married at St Elizabeth church in Gdańsk to Elizabeth, daughter of Alexander Muttray (Mutry) from Aberdeen, see "LC 29 Sep 1638," APGd. sig. 351/6, fol. 17.

⁸⁸ George Smith, a goldsmith from St Andrews, was admitted to civic rights in Gdańsk in 1581, see SEWP, 194.

⁸⁹ Jacob Beyer (perhaps James Baird) was listed as a shoemaker from Scotland in 1657, see APGd. sig. 300/60, fol. 456.

⁹⁰ William Thomson, a skinner, was recorded in 1614, see SIG, 248.

⁹¹ Peter Hunter (Hotter), a buttonmaker, was married at St Elizabeth church in Gdańsk to Margareth, daughter of Richard Parrot, see "LC 27 May 1646," APGd. sig. 351/6, fol. 30.

⁹² Andrew Bell from Bamoyll was listed as a haberdasher in 1637. He was admitted to civic rights in Gdańsk in 1642, see APGd. sig. 300/60, fol. 475; cf. SEWP, 195.

⁹³ William Ramsay was listed as a twiner from Rattray in 1641, see SEWP, 195.

⁹⁴ "LB 24 February 1707," LVIA Fond 606, Ap. 1, B. 102–104, fol. 75v.

art-and-craft activities and services to weapons production—altogether some 63 occupations.⁹⁵ This shows that among the migrating Scots were some with formal training in a variety of crafts and that this group had developed their skills before arriving in the Commonwealth. Given that among them were a high percentage of young people, this would suggest that they left Scotland as journeymen rather than masters, and that the lack of opportunities for employment had driven them away from their homeland. There was also a group of migrants who came to Poland-Lithuania to start or advance their apprenticeship. These would include predominantly novices aspiring to become merchants. Traditionally, as part of their mercantile education, such young Scots were given an opportunity to taste the hazards and the excitement of overseas travel and trade, especially in the ports across the North Sea.⁹⁶ The burial registers of the Cracow Assembly (Wielkanoc-Lucianowice) contain a number of entries that attest to their presence. James Haig (Jakub Hege), *młodzieniec factor P. Karmichela* (transl. young man, factor of Mr Carmichael), died in 1639.⁹⁷ Another of Carmichael's apprentices, Alexander Forbes, described as *wyrostek* (juvenile or teenager), fell to his death from a window in 1676.⁹⁸ A 'young man' William Clelland (Wilhelm Clelantz), an agent working for Scottish merchants in Ukraine, died on his journey to Cracow in 1651.⁹⁹ The evidence of the existence of such young men, most likely apprentices of their older and more affluent compatriots, can also be found in the records of the Scottish Brotherhood of Lublin. The registers of Sunday collections contain names of a number of such employees, referred to in the documents as 'boys', who donated money on their masters' behalf. For example, on 29 of October 1680, Pat Gairden's boy William Brown paid 5 fl. 12 gr.¹⁰⁰ and on 3 of November, of the same year Alex Innes, James Gregorie's boy, brought 4 fl. 15 gr.¹⁰¹

It seems that the 'betterment migrants' found making a new start easier than the other immigrants. Their background usually helped them to

⁹⁵ Biegańska, "Wielka emigracja Szkotów w Polsce", 170–171.

⁹⁶ No such tradition existed, it seems, among the crafts apprentices, as the members of the Scottish craft guilds were on the whole very reluctant to learn from abroad, see Smout, *A History of the Scottish People*, 165–166, 172–175.

⁹⁷ "LM 1615–1656," KW AParEA Kraków, fol. 142v.

⁹⁸ "LM 1665–1731," KT AParEA Kraków, fol. 3.

⁹⁹ He was described as: *młodzieniec jeden natiej Szkockiej faktor kupców z Ukrainy* (a young man from the Scottish nation), see "LM 1615–1656," KW AParEA Kraków, fol. 147.

¹⁰⁰ "Materiały do działalności bractwa Szkotów w Lublinie przed 1732," BUW SER 595, fol. 2.

¹⁰¹ Ibid.

establish themselves in the new country, receive a birth-brief from their homeland, open and maintain businesses, buy property, enlist in the army, acquire an estate, receive citizenship, ennoblement or naturalisation as noblemen.

As the genealogies of the Watson,¹⁰² Fergus-on-Tepper,¹⁰³ Lindsay¹⁰⁴ and Taylor¹⁰⁵ families show, in general the 'betterment migrants' were able to move upwards socially. Yet while some were able to obtain a naturalisation or an ennoblement (if they did not already belong to the foreign nobility), and thus enjoy the extensive privileges of nobility, others lost their social standing. According to Polish law, members of the nobility lost their privileged status once they became involved in trade. Although this statute was often bypassed or quietly ignored by the Polish nobility, foreigners of noble origin openly involved in trade were regarded as commoners. This downward move included titled families: the Barclays, Burnetts, Drummonds of Borland and Fergusons of Crichtie.¹⁰⁶ Despite being officially declassed, they were often able to achieve considerable fortunes or offices as merchants. Not surprisingly, because of their social status either as nobility or as *mercatores* (merchants), and often town citizens, it is their names that have been recorded in Polish sources.

It seems, however, that the majority of Scots living in Poland-Lithuania were from the plebeian class and were engaged in trade. Of the several thousand Scotsmen known to reside in the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth between the sixteenth and the eighteenth century, the majority were recorded as merchants, traders and peddlers—travelling salesmen wandering across the Commonwealth. The peddlers were the most numerous group.¹⁰⁷ However, this group was not uniform. Apart from the impoverished country peddlers— itinerant salesmen who remained outside the bounds of local guild organisations and traded in tin utensils, linen kerchiefs and goods made of wool, there were also those who preferred the more settled way of life and set up small booths or stalls in towns in

¹⁰² S. Łoza, *Rodziny polskie pochodzenia cudzoziemskiego osiadłe w Warszawie i okolicach*, 3 vols (Warszawa: 1932–1935), vol. II, 99–104.

¹⁰³ "The birth briefe issued to Peter Fergusson Tepper by the council of the city of Edinburgh on 7 July 1786," AGAD no. 2145.

¹⁰⁴ A. Boniecki, *Herbarz Polski*, 16 vols (Warszawa: 1901–1913), vol. XIV, 265; cf. S. Uruski, *Rodzina: Herbarz szlachty polskiej*, 15 vols (Warszawa: 1904–1938), vol. IX, 55–56.

¹⁰⁵ E. Taylor, *Historia rodziny Taylorów w Polsce* (Poznań: 1933).

¹⁰⁶ Biegańska, "Wielka emigracja Szkotów w Polsce," 141.

¹⁰⁷ For further discussion, see chapter 5.

which they sojourned.¹⁰⁸ In contrast to the former group, they followed the major fairs, thus moving from town to town. Often, it seems, they were employed as factors by their wealthier compatriots. Although most often their financial situation was weak, it would be inappropriate to classify them as subsistence migrants.

Women Migrants

The subject of Scottish women migrants is one of the least researched facets of Scottish migration to Poland-Lithuania. At the first sight, the available data suggest that very few came. Yet genealogies of a number of Scottish migrant families, which can be reconstructed using parochial documents, provide contradictory evidence. The records show that many marriages were conducted among Scots not only in the first, but also in second, third or further generations. Family histories also indicate that this practice was taking place throughout the period. An interesting example is that of Thomas Orem, burgher and merchant of Cracow, and Susanne Hewitt (Zuzanna Heidówna), who married in Wielkanoc in 1606.¹⁰⁹ Their eldest daughter Susanne (Zuzanna) (b. 1612), was married in Lucianowice in 1629 to her countryman William Torrie (Thory), merchant and burgher of Cracow.¹¹⁰ Orem's second daughter, Elizabeth (Helszka) (b. 1620), was wed in 1641 in the same parish to another influential Scot of Cracow, James Chambers.¹¹¹ Of their children, daughter Anna Constantia Chambers (Ciamerówna, Czamer, Forbesowa) (b. c. 1652) married in Lucianowice in 1668 a first generation Scot, Peter Forbes, originally

¹⁰⁸ SIG, 34.

¹⁰⁹ "LC 1606," KW AParEA Kraków, fol. 131; cf. Kutrzeba and Ptaśnik, "Dzieje handlu i kupiectwa," 113 (Horain); LICCr. II no. 2337 (Horam); SIG, 257; PRSP, 39–40.

¹¹⁰ "LB 17 July 1612," "LC 8 February 1629," KW AParEA Kraków, fols 14, 132; cf. Guldón, "Żydzi i Szkoci," 21; W. Kowalski, "Cracow Citizenship and the Local Scots, 1509–1655." In R. Unger, ed., *Britain and Poland-Lithuania: Contact and Comparison from the Middle Ages to 1795* (Leiden: 2008), no. 70 (Torri); Kutrzeba and Ptaśnik, "Dzieje handlu i kupiectwa," 113; SIG, 257; PRSP, 56; W. Węgierski, *Kronika Zboru Ewangelickiego Krakowskiego*, Kraków, 1651 (reprinted 1817), 107, 110–112; J. Wijaczka, *Handel zagraniczny Krakowa w połowie XVII wieku* (Kraków: 2002), 166.

¹¹¹ "LB 3 Jun 1620," "LC 11 April 1641," KW AParEA Kraków, fols 14, 133v; cf. Guldón, "Żydzi i Szkoci," 16, 67, 71; Kowalski, "Cracow Citizenship," no. 78; Kutrzeba and Ptaśnik, "Dzieje handlu i kupiectwa," 114 (Cramer); SIG, 256; PRSP, 124; Węgierski, *Kronika Zboru Ewangelickiego*, 130.

from Mounie in Aberdeenshire.¹¹² Their child, Thomas Orem's great-granddaughter, Anna Constantia (Lowa, Lowowa, Louwa) (b. c. 1678), married yet another Scot, Robert Low (Lau, Laul, Leow, Loow, Löö, Loöw, Louw, Low, Lowe, Löw), who was royal postmaster (fl. 1695–1718) and later a Royal Secretary (fl. 1713–1718).¹¹³

The data obtainable through the church registers for the seventeenth century—especially lists of communicants and marriage registers—show that a substantial number of Scottish women resided in the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth. This may prove, as suggested earlier, that women were always present as immigrants, but because of their legal situation were omitted from any mention in documents; for example, only men as heads of families were admitted to citizenship, were ennobled or naturalised, or were enrolled to study at universities.

While some women, such as the wife of James Bavington Jeffereys and that of Admiral Alexander Seton, came to Poland-Lithuania along with their husbands, others arrived as maidens. The marriage register of St Elizabeth church in Gdańsk shows a number of records that indicate the Scottish origins of the brides. In 1641 Margaret (Margareta), daughter of John Horne (Hornn) of *Eberdin Schottland* and Elizabeth, was married to John Robertson (Hanß Robbertsen).¹¹⁴ A year later another Scottish woman was married to George Littlejohn (Georg Litteljhon). In the note *Jungfrau* (maiden) Elizabeth Mell (Melling) was described as daughter of John (Hannß) of Aberdeen.¹¹⁵ One of the most impressive of such records is the marriage act of Agnes Williamson (Wilhelmson). In this document of 1646 she was described as *Burgerin der Stadt Eberdin in Königsreich Schottland* and her husband as *Mannhaste* (courageous) William Marshall (Wilhelm Mörschall), a musketeer of the company of Herr Hauptman Johan von Bobart.¹¹⁶ The existence of numerous other such cases in the first half of the seventeenth century—where the bride's origins are clearly identified as Scottish—seems to suggest that some women during

¹¹² "LB 1652," KW AParEA Kraków, fol. 25; "LC 1668," BUW 608, fol. 92v.; cf. AP Kr. 469 fols 539–540; AP Gd. 300, 60/5 k. 251; "The birth brieve issued to Patrick Forbes by the City Council of Aberdeen on the 7 June 1669," APGd, sig. 300R/Uug, 01058; St Peter and St Paul, Gdańsk, S-B 1699, EZAB, sig. 5462, fol. 22.

¹¹³ "Wiatowice LB 9 Aug 1678," BUW 608, fol. 100; "LC 26 November 1696," KT AParEA Kraków, fol. 134; Cf. Uruski, *Rodzinaherbarz szlachty*, vols IX, 146, X, 381; SIG, 268, 257.

¹¹⁴ "LC 27 Aug 1641," APGd, sig. 351/6, fol. 23. Cf. Fischer wrongly lists this marriage under 1640, see SEWP, 224.

¹¹⁵ "LC 19 May 1642," APGd, sig. 351/6, fol. 25.

¹¹⁶ "LC 21 May 1646," *Ibid.*, fol. 30.

this period migrated to the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth with this purpose in mind.

Other women, such as Marianne (Marianna) Whyte, must have gone to Poland-Lithuania very young, learnt a trade, and married only after they had reached the appropriate age. Marianne, noted as *rodem Szkotka* (of Scottish origin), was a servant of a Mr Hunter. When she reached adulthood, she left her employer to marry Andrew Leach (Andrzej Licz), goldsmith of Kiejdany.¹¹⁷

There is also evidence that Scottish women were not necessarily preoccupied with childbearing and house keeping. Just like other women of non-Scottish background who were heads of enterprises—Zofia née Mass, after the death of her husband Jan Feliks Bajer in 1747, was in charge of a business dealing in cloth (among other goods, she was exporting English cloth through Gdańsk)—a number of women of possible Scottish extraction were recorded as carrying on a trade. Among those who independently took up trade, were three Cracow-based female merchants, one active in the 1610s and two in the 1650s: Eva Forbes (Forbess), Ursula (Orszula, Orsula, Orszyla) Elmslie (Emslowa Jurkowa, Emzle, Emzlowa, Hamsle, Hendzlowa) née Orem (1588–1651) and Anna Hewison (Huison), who imported goods from Prussia.¹¹⁸ Eva Forbes, recorded in the 1617 and 1618 toll registers, specialised in wine. She imported it from Sopron (Ödenburg) in Hungary and from Nový Jičín and Levoča in Slovakia.¹¹⁹ Elmslie, who had been a widow since about 1625, was involved in trade until her death. In 1650 she imported two loads of goods from Breslau into Silesia. In the same year she also brought in goods from Royal Prussia: spices and *towar holenderski* (Dutch wares)—three separate shipments.¹²⁰ Elmslie was described as *pobożna* (devout) on her death certificate.¹²¹ Indeed she was heavily involved with the life of her community. She appears continuously in the list of communicants of Cracow parish (Wielkanoc-Lucianowice)

¹¹⁷ "LC 15 June 1694," LVIA Fond 606, B 144–145, fol. 70.

¹¹⁸ It should be noted that the ethnic origins of two of these women cannot be satisfactorily verified. Wijaczka explicitly lists Anna Hewison (Huison, sometimes listed as Wojciechowa Huisonowa) as a Scottish woman, but offers no evidence for this supposition. The records of the Cracow assembly document only the fact that she was married to Scot, Robert (Wojciech) Hewison. Similarly, very little is known about the ancestry of Eva Forbes. Cf. J. Bieniarzówna and J. Małecki, *Dzieje Krakowa. Kraków w wiekach XVI–XVIII* (Kraków: 1994), vol. II, 204, 471; Kowalski, *Wielka imigracja*, 256; Wijaczka, *Handel zagraniczny*, 98, 109, 216.

¹¹⁹ Kowalski, "The Scots at the Cracow Customs," 7, Table 1, no. 9.

¹²⁰ *Ibid.*, 109, 138–140, 217.

¹²¹ "LM 15 Dec 1651," KW AParEA Kraków, fol. 147.

from 1636 to 1651, and in Wiatowice parish in 1649–50.¹²² She was recorded as a godmother to numerous children in the parish (mostly Scots), from 1614 to 1637. Elmslie also contributed generously to several parish collections.¹²³

There were also women active in managing businesses jointly with their husbands. Engaged in such a role was most possibly the wife of John Gibson, purveyor to the Court, who is unknown by name. The wife of Gibson was recorded in a letter patent of 1576 granting the pair a privilege to build shops or merchant booths in public places and conduct trade from there. The couple were also given a licence in joint names to sell alcohol.¹²⁴ The unnamed wife of a certain Gibb (Gibowa) was cited as an owner of a house and several stalls in Bydgoszcz in 1672.¹²⁵

The tax register of 1651 lists a number of Scottish women who paid a tithe from their estates. Among such women were Christine Allan (Krystyna Alliana), widow of George Forres (?) (Iurg Forens) from Białobór; Dorothy Lauder (Dorota Luderyn) from Chojnice; Catherine (Katarzyna) née Hirlans [*sic*], wife of Marc Ingeramblackey (Marek Engerblechty) in Tczew; and with their Christian names unknown, Logan (Loga) and Gordon, both widows from Tuchola.¹²⁶ One may assume that if such women were obliged to pay the tax, they were also involved in the commercial activity. Perhaps, like Anna Hewison or Ursula Elmslie, they were in charge of their late husband's business or, like Mrs Gibson jointly with their husband.

The evidence shows that some women were involved in other occupations. A certain Mrs de Forbes was recorded at the court of Zygmunt III Wasa as a wet nurse for his son, the future King Władysław IV.¹²⁷

The example of Ursula Elmslie shows that women were actively involved in the life of their parish. Although they were not appointed as elders, their involvement included looking after less fortunate members of their communities. For example, the records of Kiejdany assembly give information on Catherine Hunter née Livingston, who died in 1697. On her death certificate she was described as *opiekunka sierot* (caretaker of orphans).

¹²² "LComm," KW AParEA Kraków, fols 43–89.

¹²³ "Reiester Dzieatek Ochrczczonych których imiona w księgach kościelnych przedtym nie były wpisane Rejestrzyk od samych ich Rodziców zebrany y do tych ksiąg podany (1610–1657)," KW AParEA Kraków, fols 14–18.

¹²⁴ "Faculty granted to John Gipson, a Scots merchant, to retail his goods to the Court of his Royal Majesty wherever situate (Warsaw, 8 August 1576)," quoted in PRSP, 1.

¹²⁵ Guldón and Kabaciński, *Szkice z dziejów dawnej Bydgoszczy*, 99.

¹²⁶ ASK I, MS 134, fols 36, 36v.

¹²⁷ W. Czapliński, *Władysław IV i jego czasy* (Warszawa: 1974), 16.



Fig. 4.2. Gravestone of Catherine Paterson née Kin
(Katarzyna Kinowna Petersonowa).

Another reference *dobrodziejka sług bożych* (benefactress of believers), alluded to her generous almsgiving.¹²⁸ Similarly, Catherine née King (Katarzyna Kinówna, Petersonowa), widow of the late William Paterson, was noted for similar deeds. Before her death in 1637, she left a 60 florin bequest to the poor of the Cracow parish (Wielkanoc-Lucianowice).¹²⁹

Some information about townswomen, wives and/or daughters of affluent merchants can also be obtained from a few surviving artefacts. There are usually elaborate inscriptions on gravestones dedicated to the deceased Scottish women, which contain not only intimate declarations of sorrow and despair by their surviving relatives, but sometimes also include a description of the deceased. Suzanne Chambers née Symmers was described as "...przymiotowy cnot wizerunek żywy / zacności y przykładów konterfekt prawdziwy" (a living model of virtues, a true exemplar of kindness). The inscriptions, like the one on the tombstone of Catherine Paterson née Kin (Fig. 4.2), reflect the fate of many women of those times: an early and short marriage, followed by a premature death.¹³⁰

It has also been established that such monuments were used to propagate a certain model of pious life, to create specific role models for women.¹³¹ The good wife was to be pious, prudent, dutiful and modest, which would manifest itself in her clothing, rejection of luxury, and in her willingness to look after the poor. Above all, a good wife was also to be a good mother, giving birth and raising offspring, fulfilling the basic role of a married woman. The iconographic material from the tombstones seems to suggest that the ideal of a good wife held by the Scottish community was identical to that held by the wealthier strata of sixteenth- and seventeenth-century Poland-Lithuania. The monument of Catherine Paterson provides the best

¹²⁸ "LM 11 March 1697," LVIA Fond 606, B 144–145, fol. 82v.

¹²⁹ "LM 14 October 1637," KW AParEA Kraków, fol. 98, 142.

¹³⁰ The inscription on the gravestone of Catherine Kin reads "...przez lat 16 znym potomstwo miała / ośmioro dostalego pięć ich ziemy dawszy / troie iest frasobliwych po niey pozostawszy..." (during the 16 years of marriage, together they had eight children of whom five have passed away, and the three living ones are now in sorrow...). The monument originally came from the Reformed Church in Wielkanoc. After the closure of the parish in the early nineteenth century it was transported to Sielec, near Staszów. This last Calvinist parish in Lesser Poland was closed in 1849, and the cemetery in 1945. It subsequently fell into ruin. In 1986 conservation work has been undertaken and the stone was indexed and moved to the *Lapidarium* at the Calvinist Cemetery in Żychlin near Konin, where it is currently on display, see "Gravestone of Catherine Paterson née Kin (1637)," sandstone, 198 x 87 cm, the *Lapidarium*, Evangelical-Reformed Church, Żychlin near Konin. (See Fig. 4.2)

¹³¹ K. Górecka, *Pobożne matrony i cnotliwe panny: Epitafia jako źródło wiedzy o kobiecie w epoce nowożytnej pobożne matrony i cnotliwe panny* (Warszawa: 2006), 123–126, 187–188.

evidence to support such a view. In this instance, the ideals are represented through Catherine's sunken-relief portrait and the inscription on her gravestone. She is depicted dressed modestly in a traditional female old-Polish costume consisting of a long and plain skirt, and a *szuba* (cloak). Her head is covered in a bonnet with a *rańtuch* (a kind of a shawl or scarf made from a wide cloth) falling onto her shoulders. Her piety is indicated by a prayer book or bible held in her right hand just over her heart. The passages in the parish records mentioned above describing charitable work of the deceased female members of the congregation provide further proof that some Scottish women upheld such ideals.

There were also less fortunate women. As in Scotland, life seemed to be especially hard for widows like Mrs Gilbert (Gilbarowa) (1630) and Mrs Ogilvie (Ogilbina) (1635), recorded as alms beneficiaries in Kiejdany.¹³² Likewise, as will be shown later, not all women managed to marry well or to lead a pious life.

The greatest challenge is to establish the number of Scottish women in the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth. If at the beginning of the migration their numbers were substantially smaller than those of men, as it will be demonstrated later, the ratio must eventually have changed in their favour to allow more Scots to marry within their nation. This in turn may be indicative of a change in the mode of migration: from sojourning to more permanent migration, with merchants of Scottish origin wanting to establish families in the country of settlement. The marriage registers from the churches of St Peter and St Paul, and St Elizabeth in Gdańsk show that Scottish women were sought after, especially widows, with a number of them marrying for a second time. Among such women were: Anne, widow of John (Johann) Hay who married James (Jacob) Law in 1633;¹³³ Elizabeth née Sinclair widow of Robert Oliphant (Olifant), who married Peter Wilson (Willsonn *ein Schott*) in 1634;¹³⁴ and Margaret (Margareta) née Horne, widow of certain Robertson (Roberts) and who in 1647 married John Watson (Hannß Watzon).¹³⁵ Some women remarried several times, such as one Elizabeth, who married Lindsay (Lendzin); then Shine (Szein); and finally Frost.¹³⁶ This practice, especially if the women were daughters or wives of citizens, may be explained on the grounds of legal necessity. Single

¹³² "Collecta Zboru Kiejdańskiego," fols 30, 35.

¹³³ "LC 23 January 1633," APGd. sig. 351/6, fol. 5.

¹³⁴ "LC 26 February 1634," Ibid., fol. 6.

¹³⁵ "LC 24 July 1647," Ibid., fol. 32.

¹³⁶ Biegańska, "Wielka emigracja Szkotów w Polsce," 35 n.

Scotsmen applying for civic rights were obliged to marry local and not foreign women. Marrying women of the same ethnic and religious background must have been easier and more desirable for both parties.

This evidence clearly suggests an imbalance between the sexes in favour of men. The lists of parishioners and communicants allows speculation about the ratio of men to women in settled communities in the seventeenth century. The register of Cracow parishioners of Wielkanoc-Lucianowice of 1637 lists the names of 73 Scots, 49 men and 24 women. Although the total number of women in the parish (125) also seems to be smaller than the total number of men (178), it is quite clear that the ratio of men to women among the other parishioners is more equal than that among the Scots. While Scottish women were outnumbered by their male counterparts nearly 2:1, at a parish level women made up about 44 per cent of the congregation.¹³⁷ A scrupulously detailed analysis of the lists of communicants of the same parish, encompassing the period 1636 to 1716, allowed the identification of 556 individuals who could be described as being of Scottish origin and who appeared at least once in the records. Only about 30 per cent of those registered, that is, 165 individuals, were women. This proportion of men to women appears to be constant throughout the seventeenth century. If we consider the figure to be representative of the more global trends, and accept the estimate of the total Scottish population as 5000–7000 individuals, this would allow us to speculate that in the 1640s approximately 1500–2100 women of Scottish origin resided in Poland-Lithuania. Of the 165 women who were recorded on the lists of communicants, 62 (37.6 per cent) received communion in the parish not more than twice. It should be emphasised that the ratio of women permanently residing in the parish to those who appear on the lists of communicants sporadically could be even higher, as it is difficult to trace women after they married (marriage records seldom contain maiden names). The motives for moving between parishes were varied and, as will be explained later, women had different reasons to men. While some of them possibly travelled alongside their husbands or visited parishes to become godmothers or witnesses, others—especially maidens—were moving elsewhere to join their new husbands.

Notwithstanding such problems, the data allow us to establish a more precise ratio of Scottish men to women. While the overall figure (391:165)

¹³⁷ "Reiestr Auditorów albo Słuchaczów Zboru Wielkanockiego y Lucianowskiego," KW, AParEA Kraków, fols 7–9.



Fig. 4.3. Portraits of John Charters (Jan Czatter) (b. c. 1676, d. 1736) and his wife Jadwiga née Smith (b. c. 1685, d. 1725), prominent inhabitants of Chełmno. The portraits appear on the Charters' wall memorial in the Assumption of the Blessed Virgin Mary Roman Catholic church in Chełmno (photo by M. G. Zieliński).

suggests a ratio 2.3:1 in favour of men, that ratio is much smaller at 1.5:1 (159:103) among the more settled migrants.¹³⁸ Analysis of the 1679 list of parishioners of the Kiejdany assembly confirms this supposition. Of the 76 parishioners of possible Scottish extraction, 31–40 per cent—were women.¹³⁹ On the other hand, males outnumbered females at a rate higher than 2:1 in coastal areas, especially in Gdańsk and Königsberg, that is, in

¹³⁸ Ibid.; "Reiestr Kommunikantów w Zborze Wielkanocki[m] y Lucianowskim (1636–1651)," and "Reiestr Kommunikantów w Zborze Wielkanocki[m] y Lucianowskim (1653–1657)," KW AParEA Kraków, fols 43–89a, 104–106a; "Rejestr komunikantów 1657–1716," KT AParEA Kraków, fols 1–125v; "Reiestr do Słowa Bożego przyjętych y z błędów do Ewangeliey pozyskanych 1631–1656," KW AParEA Kraków, fols 43–89; "Nowoprzyjęci do Komunii Św. 1694–1732," KT AParEA Kraków, fols 163–164.

¹³⁹ The total number of parishioners was 238, not including nine persons residing in the hospital (mainly Catholics and Lutherans), see S. Tworek, "Materiały do dziejów kalwinizmu w Wielkim Księstwie Litewskim w XVII wieku," *Odrodzenie i reformacja w Polsce* 14 (1969): Appendix IX, 213–215.

places of numerous short-term visits.¹⁴⁰ This would also be true of more remote locations, especially those with a low Scottish population, where settled Scots displayed a tendency to marry local women.

Mercenaries

Tens of thousands of Scots, Englishmen and Irishmen enlisted or were drafted to fight in Continental Europe in the first half of the seventeenth century. Historians believe that among the providers of military manpower in Europe, Scotland played a major role by sending some 50,000 men to fight on the Continent between 1618 and 1640 alone.¹⁴¹

It is uncertain how many such Scots eventually found their way into Poland-Lithuania, but it is well established that they had been employed there since the 1570s. The first sizeable contingent, under the command of Colonel William Stewart of Huston, consisting of six companies of Scottish infantry and numbering about 700 men, was hired by the city of Gdańsk in 1577.¹⁴² The reputation built by Stewart's regiment was the foundation of the fame of the Scottish troops in Poland. King Stefan Batory was so impressed with the Scots that he tried to enlist as many as 1500 of them in his army, for the campaigns he was planning against Muscovy. When his agent George Farensbach returned in September 1581 with predominantly Germans rather than Scots, Batory was furious. It seems the monarch believed the Scots to be tougher, more courageous and more willing soldiers than the Germans.¹⁴³ The Scots brought by Farensbach were immediately used in the campaign, taking part in the siege of Lenward, Aschenroden and Kokenhauzen castles.¹⁴⁴ In mid-October 1581 three companies of Scots, that is 248 men, took part at the siege of Pskov in 1581.

¹⁴⁰ For discussion on the ratio of men to women of Scottish communities in Gdańsk and Königsberg see chapter 6.

¹⁴¹ S. Murdoch, "The House of Stuart and the Scottish Professional Soldier 1618–1640: A Conflict of Nationality and Identities," in B. Taithe and T. Thornton, eds., *War: Identities in Conflict 1300–2000*, (Gloucestershire: 1998): 37–56; idem, *Britain, Denmark-Norway and the House of Stuart, 1603–1660* (East Linton: 2003); Murdoch, ed., *Scotland and the Thirty Years' War*, (Leiden: 2001); A. Grosjean, *An Unofficial Alliance: Scotland and Sweden, 1569–1654* (Leiden: 2003); R. I. Frost, "Scottish Soldiers: Poland-Lithuania and the Thirty Years' War," in S. Murdoch, ed., *Scotland and the Thirty Years' War* (Leiden: 2001), 191–213.

¹⁴² A. Biegańska, "Żołnierze szkoccy w dawnej Rzeczypospolitej," *Studia i Materiały do Historii Wojsk* 27 (1984): 90.

¹⁴³ Piotrowski, *Dziennik wyprawy Stefana Batorego*, 12, 72–3, 75, 76.

¹⁴⁴ Biegańska, "Żołnierze szkoccy," 90.

Among the Scottish commanders was Captain John Thomson, who had previously served in Stewart's regiment.¹⁴⁵

The Pskov campaign further reinforced the already high opinion of Scottish mercenaries. According to Spytko Wawrzyniec Jordan, one of Batory's captains, Scots were troops of rare quality. He believed that despite their appearance—he characterised them as *niepocześni* (unkempt)—2000 Scots were better than 6000 Polish infantry.¹⁴⁶ It is difficult to determine how many Scottish mercenaries actually served under the banner of the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth. An estimate made on the basis of data supplied by Biegańska, Borowy and Brzeziński suggests that the number could be as high as 10,000.¹⁴⁷ But the exact number will never be known due to the fact that some of them were re-enlisted several times (because they belonged to different units over a period of time) and because of confusing conventions adopted in the Polish documents. It is often difficult to determine the nationality of troops under Scottish command because, as already stated, the label 'Scot' was often used for any arrival from the British Isles.

Similarly, any Western-style infantry in the Commonwealth's service was often termed 'German', even though it may have been lacking a single German in its ranks.¹⁴⁸ A fine example illustrating problems with determining the national make-up and the size of specific 'Scottish' contingents is the "Collecta zboru Kiejdańskiego", a collection of financial documents left by the Reformed community of Kiejdany. According to Gordon's diary, "Duke Ian [Janusz] Radzewill had a lyfe company, all or most Scottismen."¹⁴⁹ The "Collecta" show, however, that the company was organised on a Scottish model, perhaps dressed in Scottish fashion and, certainly, under Scottish command. In 1659, Major James Carstairs (Caster), Commandant of Prince Radziwiłł, asked the church authorities for someone who could celebrate a sermon in German as his men, not fluent in Polish or Lithuanian, "cannot listen to the word of God".¹⁵⁰

¹⁴⁵ Ibid.

¹⁴⁶ Quoted in Biegańska, "Żołnierze szkoccy," 100.

¹⁴⁷ Biegańska, "Żołnierze szkoccy," 90–111; Borowy, "Anglicy, Szkoci i Irlandczycy," 293–313; R. Brzeziński, "British mercenaries in the Baltic 1560–1683," *Military Illustrated: Past and Present* 4 (1986–87): part I, 22; M. Nagielski, "Społeczny i narodowy skład gwardii królewskiej za dwóch ostatnich Wazów (1632–1668)," *Studia i Materiały do Historii Wojskowości* 30 (1988), 61–102.

¹⁴⁸ Brzeziński, *Polish Armies*, Vol. II, 22.

¹⁴⁹ Gordon, "Diary 1635–1659," fol. 9v.

¹⁵⁰ "Collecta zboru Kiejdańskiego," fol. 143.

Had the company comprised mostly of Scots, Carstairs most likely would have asked for a Scot or an English-speaking preacher. Likewise, it is hard to determine the proportion of Scottish soldiers of fortune who were enlisted in their homeland as opposed to troops drawn from among the residing Scottish migrants or military units that had previously fought for other European rulers. Jordan makes it clear that a proportion of the troops were former peddlers who, having abandoned or sold their booths, exchanged them for a sword and a musket.¹⁵¹ The best example of such transformation is the career of John Morton. Morton was a trader based in Tarnów and conducted commercial transactions in Lwów and Rzeszów. In about 1647 he got into financial difficulties over the repayment of loans. It appears that Morton abandoned his merchandise and took up his sword. He enlisted in the Polish Army and served as quartermaster to Captain Thomas Stirling. Perhaps not coincidentally Stirling too began his career as a merchant—he was recorded as a hide trader in Tarnów in 1639—and joined the military ranks only later. Stirling also commanded a company raised apparently from Scotsmen of similar background, those who, for whatever reason, ditched their trade. Stirling, his quartermaster and their men met a tragic end. Cossacks and Tartars wiped them out near Zborów.¹⁵² As will be shown in chapter 7, other Scots followed a similar path but were more successful than Stirling and Morton. Some of them skilfully used their military career as a stepping-stone for social advancement.

Yet there is also no record of Scottish troopers in the parish registers of Wilno, despite the fact that the church was attended by a number of Scottish officers, among them Captain Montgomery (Mintgomer), Captain James (Jakub) Jaspers (in 1650), Captain of the Crown Army William (Wilhelm) Forbes (1715), Lieutenant Colonel John North (Jan Nort) (1730–33), quartermaster and later captain of the *Littonischen* Regiment William Taylor (Wilhelm Theiler) (1722–46), and Major John Marshall (Merschell) (1744).¹⁵³

What is indisputable is that the Polish Court frequently attempted to raise an even larger number of troops in the British Isles. Numbers

¹⁵¹ Quoted in Biegańska, “Żołnierze szkoccy,” 87; cf. Brzeziński, “British mercenaries,” part I, 19.

¹⁵² Guldon, “Żydzi i Szkoci,” 19, 20–21; Brzeziński, “British mercenaries,” part I, 22; Kowalski I, 101.

¹⁵³ “LB 1631–1761,” LVIA Fond 606, Ap. 1, B. 102–104, fols 2–24v; Fond. 1218, Ap. 1, B. 590, fols 68–80; M. Miłuński, “Zarząd dóbr Bogusława Radziwiłła w latach 1636–1669,” in U. Augustyniak, ed., *Administracja i życie codzienne w dobrach Radziwiłłów XVI–XVIII wieku* (Warszawa: 2009), 273.

mentioned during negotiations were as high as 10,000 men, though due to financial difficulties and political objections—especially from Sweden—this number was never achieved.¹⁵⁴

A number of Scottish officers were certainly hired to organise and lead troops under the Polish banner. Among them was Alexander Seton (Sitton, Sithonius), who was employed in 1635 by Władysław IV to organise the Polish navy. Seton, a Scottish Catholic, was nominated to the rank of *viceprefectus* (vice-admiral), and as such commanded a fleet, of at first 10 and later 12 warships. Seton was also involved in negotiations with the Swedes and in a mission to King Christian IV of Denmark to secure permission to levy troops and to acquire provisions. Of note is Seton's generous remuneration, amounting to 1200 zł per month (July–August 1635). It is possible that this Alexander Seton, whose early life, as well as later career is unknown to Polish historians is the same as mentioned by Murdoch, Colonel Alexander Seton (Seaton, Seton, Seiton, Setone, Sehekan, Zeaton) who served the Danes during the period of the Thirty Years' War. This Seton was appointed as captain of a company of 500 British foot raised by order of the Scottish Privy Council (1625) and confirmed in Denmark on 8 April 1626. Later the same year Seton was authorised to levy another 500 men in Scotland and soon after was promoted to lieutenant-colonel (28 February 1627). Seton left this regiment in 1628 and sold the commission of his company to Captain Stewart in November 1628. It was then that he probably enlisted his services with the Poles, and moved with his wife to Gdańsk. He was still in Polish service when in April 1636 he accompanied Jan Zawadzki to Lübeck. After that, Seton most probably left command there and returned to Danish-Norwegian service in May 1645. His experience gained in Poland may have helped to advance his career in the Norwegian navy. Seton was appointed as an admiral over a squadron of eight ships in the Swedish–Danish war of 1643–45.¹⁵⁵

¹⁵⁴ In 1621, Ossoliński was sent as an ambassador to James I to raise “2,000 volunteers for a Guard to the King of Poles body”, see Brzeziński, “British mercenaries,” part I, 19. The reasons for the failure of the levies for the Commonwealth are discussed in detail in S. Murdoch, *Network North: Scottish Kin, Commercial and Covert Associations in Northern Europe, 1603–1746* (Leiden: 2006), ch. 7.

¹⁵⁵ W. Szczuczko, “Seton (Sitton, Sithonius) Alexander,” in PSB XXXVI/3, 342–343; W. Czapliński, *Polska a Bałtyk w latach 1632–1648: Dzieje floty i polityki morskiej* (Wrocław: 1952), 50, 66–68; idem, *Władysław IV i jego czasy* (Warszawa: 1974), 194; E. Koczorowski, *Zarys dziejów Polski na morzu* (Gdynia: 1982), 160; J. Pertek, *Polacy na morzach i oceanach. T. 1, Do roku 1795* (Poznań: 1981), 167, 237, 238. Cf. SSNE no. 91.

According to the most recent estimates, between the 1570s and the 1790s a minimum 139 officers of Scottish origin served in Poland-Lithuania.¹⁵⁶ The figure seems modest compared to the number of Scots serving elsewhere on the Continent. Some 1650 Scottish officers have been recorded in the service of Sweden, more than 400 in the service of Denmark-Norway, and 280 in Muscovy.¹⁵⁷ Among the Scottish officers in Polish service, 18 were recorded in the last decades of the sixteenth century, 50 were active in the first half of the seventeenth century, and 39 between 1651 and 1700. A number of Scots were also recorded in the eighteenth century—13 between 1701 and 1750, and 19 between 1751 and 1795—however, unlike in previous decades, the majority (a minimum of 22 men) were second- or third-generation migrants. Such officers were usually assigned command over foot or dragoon units, although several of them also led reiters or served in the navy. Relatively few fought for the Commonwealth for an extended period. The majority seem to have left the service after a one- or two-year contract. Of those who stayed, many distinguished themselves fighting the Muscovites, Cossacks, Swedes and Tartars and, as a result, were elevated to the ranks of the nobility. Apart from the Scots, some 16 Irishmen, 12 Englishmen and 11 men of unspecified British origin likewise led Commonwealth troops.¹⁵⁸

It is likely that after the 1580s, the number of British mercenaries (predominantly Scots) in the Commonwealth's army and the smaller private troops belonging to the magnates steadily increased, reflecting the Court's need for able infantrymen. The Scottish input to Polish-Lithuanian military history was not significant, and has been exaggerated by Biegańska and Borowy.¹⁵⁹ It certainly pales into insignificance when compared with the substantial Scottish contribution to the Danish and Swedish armies during the Thirty Years' War.¹⁶⁰ This becomes especially apparent when one looks at some recent estimates of the numbers of foreign officers serving in the so-called foreign *autorament* (contingent). It seems that depending on the unit, only 10–20 per cent of officers serving in the foreign contingents in the Commonwealth in the second half of the seventeenth century were foreigners. Scots would only represent a small percentage of

¹⁵⁶ Cf. Appendix XIII.

¹⁵⁷ SSNE.

¹⁵⁸ See Appendix XIII.

¹⁵⁹ Borowy, *Scots in Old Poland*; Biegańska, "Żołnierze szkoccy."

¹⁶⁰ Murdoch, "The House of Stuart," 37–56; idem, *Britain, Denmark-Norway*; Murdoch, ed. *Scotland and the Thirty Years' War*; Grosjean, "An Unofficial Alliance".

that figure, with the majority of foreigners coming from the Holy Roman Empire—Germans, especially from Westphalia, Pomerania, Mecklenburg, Holstein, Styria and Tyrol, and Hungarians—as well as from Sweden, Italy and France.¹⁶¹

Academics and Scholars

A number of Scots, some of whom were sent directly to the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth, were also to be found in local schools and universities, Catholic, Lutheran and Reformed. Although religious persecutions in Scotland could be seen for some students—especially Scottish Catholics at the seminary at Braniewo—as the main motive for taking up studies abroad, there is much evidence to suggest other reasons. First, academic exchanges were in vogue among the nobility and the more affluent merchants and, as it will be illustrated later, students attended several institutions, one after the other. Second, the evidence suggests that the administration of some of the schools in the Commonwealth often overlooked the religious denomination of their pupils. For example, a large number of Protestants, including Scots, were enrolled at the nominally Catholic Academy of Zamość. Similarly, a large number of Catholics, sons of Polish noblemen and burghers, as well as a smaller number of Scots, most likely Evangelical Reformed, attended the Lutheran-run schools in Elbląg, Toruń and Gdańsk. Finally, academic institutions in Poland-Lithuania were of a high standard and good reputation. They offered a curriculum advantageous for sons of Scottish merchants interested in commercial exchanges with the ‘easterne countreyis’. The large contingent of Englishmen associated with the Eastland Company who attended the Elbląg Gymnasium seems to be a prime example of that. For these reasons, rather than presenting the sample as evidence of religious origins of migrants, the students will be treated here as a separate group of migrants altogether.

In the enrolment records of the oldest Protestant Gymnasium in the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth, that in Elbląg established in 1535, one can find individuals such as Thomas Ramsay (*Ramse aus Schottland*) in 1616, John Tweedie (*Hans Twide*) described as *Scoti filius* in 1618, John Wishart (*Johann Wischart*) *von Edinburg aus Schottlands* in 1622, and Bartholomew

¹⁶¹ M. Wagner, *Kadra oficerska Armii Koronnej w II połowie XVIII wieku* (Toruń: 1992), 20–26, 34–51; cf. Nagielski, “Społeczny i narodowy skład gwardii,” 101.

Learmonth (Barthel Lermut) enrolled in 1624.¹⁶² Between 1598 and 1786 approximately 164 students of Scottish ancestry attended this grammar school. The ethnic origins of the first-generation immigrants—there were 30 such students—were clearly listed in the record book. The last student described as a *Scotus*, James (Jacobus) Ross, entered the school in 1718.¹⁶³ There were other students whose names indicate Scottish background, sons of emigrants, that is, second- and third-generation Scots. The Gymnasium was also very popular among the sons of English merchants of Ipswich, Newcastle, Leeds, Hull, York and especially London, as well as traders working for the Eastland Company stationed in Elbląg. The latter were often described as *Elbingo-Britannus* to distinguish them from those arriving directly from England. Altogether some 187 of them enrolled at the college between 1598 and 1786 (of those 123 appear as first-generation migrants).¹⁶⁴ Similar colleges set up by the Protestants existed in Gdańsk and Toruń. The *Gymnasium Dantiscanum* established in Gdańsk in 1558 attracted between 1580 and 1784 some 114 Scots and their descendants and about 17 young men of English extraction.¹⁶⁵ The *Gymnasium Academicum*, which opened in Toruń in 1568 (it functioned as a gymnasium after 1592), also received students who originated from the British Isles. Between 1609 and 1795 its enrolments included about 105 boys of Scottish background and 18 of English descent.¹⁶⁶ In all three schools, Elbląg, Gdańsk and Toruń, the bulk of them enrolled from the 1610s to the 1640s. A considerable

¹⁶² H. Abs, ed., *Die Matrikel des Gymnasiums zu Elbing (1598–1786)*, (Hamburg: 1982) (hereafter MGE), 54, 60, 71, 78.

¹⁶³ Ibid., 225.

¹⁶⁴ Ibid.

¹⁶⁵ Z. H. Nowak and P. Szafran, eds., *Księga wpisów uczniów Gimnazjum Gdańskiego 1580–1814: Catalogus Discipulorum Gymnasii Gedanensis 1580–1814* (Warszawa-Poznań: 1974), (hereafter CDGG). Students of Scottish origin: 36, 63, 67, 70, 71, 73, 77, 83, 84, 89, 90, 91, 94, 96, 101, 104, 108, 112, 114, 115, 116, 120, 121, 124, 128, 132, 136, 139, 144, 145, 148, 163, 165, 172, 177, 180, 181, 189, 197, 212, 214, 225, 226, 232, 236, 238, 241, 242, 243, 245, 252, 253, 259, 262, 264, 265, 276, 277, 278, 280, 282, 284, 285, 286, 287, 290, 302, 303, 305, 307, 308, 312, 314, 316, 319, 320, 326, 334, 336, 337, 338, 340, 343, 345, 346, 380. Students of English origin: 54, 61, 96, 103, 107, 115, 136, 145, 150, 154, 195, 319, 367, 372.

¹⁶⁶ Z. H. Nowak and J. Tandecki, eds., *Metryka uczniów toruńskiego Gimnazjum Akademickiego 1600–1817: Matricula Discipulorum Torunensis Gymnasii Academici 1600–1817*, 2 vols (Toruń: 1997) (hereafter MDTGA). Students of Scottish origin: nos. 188, 657, 698, 699, 1162, 1237, 1460, 1482, 1503, 1517, 1577, 1664, 1764, 1834, 1850, 1937, 1942, 1979, 2003, 2135, 2232, 2250, 2374, 2466, 2538, 2553, 2687, 2689, 2972, 2991, 3194, 3292, 3293, 3393, 3417, 3439, 3450, 3487, 3509, 3592, 3698, 3873, 3964, 4109, 4230, 4461, 4570, 4756, 4774, 4879, 4888, 4889, 5027, 5046, 5047, 5207, 5222, 5225, 5514, 5835, 6051, 6099, 6214, 6242, 6260, 6289, 6437, 6439, 6451, 6640, 6687, 6742, 6777, 6785, 6851, 7061, 7121, 7175, 7277, 7464, 7719, 8304, 8373, 8437, 8732, 9019, 9075, 9076, 9093, 9185, 9203, 9255, 9256, 9279, 9330, 9413, 9427, 9842, 9888, 9904, 10076, 10123, 10140, 10166, 10201. Students of English origin: 189, 731, 732, 3095, 3486, 3699, 4980, 5116, 5156, 5231, 5262, 5355, 5356, 5490, 5580, 5725, 5726, 10216.

attendance was also registered at the university in Königsberg, established in 1544 by Albrecht of Brandenburg, first duke of the Polish fief, Ducal Prussia. Between 1544 and 1657, that is when Ducal Prussia was a vassal of Poland, some 48 Scots and their descendants, as well as nine men of English origin attended this institution.¹⁶⁷

Students from Scotland, possibly Roman Catholics, were enrolled at the Jagiellonian University in Cracow as early as the second half of the fifteenth century. The first recorded was Thomas, son of Robert *de Scocia Bacallarius Coloniensis*, enrolled in 1468.¹⁶⁸ Between 1600 and 1642 a further 14 individuals of most probably Scottish origin were recorded there. The bulk of them—nine—were enrolled in the 1620s.¹⁶⁹ A larger number of Scottish students was recorded in the Zamość Academy established in Red Ruthenia in 1594. According to the student register, between 1610 and 1699, this institution attracted some 77 students with names suggesting Scottish descent and two of possible English origin.¹⁷⁰ The majority

¹⁶⁷ G. Erler, ed., *Die Matrikel und die Promotionsverzeichnisse der Albertus-Universität zu Königsberg in Preussen 1544–1829*, 2 vols (Leipzig: 1910) (hereafter MPAUK), Bd 1: “Die Immatrikulationen von 1544–1656,” students of Scottish origin: 41, 45, 54, 117, 136, 139, 161, 176, 213, 236, 246, 259, 260, 265, 280, 283, 289, 294, 309, 314, 318, 319, 326, 345, 362, 366, 370, 376, 377, 387, 388, 398, 417, 433, 461, 477, 481, 506, 507, 509, 511, 514, 523, 528, 545; students of English origin: 20, 144, 155, 324, 340, 357, 395, 405, 458.

¹⁶⁸ ASUC I, 193; PRSP, 347–351; cf. A. Biegańska, “The learned Scots in Poland,” *Canadian Slavonic Papers* 43, no. 1 (2001): 3.

¹⁶⁹ ASUC IV, 15, 36, 58, 79, 80, 132, 151, 157, 166, 171, 191, 193. Among the students there was also an undergraduate from Ireland, Eduard Camin de Cassel, son of Richard, *natione Hibernus, solvit totum* (1616): *Ibid.*, vol. IV, 49.

¹⁷⁰ H. Gmiterek, ed., *Album studentów Akademii Zamojskiej 1595–1781* (Warszawa: 1994), (hereafter ASAZ). Students of Scottish origin: Ch. XXII (1622–23), no. 81; Ch. XXVI (1626–27), no. 16; Ch. XXIX (1629–30), nos. 36, 62; Ch. XXXIV (1634–35), no. 131; Ch. XXXVII (1637–38), nos. 39, 40, 41; Ch. XL (1640–41), no. 45; Ch. XLIV (1644–45), nos. 40, 57; Ch. XLV (1645–46), no. 48; Ch. XLVII (1647–48), no. 80; Ch. XLVIII (1648–49), no. 4, 30; Ch. LIII (1653–54), nos. 2, 3, 5, 12; Ch. LIV (1654–55), nos. 14, 45, 70; Ch. LVI (1656–57), nos. 6, 7, 17; Ch. LVII (1657–58), no. 2; Ch. LVIII (1658–59), nos. 7, 8, 10, 14; Ch. 59 (1659–60), nos. 63, 64; Ch. LX (1660–61), 38; Ch. LXI (1662–63), nos. 29, 30, 37, 38, 39; Ch. LXII (1663–64), no. 40; Ch. LXIII (1664–65), nos. 23, 30, 31; Ch. LXIV (1666–67), nos. 33, 34, 36, 82; Ch. LXV (1667–68), no. 27; Ch. LXVI (1668–69), no. 57; Ch. LXXI (1672–73), nos. 17, 58; Ch. LXXII (1673–74), no. 4, 5; Ch. LXXV (1676–77), nos. 17, 73, 74, 75, 97; Ch. LXXVIII (1679–80), no. 8; Ch. LXXX (1681–82), no. 57; Ch. LXXXI (1682–83), no. 36; Ch. LXXXII (1683–84), nos. 14, 15, 16; Ch. LXXXIII (1684–85), 19; Ch. LXXXIV (1685–86), nos. 1, 4; Ch. LXXXV (1686–87), nos. 20, 36; Ch. XC (1692–93), nos. 18, 37, 38, 39, 40, 41; Ch. XCI (1693–94), no. 2; Ch. XCV (1697–98), no. 69; Ch. XCVI (1698–99), no. 53. Another 22 students of Scottish extraction have been recorded in the eighteenth century: Ch. XCIX (1701–02), no. 4; Ch. CI (1703–04), nos. 12, 22; Ch. CVI (1708–09), no. 8; Ch. CXIV (1717–18), nos. 4, 6; Ch. CXV (1718–19), nos. 20, 21; Ch. CXIX (1722–24), nos. 2, 20; Ch. CXXI (1725–26), no. 32; Ch. CXXII (1728–29), 24; Ch. CXXIII (1729–28), nos. 61, 64, 65, 77; Ch. CXXV (1737–38), nos. 14, 50, 59, 60; Ch. CXXXII (1770–71), no. 18, 55. Students of English origin: Ch. X (1610–11), no. 61; Ch. XX (1620–21), no. 79.

of the students enrolled there seem to be second-generation migrants, sons of affluent Scottish merchants such as James (enrolled for the academic year 1640–41),¹⁷¹ Thomas (1644–45)¹⁷² and Daniel (1647–48),¹⁷³ sons of Thomas Birnie (Berny), merchant and citizen of Gdańsk; John (1634–35),¹⁷⁴ Andrew (1645–46),¹⁷⁵ Nicholas (1648–49)¹⁷⁶ and Daniel (1654–55),¹⁷⁷ sons of Andrew Davidson (Deuison, Deuissou, Deuizon, Devison) (1591–60), *Scotus Heydenburgensis*, merchant and citizen of Zamość; and Samuel (1672–73),¹⁷⁸ Peter (1676–77)¹⁷⁹ and James¹⁸⁰ sons, of Peter Leask (Leysk). The records show that a majority came from Zamość (16) and adjacent dioceses of Chełm (24), Cracow (5) and Sandomierz (3), while some students travelled from more distant locations such as Gdańsk (9), Puck (1), or Königsberg (2). The enrolments picked up in the 1640s (7 students) and grew even higher in the 1650s and the 1660s (17 and 16 enrolments respectively). The number of enrolled Scots and people of Scottish origin remained quite high until the end of the seventeenth century. A big fall in numbers can be observed especially after 1730.

A number of Scots or, more precisely, their descendants also attended a variety of much smaller colleges. Scottish-sounding names appear, for example, in the records of Reformed schools in Birze (Biržai), Kiejdany, Radziejów, Słuck and Zabłudów. In the Kiejdany College, established around 1625 by the Radziwiłłs, Scots were among its rectors, teachers

¹⁷¹ James (Jacobus), son of Thomas Birnie (Berny), *Scotus, civis Gedanensis*, was enrolled for the academic year 1640–41, see ASAZ, Ch. XL, no. 45.

¹⁷² Thomas, son of Thomas Birnie (Berny), *Dantiscanus*, was enrolled for the academic year 1644–45, see Ibid., Ch. XLIV, no. 40.

¹⁷³ Daniel, son of Thomas Birnie (Berny), *Borusus, Dantiscanus*, was enrolled for the academic year 1647–48, see Ibid., Ch. XLVII, no. 80.

¹⁷⁴ John (Joannes), son of Andrew Davidson (Andreas Deuissou), *Scotus Heydenburgensis, incolae Zamosciensis*, was enrolled for the academic year 1634–35, see Ibid., Ch. XXXIV, no. 131.

¹⁷⁵ Andrew (Andreas), son of Andrew Davidson (Andreas Deuizon), *Scotus, mercator Zamosciensis* was enrolled for the academic year 1645–46, see Ibid., Ch. XLV, no. 48.

¹⁷⁶ Nicholas (Nicolaus) son of Andrew Davidson (Andreas Devison), *mercator Zamosciensis*, was enrolled for the academic year 1648–49, see Ibid., Ch. XLVIII, no. 4.

¹⁷⁷ Daniel, son of Andrew Davidson (Andreas Deuison), *Scotus Zamosciensis*, was enrolled for the academic year 1654–55, see Ibid., Ch. LIV, no. 70.

¹⁷⁸ Samuel, son of Peter Leask (Leysk), *dioecesis Chelmenensis*, was enrolled for the academic year 1672–73, see Ibid., Ch. LXXI, no. 17.

¹⁷⁹ Peter (Petrus), son of Peter Leask (Leysk), *dioecesis Chelmenensis*, was enrolled for the academic year 1676–77, see Ibid., Ch. LXXV, no. 73.

¹⁸⁰ James (Jacobus), son of Peter Leask (Leysk), *dioecesis Chelmenensis*, was enrolled for the academic year 1676–77, see Ibid., Ch. LXXV, 1676–77, no. 74.

and students.¹⁸¹ Amid the few academics of this *illustre gymnasium* there were the Reverend John Paterson¹⁸² and the Reverend Alexander Nicholas, who were noted among its first lecturers in 1629. There was also Thomas Ramsay, who served as a rector of the college in 1692–1697 and 1700–1702, and as a pastor of the local congregation.¹⁸³ Another Scot who probably worked in the parish was, a former chaplain to the Scots-Dutch Brigade in the Dutch Republic, John Douglas (Joannes Duglassius).¹⁸⁴ However, the school was not by any means large. According to a register of teachers

¹⁸¹ Before 1647 the staff consisted of six academics. The school must have grown between 1647 and about 1655, when nine teachers were employed. In its next phase, the staff was reduced to three and later two tutors, clearly showing signs of a regression. A brief history of the school and the college is given in S. Tworek, "Program nauczania i prawa gimnazjum kalwińskiego w Kiejdanach z lat 1626 i 1685," *Odrodzenie i Reformacja w Polsce* 15 (1970), 223–236; cf. J. Łukaszewicz, *Dzieje kościołów wyznania helweckiego w Litwie*, 2 vols (Poznań: 1842–43), vol. II, 158–162.

¹⁸² John Paterson (Jan Baterzon, Paterson) finished his tertiary education at Leiden (Netherlands) as a Doctor of Theology. In 1681 he was nominated as the rector of the Kiejdany College and later, in the 1690s, the rector at Birże. His main contribution was the development of new methods of teaching Polish to foreigners and the campaign to gain funds for the graduates of Protestant schools in England, see Biegańska, "The learned Scots in Poland," 2; R. Žirgulis, "The Scottish community in Kėdainiai c. 1630–c. 1750," in A. Grosjean and S. Murdoch, eds., *Scottish Communities Abroad in the Early Modern Period* (Leiden: 2005), 238; W. Kriegseisen, *Ewangelicy polscy i litewscy w epoce saskiej (1696–1763). Sytuacja prawna, organizacja i stosunki międzywyznaniowe* (Warszawa: 1996), 219; Łukaszewicz, *Dzieje kościołów wyznania helweckiego w Litwie*, vol. II, 7–9.

¹⁸³ Thomas Ramsay (Tomasz Ramza, Ramsay, Ramsaeus), pastor. Ramsay was an orphan. Together with his twin brother Charles (Karol) he was raised in Kiejdany by Robert (Wojciech) Livingston's family. Ramsay went to study to Edinburgh, where he obtained his BD and then went to London (1678–82) where he studied medicine and gave private tuition. From 1691 he served as a pastor of the Kiejdany congregation. From 1698–1701, together with John Paterson, he revised a translation of the New Testament into a Lithuanian, see L. Eriksonas, "The lost colony of Scots: unravelling overseas connections in a Lithuanian town," in A. I. Macinnes, T. Riis and F. G. Pedersen, eds., *ShipsGuns and Bibles in the North Sea and the Baltic States, c. 1350–c. 1700* (East Linton: 2000), 175; "Rejestr Auditorów Zboru," 214; N. Hans, "Polish Protestants and their connections with England and Holland in the 17th and 18th centuries," *The Slavonic and Eastern European Review* XXXVII (1958–59): 212; Žirgulis, "The Scottish community in Kėdainiai," 229, 236, 238. Cf. Kriegseisen, *Ewangelicy polscy i litewscy*, 139, 266.

¹⁸⁴ John Douglas (Joannes Duglassius) was ordained in Stirling in 1606. Later, he was minister at the English Reformed Church of Amsterdam, before being accepted as a member of the Classis of Utrecht and subscribing to the Dutch Reformed confession. Douglas returned to Scotland in 1621, where he continued his studies at St Andrews. He became a Doctor of Divinity the following year. Around 1637 Douglas most probably arrived in Kiejdany, where he was to stay for at least a year to preach in both Scottish and English. It is not known whether he did, and if so, how long he remained there. It is certain that, apart from the *Collecta*, his name does not appear in other church records, see "Collecta Zboru Kiejdańskiego," fol. 53; Eriksonas, "The lost colony of Scots," 176–177; Žirgulis, "The Scottish community in Kėdainiai," 230.

and students of the college of 1686, 55 pupils, organised into three classes, attended the school. Among them, were 11 boys of Scottish descent—four in the lowest grade, five in the middle grade and two in the highest *primae classis*.¹⁸⁵ It seems that some of them remained in this school for several years. Andrew MacKean (Makien), Thomas Duncan (Dunkien) and Alexander Anderson were still at the school in 1688. The same MacKean was recorded in the company of William Haliburton again in 1692.¹⁸⁶

In Zabłudów nine of 54 pupils have been identified by Biegańska as possible Scots.¹⁸⁷ The registers of communicants of Kiejdany parish, to which the school was adjacent, make a number of references to students enrolled in it. In 1688 three of nine students who received communion were Scots: Andrew MacKean (Andrzej Makien), who appears in the records as a pupil until 1692, Thomas Duncan (Tomasz Dunkien) and Alexander Anderson. James Ramsay (Jakub Ramzaj) and John (Johannes) Taylor also received communion along with four other Polish students in 1697.¹⁸⁸

Scots and their descendants also attended schools of similar rank run by the Roman Catholics. Of great importance, it seems, was the Jesuit seminary and college in Braniewo. It is impossible to assess how many Scots were enrolled in the college, founded in 1565, as its records no longer exist.¹⁸⁹ However, the example of Patrick Gordon, a student, shows that around the 1650s some Scots had been enrolled there.¹⁹⁰ More is known about the Papal Seminary established in 1575 with the purpose of educating and preparing for the priesthood men from countries engulfed by Protestantism. Between 1580 and 1659 about 45 novices from Scotland were recorded. While some, like David Kinnaird (Kinard) or James Leslie (Leslaeus), completed the course to become Jesuits, others left the school

¹⁸⁵ Among the 17 students of *primae classis* there were John Sharp (Jan Scharp) and John (Jan) Richard; in *secunda classis* (13 students) Thomas Duncan (Tomasz Dunkien), George Livingstone (Jerzy Levinston), George Sharp (Jerzy Scharp), John Hay (Jan Hey), James Crammond (Jakub Cramont); and in the lowest class of 25 pupils there were Andrew MacKain (Andrzej Makien), William Haliburton (Wilhelm Halyburton), Robert Sharp (Wojciech Scharp) and Alexander Anderson, see "Catalogus docentium et discentium Collegi Caiodunensis [1686]," quoted in Tworek, "Program nauczania," 226.

¹⁸⁶ "LComm 1669–1697," LVIA Fond 1218, Ap. 1, B. 390a, fols 117, 136v, 137v.

¹⁸⁷ A. Biegańska, "In search of tolerance: Scottish Catholics and Presbyterians in Poland," *Scottish Slavonic Review* 17 (1991): 43.

¹⁸⁸ "LComm 1641–1799," F. 606, AP 1, B. 144–145, fols 117, 136v, 137v, 156v–157.

¹⁸⁹ "Braniewo," in L. Grzebień, ed., *Encyklopedia wiedzy o Jezuitach na ziemiach Polski i Litwy 1564–1995* (Kraków: 1996.), 63–66.

¹⁹⁰ It is possible that another Scottish student enrolled there was Thomas Menzies, with whom Gordon travelled to Braniewo, see Gordon, "Diary 1635–1659," fols 4–5.

for a variety of reasons: David Young returned to Scotland, William Douglas became a soldier, Alex Ingram was dismissed because of an illness and disobedience, and Thomas Duff was dismissed because he was judged to be inept.¹⁹¹

Some of the students were also noted in the enrolment records of other schools or universities, as according to the contemporary fashion, the more affluent pupils studied in different educational institutions. James Gellatly, son of Thomas of Gdańsk (originally from Dundee), was first enrolled in Königsberg (1636), then in Elbląg (1642), and after that moved abroad to study in Groningen (1645), Strasburg (1648) and Cölmer (1644).¹⁹² Charles Ramsay (Ramse, Ramsaeus) (b. 26 Jul 1616, d. 7 May 1669) son of Charles of Elbląg, appears in the records in Elbląg (1623), Wilno, Toruń, Lublin, Gdańsk, Jagiellonian University in Cracow (1636) and finally the University of Leiden (1638).¹⁹³ One of the most educated Polish Scots, John Johnstone MD (1603–1675) was a student of several local schools, among them the college in Toruń (1619), before attending a number of universities abroad.¹⁹⁴

¹⁹¹ G. Lühr, ed., *Die Matrikel des päpstlichen Seminars zu Braunsberg 1578–1798* (Braunsberg: 1925); M. Inglot SJ and L. Grzebień SJ, eds., *Uczniowie—Sodalisi gimnazjum jezuitów w Brunsberdze (Braniewie) 1579–1623* (Kraków: 1998); G. Lühr, ed., *Die Schüler des Braunsberger Gymnasiums von 1694 bis 1776 nach dem Album Scholasticum Brunsbergens: in einem Anhang; Frühere Schüler der Anstalt seit 1640* (Braunsberg: 1934); cf. “List of Scottish Pupils at the Jesuit-Seminary at Braunsberg (1579–1642),” in SIG, 298–299.

¹⁹² MGE, 109; MPAUK, vol. I, 377.

¹⁹³ MGE, 74; J. Zathej and H. Barycz, eds., *Album studiosorum Universitatis Cracoviensis. Continens nomina studiosorum ab anno 1607 ad annum 1642*, vol. IV, (Kraków: 1950), 171.

¹⁹⁴ John Johnstone (Jonston) (b. 3 September, 1603; d. 8 June, 1675), born in Szamotuły. Son of Simon (who migrated to Poland in 1596) and Anna Becker, grandson of John Johnstone of Craigieburn (Dumfriesshire) and Marietta Mure of Anniston. Johnstone received his early education in Poland (Ostroróg 1611–1614, Bytom in 1614, Toruń until 1619). In 1622, via Denmark and England, he moved to Scotland and matriculated at the University of St Andrews in January 1623. Enrolled as *Polonus Patre Scoto Prognatus*, he studied Hebrew, divinity and philosophy until March 1625. In 1625 Johnstone returned to his native Greater Poland, where he took up a position as a tutor of sons of a prominent Kurtzbach-Zawadzki family at the Leszno Gymnasium. Four years later he was on the move again. After a short stay in Germany (Frankfurt, Leipzig, Wittenberg, Berlin), he arrived in Holland, where he matriculated first at the University of Franeker and later at Leiden. At the beginning of 1631 Johnstone arrived in England, where he attended courses in botany and medicine at Cambridge University. After a short stay in Poland in the second half of 1631, Johnstone began his longest journey as a mentor of two young Polish noblemen. He again visited Franeker and Leiden University (1634), where he graduated as a Doctor of Medicine. During his third visit to England later that year, he was awarded the MD degree *ad eundem* at Cambridge. For the next two years he travelled extensively throughout Europe before returning to Leszno in 1636, where he settled.

Clergymen

The final group of immigrants to the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth comprised a variety of clergymen and religious figures. Political unrest and religious persecutions of varying intensity lasted in Scotland throughout the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. From the reign of Mary Queen of Scots until well beyond the Restoration, persecutions of Catholics and, later, Covenantors led some to emigrate. Historians have shown that specifically the persecutions of the latter in the post-1688 period was one of the reasons for Scottish voluntary and involuntary migration.¹⁹⁵

Among the Scottish and English Catholics who sought refuge in Poland-Lithuania were the Jesuits. Some were saved from the gallows after numerous interventions from the Polish Court. As a result of such interventions some fourteen Jesuits from the British Isles, predominantly Englishmen, worked in the Polish provinces in the sixteenth century and are credited with greatly improving the standards of academic study in Poland. Among

Apart from acting as a town physician and an assistant of Jan Amos Komensky at the academy, Johnstone continued to study. It was during this time that Johnstone married: first, in 1637, to Rosina, daughter of Samuel Hortensius, apothecary of Wschowa (Fraustadt), and then, in 1638, to Anna, daughter of royal physician Mathias Vechner. Meanwhile, he declined profitable offers from a number of universities—he was offered a post at the University of Frankfurt (1639), then the chair of medicine at the University of Leiden (1640), and a similar one at Heidelberg University (1642)—preferring instead to work independently. Some of his more famous works include: *Thaumatographia naturalis, in decem classes distincta* (Amsterdam 1632); *Sintagma dendrologi specimen* (Leszno 1645); *Systema dendrologicum* (1646); *De piscibus et cetis* (1649); *De avibus* (1650); *De quadrupedibus* (1652); *De serpentibus et draconibus* (1653); *Natur constantia* (1652); *Historiae naturalis de avibus* (1657); *Polyhistor* (1660); *Notitia regni vegetabilis* (1661); *Notitia regni mineralis* (1661); *Dendrographias, sive, Historia naturalis de arboribus et fructibus* (1662); and *Syntagma universae medicinae practicae* (1673). Johnstone also wrote a number of works on history, medicine, and ethics. This versatile knowledge earned him a status of a polymath among his contemporaries and the nickname “the Polyhistor”.

Johnstone left Leszno for his private estate, Zieboldorf (Skladkowice), near Legnica, during the war with Sweden (1655). He continued to pursue his studies until his death in 1675. In accordance with his last will he was buried at Leszno. Johnstone had less fortune in his family life. Of his four children by Anna Vechner, only one daughter reached adulthood, see SPLC 385; T. Bilikiewicz, “Jan Jonston,” in PSB, vol. XI (1964–65), 268–270; B. Janowicz, “Jan Jonston 1603–1675: His life, stay in Poland and contribution to the seventeenth century science,” *Polish-AngloSaxon Studies* 8–9 (2000), 39–59; T. Seccombe, “Johnstone, John (1603–1675),” in ODNB, <http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/8323> (accessed 28 September 2006); cf. M. von Johnston und Kroegeborn, *Geschichte der Familie von Johnston* (Breslau: 1891), 9–11; B. Świdorski, *Dr Jan Jonston wybitny uczoney dawnego Leszna* (Leszno: 1935); Hans, “Polish Protestants,” 200–201.

¹⁹⁵ M. Brander, *The Emigrant Scots* (London: 1982), 28.

this group of migrants were some Scots: Robert Abercrombie and three other Jesuits: William Ogilvie, John Hay and James Bosgrave.¹⁹⁶

Fr Robert Abercrombie (Abercrombie, Abercromby, or *Scotus*, 1533–1613), whose example is often cited to illustrate Elizabethan maltreatment of Roman Catholics, was a fugitive from King James VI (I) of Scotland. In 1601–06 he was forced to flee the court and take refuge under the protection of the marquess of Huntly. Abercrombie studied in Rome where he was ordained in 1563. Sent to Poland in 1564, he spent 23 years at the College in Braniewo, first as a priest, then as a vice-rector, and finally as a master of novices. In 1587 he left for Scotland, where he was assigned to missionary work, to which he devoted 20 years. While in Scotland, he directed many Scots to study in Braniewo and Wilno. He was credited with the conversion to Catholicism of Anne of Denmark, the wife of James VI (I).¹⁹⁷ Fr William (Wilhelm) Ogilvie SJ (c. 1557–1631), was sent to Poland in 1585 to lecture on poetry at the Poznań Academy. Once his mission ended in 1587 he returned to Scotland.¹⁹⁸ A similar role was played by Fr John Hay SJ (c. 1564–1608). Born in Dalgety, he migrated to France and later studied at the Catholic University of Louvain (Belgium). He was ordained in 1566 in Rome and in 1570 was sent on a mission to Poland. He became a master of rhetoric and a lecturer in philosophy at the Jesuit College in Wilno. Hay left Poland in 1575 for France, where he continued his academic career.¹⁹⁹ James (Jakub) Bosgrave (c. 1548–1623), an Englishman who after studying in Louvain and Tournai, arrived in Poland in the early 1570s, found himself in a similar predicament. During the 1570s Bosgrave lectured in the Jesuit colleges of Poznań (1571–73) and Braniewo, and was later appointed professor of mathematics at the Academy of Wilno (1576)—the first lecturer

¹⁹⁶ The English Jesuits known to migrate to Poland because of the persecutions in their homeland were: J. Beattie (Batye), J. Bosgrave, A. Brock, L. A. Faunt (Faunteus), G. Floyd (Floidus), D. Good, J. Hart (Hartus), J. Houletus, R. Illyel, W. Lambert (Lambertus), R. Singleton and J. Wick, see Grzebień, ed., *Encyklopedia wiedzy o Jezuitach*; cf. Biegańska, "In search of tolerance," 37; A. Krawczyk, "The British in Poland in the Seventeenth Century," *The Seventeenth Century* XVII, no. 2 (2002): 255.

¹⁹⁷ The life of Abercrombie was the subject of more recent articles by M. G. Murphy, "Robert Abercromby, SJ (1536–1613) and the Baltic Counter-Reformation," *Innes Review* 50 (1999): 58–75; W. J. Anderson, "Narratives of the Scottish Reformation, part 1: report of Father Robert Abercromby, S.J., in the year 1580," *Innes Review* 7 (1956): 27–59; cf. Martin G. Murphy, "Abercromby, Robert SJ (1536–1613)," in *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, (hereafter ODNB), eds. H. C. G. Matthew and B. Harrison (Oxford: 2004), <http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/46> (accessed 28 September 2006); Grzebień, *Encyklopedia wiedzy o Jezuitach*, 1–2.

¹⁹⁸ Grzebień, *Encyklopedia wiedzy o Jezuitach*, 471.

¹⁹⁹ Ibid., 211.

of that subject there and founder of the Chair of Mathematics. In 1580 he was sent back to England. Denounced as a papist by the English envoy, he was arrested on disembarking, imprisoned at Marshalsea prison and later in the Tower. Bosgrave was sentenced to death, but released after two intercessions from King Stefan Batory. He returned to Poland in 1587, in an aura of sanctity, and until his death continued to lecture on mathematics, Hebrew and philosophy in Poznań and Kalisz.²⁰⁰ The intervention of Stefan Batory also saved twenty-one other individuals imprisoned for religious reasons. In January 1585 all of them were released and shipped into exile.²⁰¹

Among the Catholic exiles there were also Scots who wished to become clergymen but, because of the persecution at home, could not undertake study there. Between 1579 and 1659 some 45 students attended the Jesuit Seminary at Braniewo. Of those who completed their studies there and were ordained, some stayed in Poland-Lithuania while others undertook missionary work in Germany, Italy or back in Scotland.²⁰² Similarly, twelve British subjects (nine probably Scots, and three Englishmen) trained at the papal seminary in Wilno between 1584 and 1610.²⁰³

English and Scottish Catholics were, at times, of keen interest to English informants. The most notorious informer was Dr John Rogers (known also as James Rogers), who travelled to Braniewo in 1580–81 to find information about Bosgrave. Despite the fact that Bosgrave had already left the college, Rogers, masquerading as his friend and deliverer of 100 thalers and various parcels, managed to gather much intelligence about other visitors from Britain who had found shelter in Braniewo. In his report to Walsingham, Rogers described activities of 'trecherous' David Good (Gud), a Scot from Berwick (80-year-old William Good), whom he described as a professed papist and traitor, and other individuals. Rogers also made an attempt to recruit Mikołaj Radziwiłł (known also as Mikołaj *Rudy* or 'the Red'), who held the offices of *Wojewoda* of Wilno, grand hetman and chancellor of the Grand Duchy of Lithuania, and was one of the most prominent Protestants of the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth, to capture and punish Bosgrave,

²⁰⁰ Ibid., 60; "Bosgrave, Jakub," in PSB, vol. XXXVII, 345–346.

²⁰¹ T. H. Clancy, "Bosgrave, James (c.1548–1623)," in ODNB, <http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/2935> (accessed 28 September 2006).

²⁰² Lühr, ed., *Die Matrikel des päpstlichen Seminars*; cf. W. Borowy, "Prześladowani katolicy angielscy i szkoccy w Polsce w XVI wieku," *Przegląd Powszechny* 55, nos. 7–9 (1938): 121.

²⁰³ J. Popłatek, "Wykaz alumnów seminarium papieskiego w Wilnie 1582–1773," *Ateneum Wileńskie* 11 (1936): 224–227.

Brock and other papists, should they return there.²⁰⁴ Similar intelligence about prominent Scottish and English Catholics was also gathered by Patrick Gordon and Andrew Aidy. Both, it seems, had a keen interest in the activities of the *Societas Iesu* and especially Fr Abercrombie, Fr Floyd (Fludde) and Fr Andrew Leoch.²⁰⁵

Not all clergymen from Scotland were Catholics. Among the most influential Protestant exiles was John Durie (also known as Duraeus, Dureus, Dury, Durye) (1596–1680). Durie's father was banished from his homeland as punishment for his opposition to the Episcopal Church. Together with his family he migrated to France, from where John Durie eventually travelled to the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth, becoming a preacher of the Elbląg congregation between 1625 and 1630. Influenced by the ideas of David Pareus and William Forbes, and deeply impressed with the peaceful coexistence of several of the Christian denominations as well as Muslims in Poland-Lithuania, Durie conceived his irenic ideal, to which he devoted the rest of his life. He attempted to solve theological differences between Protestant Churches by stressing the common points that united them.²⁰⁶

A notable émigré was Thomas Seget (Segethus, Seghetus) (c. 1575–1627), Scottish humanist, poet and later an alchemist, who travelled widely about Europe before arriving in Poland. The aim of his journey to the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth in 1612 was most probably related to his interest in the Polish victory over the Muscovites and in religious tolerance in the Commonwealth. Among other places, Seget visited several centres of Polish Socinians (Arians) and befriended one of the greatest

²⁰⁴ John Rogers (c. 1540–c. 1603), graduated BA in 1562–63 and MA in 1567. He became a Doctor of Civil Law at Magdalene College in 1574 and was admitted to the College of Advocates. In 1577 he was appointed commissioner to negotiate with the king of Denmark on behalf of English merchants. In 1580 Rogers was sent to represent the interests of the Eastland Company, and of the English court, in arranging trading contracts with Elbląg, and afterwards on missions to the courts of Denmark and Poland, see “John Rogers to Sir Francis Walsingham (10 October 1580),” quoted in TNA SP 88/1 no. 7, 11a.; CSPF 1583 no. 590. Cf. Borowy, “Prześadowani katolicy angielscy i szkoccy,” 118–119; P. O. G. White, “Rogers, John (b. c. 1540, d. in or after 1603),” in ODNB, <http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/23981> (accessed 2 September 2006).

²⁰⁵ “Patrick Gordon to His Majestie (29 October 1610),” and “Andreas Aidy to Robert Cecil (15 April 1611),” quoted in EFE VI, nos. 66, 80.

²⁰⁶ J. T. Young, “Durie, John (1596–1680),” in ODNB, <http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/8323> (accessed 7 June 2006); S. Murdoch, “Kith and Kin: John Durie and the Scottish community in Scandinavia and the Baltic, 1627–1634,” in P. Salmon and T. Barrow, eds., *Britain and the Baltic: Studies in Commercial, Political and Cultural Relations 1500–2000* (Sunderland: 2003), 21–45; idem, *Network North*, 281–282; cf. Biegańska, “The learned Scots in Poland,” 2; Krawczyk, “The British in Poland,” 264.

Polish poets of the time, Szymon Szymonowicz, also known in Latin as Simon Simonides.²⁰⁷

As we will see in more detail later, it seems that on their arrival Scottish Presbyterians and Episcopalians sought settlement in large Protestant centres and towns belonging to the reformed nobility, which already by the end of the sixteenth century formed a considerable group. Thus Scots were moving to cities and towns with sizeable Protestant communities such as Lublin, Leszno, Gdańsk, Cracow, Zamość in the Crown, and Calvinist centres such as Kiejdany in the Grand Duchy of Lithuania. Catholics, the less numerous religious group among the Scots, migrated chiefly to Episcopal cities such as Chełmno and Frombork. A large group, Borowy suggests, also lived in Braniewo, where the main attraction was the renowned Jesuit College.²⁰⁸ The evidence of the metrical books of Braniewo encompassing the period 1567 to 1700, however, disproves this supposition. No Scots or Scottish sounding names were found in the parish register of baptisms for this period.²⁰⁹

Despite the fact that many migrants arrived at a very young age, they seemed to already possess a strong awareness of belonging to a particular creed. This is apparent in the letters of a Protestant, Francis Craw, and in the memoirs of Patrick Gordon, a Catholic who came to Poland as a teenager, studied at Braniewo and remained a loyal and devoted follower of the Roman faith until his death in Orthodox Russia.²¹⁰

²⁰⁷ On his travels Seget met some of the most famous European intellectuals of his time. Among others he worked with: Justus Lipsius (Joost Lips, Josse Lips), Flemish philologist and humanist; Gianvincenzo Pinelli, Paduan academic; Johannes Kepler, German mathematician, astronomer and astrologer; and perhaps most importantly the famous Italian astronomer Galileo Galilei. Seget also had close ties with English diplomats: Sir Henry Wotton, Ambassador to Venice, Sir Stephen Lesieur, James I's envoy to the Holy Roman Empire, and Dudley Carleton Viscount Dorchester, Ambassador to Venice and later promoted to the embassy at The Hague. Close contact with the diplomats and the support they offered Seget at various stages of his career may indicate a more sinister side to his activity. Barycz suspects that Seget may have played the role of an informant, see H. Barycz, "Angielski gość w Polsce," in idem, *W blaskach epoki Odrodzenia* (Warsaw: 1968), 329–330; O. Odložilik, "Thomas Seget: A Scottish Friend of Szymon Szymonowicz," in *The Polish Review* 11 (1966): 1–37; W. Weintraub, "Anglik przyjaciel Szymonowicza," in S. Łempicki, ed., *Szymon Szymonowicz i jego czasy: Rozprawy i Studja* (Zamość: 1929), 71, 74.

²⁰⁸ Borowy, *Scots in Old Poland*, 15.

²⁰⁹ "LB 1567–1588, LB 1631–1664, LB 1665–1700," GSTABD vol. B 3633, B 3560, B 1847.

²¹⁰ Gordon, "Diary 1635–1659"; "Francis Craw to his family in Scotland" (Gdańsk, circa 1670; 12 August 1671, 23 June 1675; 20 July 1678; Königsberg, 4 September 1681), quoted in SIG, 250–255.

Diplomats and Agents

Another group of Scots in Poland-Lithuania were the diplomats, envoys, negotiators, factors, agents, financiers and businessmen. Among them there were individuals delegated either by the state, church authorities or their families, and who travelled to Poland-Lithuania with specific missions in mind or roles to perform. There also were immigrants who became minor diplomatic agents because they had already migrated. While some stayed only for a short period, others remained for much longer. Given the role they were to play, migrants from this group would sojourn in Poland-Lithuania rather than stay there permanently. Such persons generally shared a very similar background. They usually came from the Scottish nobility, they were well educated, had some previous contacts with the Commonwealth, and evidently were fluent in the local language. For example, British Resident Agent in Poland Dr William Bruce (Bruse, Brussius), seems typical of such agents. Bruce was born in Stanstill in Caithness of noble descent. He migrated in his youth to study at French universities, and in 1586 became a Doctor of Roman Law at the University of Cahors. Later he worked as a professor of Roman Law at Cahors and Toulouse (1588), Würzburg (1591) and finally at Zamość Academy (1596). In 1600 Bruce was sent on a mission to Queen Elizabeth I. In 1601, as a captain of the Crown Chancellor Count Jan Zamoyski, he commanded a company during the Polish–Swedish war in Livonia. The following year he was chosen to escort the Polish ambassador to London. He was recommended by Zygmunt III Waza to James VI (I). The Royal commendation must have worked as on the conclusion of Henry Lyall's embassy, Bruce was appointed as the new Stuart ambassador to Poland (1604). He remained at that post for the next five years. However, unlike other British diplomats who returned to Britain, Bruce settled in Poland thereafter and took up private business. Only occasionally did he still act in a diplomatic capacity. In 1613, for example, he intervened against the expulsion of Scots from Königsberg.²¹¹ A very similar profile was that of Sir James

²¹¹ S. Kot, "Bruce William," in PSB (Warszawa: 1937), vol. III, 3–4; E. Mierzwa, "Angielska relacja o Polsce z roku 1598," *Annales UMCS* 17 (1962): 88–96; idem, *Anglia a Polska w XVII wieku* (Toruń: 2003), 166–167; S. Sobiecki, "The authorship of *A Relation of the State of Polonia*, 1598," *The Seventeenth Century* 18, no. 2 (2003): 172–179; Biegańska, "In search of tolerance," 47; idem, "The learned Scots in Poland," 18–19; A. Kalinowska, "Pardon me my Lord, that I wrytte to your honor in Scottis...": William Bruce as the first Stuart diplomatic agent in Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth," in T. M. Devine and D. Hesse, eds., *Scotland and Poland: Historical Encounters, 1500–2010* (Edinburgh: 2011), 51–61.

Murray, who before becoming the Stuart envoy to the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth was a courtier to Zygmunt III Waza (c. 1601–03).²¹²

James VI (I) favoured Scots over English for his diplomatic outposts in Poland-Lithuania for several reasons. Although simple nepotism cannot be ruled out, a more probable reason is the Scots' continuous connection with that part of Europe. Since many of James' countrymen who became envoys had previous contacts with Poles, their firsthand knowledge of its politics, customs and culture proved to be a crucial prerequisite in the selection process. Let us examine the careers of several of them.²¹³

Two of the better known merchant factors active in Gdańsk at the end of the seventeenth century were James Aidy (Adie, Ady, Aidie) and Andrew Marjoribanks. Aidy, the wealthier and better known of the two, came from a Roman Catholic merchant family of Aberdeen. He was an integral part of the merchant network of Andrew Russell of Rotterdam, and a friend of Patrick Gordon of Auchleuchries. He was also noted in the papers of several Edinburgh merchants, which show that during the period 1681 to 1699 Aidy handled on their behalf thirteen commercial ventures in Gdańsk. The documents also give a good picture of the business undertakings and duties of such a factor. According to Smout, one of Aidy's most important functions was to advise customers on market conditions and current prices, negotiate bills, settle accounts and sell the incoming cargo and buy the return on their behalf. For the latter services he would charge a commission, usually 2.5 per cent on the sales, and would be obliged to present a financial statement of the transaction to his customer. Aidy and other factors also used bills of exchange in their international transactions. Such dealings, transferring Scottish credit from one part of Europe to another, were always negotiated through other Scots rather than foreigners. A factor did not always work on behalf of customers. Aidy, for example, who was a successful merchant himself, bought incoming cargo outright and made his own profit by selling it in Gdańsk.²¹⁴

It is difficult to determine whether such migrants brought their families with them or not. The case of James Bavington Jeffereys (c. 1679–1739),

²¹² Jan Pentek, "Murray James," in PSB, vol. XX, 278–279; Cf. Biegańska, "James Murray."

²¹³ An opinion that Scottish agents of the Stuart government were generally well informed and thoughtful about Poland-Lithuania has been presented by Frost, see R. I. Frost, "Hiding from the dogs: A Problem of Polish–Scottish political dialogue, 1550–1707," in T. M. Devine and D. Hesse, eds., *Scotland and Poland: Historical Encounters, 1500–2010*, (Edinburgh: 2011), 27.

²¹⁴ T. C. Smout, "Scottish commercial factors in the Baltic at the end of the seventeenth century," *Scottish Historical Review* 39, no. 127 (1960): 124–125; SPLC no. 2907; SSNE no. 7080.

British resident agent in Gdańsk between 1719 and 1725, demonstrates that some of the diplomats did.²¹⁵ Jeffereys' wife and family followed him on his appointment, as shown by the birth of his two daughters in Gdańsk in 1724 and in 1725.²¹⁶

On the other hand, another British agent Francis Gordon (c.1600–1644), arrived in the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth as a bachelor and established his family during his sojourn in Gdańsk. Gordon was married to a local woman, Anna Wegner, the daughter of the apothecary to the king of Poland.²¹⁷

The missions of some of the diplomats included peace mediation, collecting taxes, levying troops, and even spying. George Douglas, Charles

²¹⁵ Captain James Bavington Jeffereys (Jefferyes, Jaffray, Jeffereys, Jeffries, Jeffreys), was the son of Brigadier General Sir James Jeffereys, in the service of Karl IX and William of Orange, and his Swedish wife Katherine Drogenhellem. He was born in Stockholm but returned to Scotland with his father. He studied in Dublin 1697–1701. James returned to Sweden in 1702 after which he served as a volunteer in the army of Karl XII in Russia. Later, George I apparently appointed him as a captain (1719), and a resident agent in Gdańsk (1719–1725). Thereafter he acted as Governor of Cork in Ireland and lived in Blarney Castle, see SSNE no. 4902; cf. A. Heymowski, "Udostojnienie herbu Jakuba Dziafry (Jamesa Jeffereys'a) przy pasowaniu na rycerza złotego w 1676 r.," in A. Ciechanowiecki et al., eds., *Materiały do biografii, genealogii i heraldyki polskiej* (Warszawa: 2005), vol. X, 241–244.

²¹⁶ James Jeffereys listed in the parish records as *Herr Jacob Jaffrey Gouverneur von Corik in Ireland and Englische Resident* and Louisa Cölmer, baptised in the St Peter and St Paul Church in Gdańsk: Anna Louisa, born 13 June 1724 (baptised 18 June); Elizabeth, born 30 November 1725 (baptised 9 December): "LB 18 June 1725" and "LB 9 December 1725," APGd. sig. 356/4, fols 350, 359.

²¹⁷ Francis Gordon of Braco (d. 1644), was a nephew of Patrick Gordon, who helped him to secure the post of British agent. Gordon acted as both the Stuart and Oldenburg (Danish) envoy and merchant factor to Poland-Lithuania and Gdańsk. His mission lasted from 1625 to the early 1640s. Gordon was made a privy councillor of the Stuart Court with an annual salary as factor of £200 sterling. In 1631 Gordon conducted secret negotiations between Charles I and Zygmunt III Waza. In 1634 in Gdańsk Gordon married Anna, daughter of Hans Wegner, apothecary to the king of Poland. Together they had five children, all baptised at St Peter and St Paul: Carolus bap. 1636, Anna Maria bap. 1638, Louisa bap. 1638, Johan Sigismund bap. 1640, and Cyrilla bap. 1642. It seems that the Gordons returned to Scotland soon after, where Francis died in 1644. In his will he left £2176 to his wife, his only [*sic*] lawful successor. Fischer, and after him other authors, mistakenly connected Gordon to another unrelated Francis Gordon who lived in Gdańsk in the 1650s. In 1655, at St Elizabeth church, this Gordon married Margaret, daughter of James (Jacob) Porteous, listed as *prodiger in Schotland*, most likely a brother of the famous Robert Porteous of Krosno, see G. M. Bell, *A Handlist of British Diplomatic Representatives 1509–1688* (London: 1990), 215; SPLC, 1553; SSNE, 1520; SEWP, 223, 225; "Testament of Sir Francis Gordone," (3 March 1649), National Archives of Scotland (hereafter NAS), Edinburgh Commissary Court sig. CC8/8/64; A. Kosiek, "Robert Wojciech Portius—krośnieński mieszczanin, kupiec, fundator," in *Kościół farny w Krośnie pomnik kultury artystycznej miasta: Materiały z sesji naukowej Krosno* (Krosno: 1997): 195; "LC 25 September 1634," APGd. sig. 356/2, fol. 153; "LC 10 June 1655," APGd. sig. 351/6, fol. 43; "LB 1593–1641," APGd. sig. 356/2, fols 363v, 370, 374v, 377v; "LB 1642–1684," APGd. sig. 356/3, fol. 1.

I's ambassador to Poland (1634–37), took part in peace negotiations between the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth and Sweden that began in Sztumska Wieś (Stuhmsdorf) in 1635.²¹⁸ Similarly, Sir Patrick Gordon of Braco, who was James' envoy in Gdańsk 1635, played a vital role in peace mediation that eventually led to the Stolbova treaty.²¹⁹ Sir John Cochrane (1649), William Crofts (later Baron of Saxham) (1649), Sir John Denham (1649) and Lieutenant-General John Earl of Middleton (1656)—all Charles II's special envoys to Poland, were sent to raise money for the support of Charles' cause.²²⁰ Other diplomats, such as Sir Robert Stewart, son of the Earl of Orkney, were involved in levying troops for Poland. Stewart, a relative of James VI (I), acting as British ambassador in Warsaw, was asked by the Polish Court to invoke an old grant for a levy in Scotland (1604) when Poland-Lithuania was threatened with a war against Turkey (1616).²²¹ Among the diplomats, there were also those who, it seemed, took on more sinister responsibilities. Dr John Rogers was involved in spying against Scots and English Jesuits at Braniewo.²²² Some of the migrants of

²¹⁸ Bell, *A Handlist of British*, 216; Biegańska, "The learned Scots in Poland," 18; SIG, 97; A. Korytko, "Angielska mediacja w polsko-szwedzkich rokowaniach w 1635 r.," *Echa Przeszłości* 2 (2001): 65–81; idem, "Polsko-szwedzki rozejm w Sztumskiej Wsi z 1635 roku w polskiej historiografii epoki nowocześniejszej," in Z. Karpus, N. Kasperek, L. Kuk and J. Sobczak, eds., *W kraju i na wychodźstwie: Księga pamiątkowa ofiarowana Profesorowi Sławomirowi Kalembe w sześćdziesięciopięciolate urodzin* (Toruń-Olsztyn: 2001), 875–881.

²¹⁹ Bell, *A Handlist of British*, 215; D. Stevenson, "Patrick Gordon of Braco (*d. before 1657*)," in ODNB, <http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/11072> (accessed 28 September 2006).

²²⁰ B. Morgan, "Cochrane, Sir John (b. c. 1604, d. in or after 1657)," in ODNB, <http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/5752> (accessed 28 September 2006); J.M. Rigg, "Sir John Cochrane," in DNB IV (1908), 618; S. Porter, "Crofts, William, Baron Crofts (*d. 1677*)," in ODNB, <http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/6727> (accessed 28 September 2006); A. F. Pollard, "William Crofts," in DNB IV (1909), 513–514; S. Lee, "George Denham," in DNB IV/1908, 796–799; A. B. Pernal, and R. Gasse, "The 1651 Polish Subsidy to the Exiled Charles II," *Oxford Slavonic Papers*, vol. XXXII (1999); Biegańska, "The learned Scots in Poland," 17.

²²¹ W. P. Kelly, "Stewart, Sir Robert (*d. 1670?*)," in ODNB, <http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/26505> (28 September 2006). A similar recruitment was entrusted to an Englishman Arthur Aston jnr, who served as an envoy from King James VI (I) to King Zygmunt III Waza (1621). On the instructions of the latter Aston conducted a successful troop recruitment in Scotland. This 300-strong detachment of mainly Scottish and Irish troops was later commanded by his father. Aston decided to follow his father's example and offered his services to *hetman* Krzysztof Radziwiłł. Under him Aston commanded three companies of foot against the Swedes, in Livonia. His service—he was praised by Radziwiłł for his valour—was acknowledged by the *Sejm* in March 1623. King Zygmunt III granted Aston a pension of 700 florins per annum in 1625, and in 1630 promoted him to the rank of lieutenant-colonel. Cf. Biegańska, "Żołnierze szkoccy," 93–94; Borowy, "Anglicy, Szkoci i Irlandczycy"; Brzeziński, "British mercenaries in the Baltic," 20; Frost, "Scottish Soldiers," 208–209; B. Morgan, "Aston, Sir Arthur (1590x93–1649)," in ODNB, <http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/823> (accessed 28 September 2006).

²²² Borowy, "Prześladowani katolicy angielscy i szkoccy," 118–119; White, "Rogers, John".

this group, such as Patrick Gordon of Braco, took upon themselves the role of overseeing the matters of the Scottish community living in the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth. Moved by the disreputable state that many of his countrymen had fallen into, and with authorisation from James VI (I), Gordon set out to collect information regarding the inherent features of the Scottish community. He strongly advocated a ban on merchants travelling to Poland-Lithuania with less than £50 worth of goods.²²³

The diplomatic/professional class of migrants also included merchants who seemed to be working in Poland as representatives of their Scotland-based enterprises. Members of this group were often well educated and affluent enough to quickly establish their businesses in Poland. One was Robert Gordon, a wealthy merchant of Gdańsk and an entrepreneur, whose donation of £10,000 to educate the poor and underprivileged in Aberdeen was the basis of the foundation to establish Robert Gordon's College.²²⁴ Gordon did not come to Poland without means, as some sources may imply.²²⁵ His biography clearly shows that he was a son of a wealthy barrister from Aberdeen and at his arrival in Gdańsk he possessed £1100 capital with which to start his ventures.²²⁶

Equally intriguing is the career of William Forbes, the second son of William Forbes, fourth Laird of Corse, and the brother of Patrick Forbes, bishop of Aberdeen. William Forbes jnr, also known as 'Danzig Willie', acquired much wealth through mercantile success in Gdańsk. His quick

²²³ PRO, SP/88/3; Cf. Biegańska, "The learned Scots in Poland," 19; SIG, 33, 255; Seliga and Koczy, *Scotland and Poland*, 7; PRSP, xv–xix, 37, 103–107.

²²⁴ Robert Gordon (1668–1731) was the eldest son of Arthur Gordon (1625–1680), advocate, and his wife, Isobel Menzies. He was baptised in 1668 in Aberdeen. According to Du Toit, Gordon inherited about £1100 at his father's death. He seems to have spent some of that money on travelling in Europe. Eventually Gordon settled at Gdańsk, where he engaged in mercantile activity. His business helped him to acquire some wealth in a relatively short time. In about 1720 Gordon returned to Scotland a wealthy man. He died unmarried on 28 April 1731 in Aberdeen. Gordon gave his entire property, which amounted to £10,300, to the town council of Aberdeen, to be used to fund and maintain an institution for educating poor children. The Robert Gordon's Hospital was completed in 1737 at a cost of £3300, but it was not until 1750 that it was officially opened. It is now known as Robert Gordon's College. Previously affiliated with the school, Robert Gordon's Institute of Technology became a separate college in 1981 and in 1992 was awarded university status. It is now known as the Robert Gordon University, see A. Du Toit, "Gordon, Robert (bap. 1668, d. 1731)," in ODNB, <http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/11078> (accessed 28 September 2006); cf. B. R.W. Lockhart, *Robert Gordon's Legacy: A History of Robert Gordon's Hospital and College* (Edinburgh: 2007).

²²⁵ Biegańska, "Wielka emigracja Szkotów w Polsce," 94.

²²⁶ Du Toit, "Gordon, Robert."

rise to affluence, as with Robert Gordon, must have been built on a substantial initial investment.²²⁷

Although there were relatively few Scottish diplomats and statesmen in Poland-Lithuania, because of the variety of their roles and, in some cases their status, they played an important role in creating links between the two countries, and their activities and achievements are, in general, well documented.

²²⁷ A. Grosjean, "Returning to Belhelvie, 1593–1875: The impact of return migration on an Aberdeenshire parish," in M. Harper, ed., *Emigrant Homecomings: The Return Movement of Emigrants, 1600–2000* (Manchester: 2005), 219–220.

CHAPTER FIVE

THE LIFE OF SCOTTISH MIGRANTS IN POLAND-LITHUANIA

If Scots who migrated to the Commonwealth constituted a diverse group, they had one thing in common: the decision to leave their homeland brought them to an entirely different cultural environment to which they had to adapt.

They had also to deal with some hostility from the host community. For example, on 11 November 1569 the guild of merchants of Prussia presented a petition to the Duke of Prussia. The merchants complained that Scots had affected their business. Scots were bringing over and selling goods to people who lived in rural areas, they explained, and the customers were not coming to towns to buy. The guild of merchants wrote that Scots were disobeying orders issued as far back as 1545. They accused Scots of illegally exporting “beaver and marten skins and amber” from Prussia to Lublin in the Crown. Moreover, Scots were accused of selling “false (adulterated) ware” such as pepper, saffron, and silk spoilt by water. The indictment also included a list of accusations: “Let alone that they are cheats . . . bribing the custom officers and it is to be feared, acting as spies to betray the conuntry [*sic*].”

Indeed it was against the rules of the guilds to sell from house to house or to sell on commission, while the trade in amber and furs was supposed to be a monopoly of the government of Ducal Prussia.¹ Thus the merchant guilds protecting the interests of their own members became hostile towards competitors, especially Scottish hucksters, as well as wealthier Scots trading outside the guilds. An important action was the lawsuit of the cutler guild of Cracow against the ‘cunning’ Scots who “did not content themselves with one shop but had several at each end of the town, and would moreover send a boy to sell their wares from house to house”.² Merchant confraternities and craft guilds also accused Scots of evading taxes, smuggling and carrying on their business illegally, that is, keeping unlicensed shops or lodgings in their homes. These accusations were not groundless. It has been established that, for example in Gdańsk,

¹ SIG, 34.

² Ibid.

around 1650, five Scots were earning money by keeping illegal hospices.³ Thus, in the constitution of 1562 Scottish peddlers were named, along with Italians and other unidentified foreign merchants, as traders whose activities harmed the local economy and the cities of the Polish Crown. Those without civil rights were banned from peddling their wares both in the cities and in the countryside.⁴

The constitution of 1562 was expanded in 1565 with additional terms. All foreign traders, including Scots who were already admitted to civic rights, were asked to behave like the locals, that is, to swear alliance to the local authorities, hold burgher rights in only one city and uphold the law. In addition, they were asked not to use any letters of free passage and, under penalty of confiscation of their wares, warned not to illegally send abroad locally acquired goods. Local authorities were given the power to enforce the laws.⁵ Consequently, some town and city councils placed obstacles and limitations on Scots and other foreign traders roaming the countryside peddling their wares. In Poznań in 1567 the council banished from the city all Scots who did not own real estate there.⁶ King Zygmunt August, in a privilege of 1568 granted to the stall-keepers guild of Bydgoszcz, forbade Scottish peddlers to purchase real estate within the city walls. This prohibition was later echoed in the statute of the guild. However, its members declared that the guild was open to Poles, Italians, Czechs, Scots and others, as long as they promised to abandon peddling.⁷ Neither Scots nor Jews were entitled to settle in Toruń, and those who lived temporarily in the suburbs were in 1634 explicitly forbidden from peddling.⁸ In Kościan Scots were refused the right even to sojourn in the city.⁹

For some locals that was still not enough. The anonymous author of "Dyskurs o pomnożeniu miast w Polsce" (A discourse on increasing Polish cities) argued that foreigners without *ius civitatis* or the desire to

³ M. Bogucka, "Obcy kupcy osiedli w Gdańsku w pierwszej połowie XVII w.," *Zapiski Historyczne* 37, no. 2 (1972): 68.

⁴ VL II, 20, no. 61.

⁵ VL II, 51, no. 65.

⁶ PRSP, xiii.

⁷ Z. Guldon and R. Kabaciński, *Szkice z dziejów dawnej Bydgoszczy XVI–XVIII wiek* (Bydgoszcz: 1975), 96–97.

⁸ W. Kowalski, "The placement of urbanised Scots in the Polish Crown during the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries," in A. Grosjean and S. Murdoch, eds., *Scottish Communities Abroad in the Early Modern Period* (Leiden: 2005), 57.

⁹ Z. Guldon and L. Stępkowski, "Szkoci i Anglicy w Koronie w połowie XVII wieku," *Kieleckie Studia Historyczne* (1977): 33.

settle in the Crown should have no rights to trade at all.¹⁰ Not all civic authorities shared the same views. Favourable settlement conditions existed for foreigners in Lublin and especially in Zamość. Although in Lublin, from the beginning of the seventeenth century, Protestants were forbidden civic rights or guild membership, in practice there were many exceptions to this rule. A policy of conciliation of 1651 categorically excluded only Arians (Antitrinitarians).¹¹ Similar practices were recorded Cracow, Poznań, Przemyśl, Warsaw and Biecz.¹²

Various other legislators vigilantly observed and reacted to the steady growth of the Scottish group during the sixteenth century. At the beginning of the 1500s, with only a small number present in the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth, Scottish travelling salesmen were able to exercise their commerce freely upon payment of a small tax. This favourable situation did not last for long. The rising importance of this group eventually caught the attention of the authorities. In 1537 the *Landtag* (State Diet) of Royal Prussia issued laws in response to complaints from the locals about Scots and other merchants and traders "who prejudice their common interests and usurp their means of livelihood".¹³ In due course the complaints were brought to the attention of the court. Fourteen years later, in 1551, King Zygmunt August issued a general edict against the Jewish and Scottish peddlers wandering about the countryside selling "not only good and bad wares, but all manner of fur garments and skins, which are usually the due of those in authority and are heavily taxed".¹⁴ The legislation was confirmed and endorsed in 1556 and 1580.¹⁵ The ever-growing number of royal decrees attempting to regulate Scottish rights and privileges in Poland-Lithuania possibly indicates the numerical growth of the community, as well as an increase of this type of commercial activity, on the one hand, and the ineffectiveness of the legislation on the other. It also suggests that the government recognised the industrious newcomers and their business activities as a new source of revenue. In 1564 the Court instituted a poll

¹⁰ S. Gierszewski, *Obywatele miast Polski przedrozbiorowej: studium źródłoznawcze* (Warszawa: 1973), 69.

¹¹ J. Sadownik, *Przyjęcie do prawa miejskiego w Lublinie w XVII w.*, (Lublin: 1938), 35–41.

¹² Gierszewski, *Obywatele miast Polski przedrozbiorowej*, 77–78.

¹³ PRSP, 93–95.

¹⁴ AGAD MK 123, fol. 226 quoted in PRSP, 96–100.

¹⁵ Ibid.; Cf. Z. Guldón and L. Stępkowski, "Ludność szkocka i angielska w Polsce w połowie XVII wieku," *Kwartalnik Historii Kultury Materialnej* 2 (1982): 203; idem, "Szkoci i Anglicy w Koronie," 32; SEWP, 157; Kowalski, "The placement of urbanised Scots," 56.

tax—the earliest mentioning Scots and the only one that does not mention traders of other ‘nationalities’:

Scots, who carry their merchandise for sale on their backs, shall pay one *złoty*; and those Scots who use horses to transport their goods, shall pay sixty *groszy* from each horse used.¹⁶

A similar capitation tax was imposed at that time on Jews, Gypsies and Tartars. The 1564 tax law was continually reissued without any changes for the next half-century. It was not until the *Sejm* constitution of 1613 that the taxes imposed on Scots carrying their merchandise on their backs were increased to 2 *zł* per head. Those traders who used horses for transportation were to pay a decreased fee of 15 *gr* per animal, but in addition were charged a 4 *gr* tax every item sold.¹⁷ It was at this time that the taxes drew the attention of the Scottish resident in Gdańsk, Andrew Aidy, who complained to Robert Cecil that the tax on “English and Scotis” merchants amounted to “7 sh. 6 d. sterling from every on man wyf and chyld every yeir.” According to Aidy, this placed “a havie burden to poor ons traveling hier”.¹⁸ It should be noted, however, that the tax increases affected not just the Scots, but also all other foreign merchants: Italians, Germans, Greeks, Muscovites, Armenians and Jews who were mentioned elsewhere in that constitution.¹⁹ In fact, a much heavier burden was placed on Italians—in 1578 they were taxed at 4 *zł* per head.²⁰ The term *Szotowie* (Scots) used in the capitation tax of 1564 and of 1613 may also have referred to a broader group partaking in economic activity historically ascribed to Scots, rather than just the ethnic Scots. Historians have tended to present these laws as specifically anti-Scottish, when their main purpose was to raise revenue.²¹

¹⁶ VL II, 40, no. 665.

¹⁷ The 1613 capitation tax targeting Scots declared: “Szoci pogłównego, po złotych dwa płacić maią. A którzykolwiek wozy y konie maią, od konia iednego płacić maią po groszy piętnaście: a od towarów zosobna równo z drugimi kupcami płacić będą czwarty grosz.” (Scots shall pay two *złoty* per head. Those of them who have horses and carriages, shall pay 15 *groszy* per horse, and like all other merchants, they shall pay 4 *groszy* from every item sold.), see VL III, 109, no. 223; VL III, 113, no. 232.

¹⁸ “Andrew Aidy to Robert Cecil (Danzig, 15 January, 1612),” in EFE, vol. VI, no. 94, 122.

¹⁹ VL III, 128, no. 262.

²⁰ “Kupcy wszyscy Włoscy, iakokolwiek kupie y towary maią...każdy z osoby swej płacić będą powinni po złotych cztery.” (All Italian merchants, regardless of what merchandise they carry...each shall pay four *złoty* per head.), see VL II, 193, no. 984.

²¹ Among historians who supported their arguments about Scotophobia by referring to the tax legislation were Fischer, Steuart and recently Williamson, see SIG, 34–36; PRSP, xiii–xiv; A. H. Williamson, “The ‘Nation Epidemical’: Scoto-Britannus to Scoto-Polonus,” in

It is hard to assess what sort of impact the *Sejm* constitutions, including the tax laws, had on Scottish itinerant traders. Judging from the ever-growing hostility towards them—peddlers were accused not only of evading existing laws, of illegal trading, but also of immoral lives, by local merchants and Scots of burgher estate—it is safe to assume that the hucksters largely were able to evade it. This was reflected in an undated late sixteenth-century letter from James VI (I) to all “honest Scotsmen trafiquing in Polland, Pruss and Germanie”, which rebukes them by saying:

the princes in which jurisdiction you live being informed by their natural subjects of manie disorder amongst you by the dissolute living of a great number, who neither will duly serve nor be subjected to anie discipline, according to your old and necessarie customs long observed among you and your predecessors trafiquing in the east countries, whereby strangers take just occasion to calumate the nation and many honest men amongst you are mortallye grieved and abused to their great discredit and damage...²²

The Polish authorities had been well aware of the situation too, especially of the difficulty of dealing with an unregulated group of individuals “recognising neither judges nor jurisdiction nor laws nor superior” roaming about the country. The court’s biggest concern was perhaps that this defiance meant that not only were criminal offences unpunished, but also loss of revenue from customs and public dues that otherwise should have flown into the Crown’s coffers. Eventually the court decided to take a different approach: to subject all Scots in the realm to an “Elder, Conservator, Director, Informer” who according to the grant was to bring them under control by “the virtue of his office”, to the effect that “rule and good order [will] be preserved among them”.²³ This edict of 1603 gave all power to exercise the foresaid functions over “all men of the Scottish nation” to the commander of the Scottish regiment in the service of King Zygmunt III Waza, Captain Abraham Young (Jung). Young was to “examine into excesses and crimes”, and to deliver delinquents to the court officials. He was also given the task of collecting names “that they may be the more easily available in the defence” of the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth. In addition he was charged to “faithfully bring in goods fallen to our right

R. Unger, ed., *Britain and Poland-Lithuania: Contact and Comparison from the Middle Ages to 1795* (Leiden: 2008), 288.

²² “James VI (I) to all his subjects, honest Scottemen trafiquing in Polland, Pruss and Germanie, (late seventeenth century),” quoted in PRSP, 105–106.

²³ “Engrossment of Privileges in favour of the Well-born Abraham Yung Captain of the Scots (20 March 1604),” in PRSP, 5–7.

and devolved to the treasury of the Realm, and do not allow them to be suppressed and concealed".²⁴ Thus Young was granted full judicial powers to make inquiries into the organisation of his countrymen in the realm, and then to formulate a transparent set of rules that would help establish control over them.

He was to collect taxes and became the head of the Scottish judiciary system. Even though it was partially due to Scottish complaints that the inquiry was set in motion and Young was engrossed with the task of heading it, he met with considerable opposition from his compatriots, who resented his meddling in their affairs. A group of royal merchants from Cracow, for example, refused to acknowledge Young as their highest judge, and instead challenged his authority, on the basis of the privilege granted by Stefan Batory to the Scottish royal purveyors in 1583, which made them subordinate only to the court of the Crown Marshal. Against Young's prerogatives, the Brotherhood in Cracow, to which his adversaries most likely belonged, did not hand over monies collected from tax in that city and instead used them for their own purposes.²⁵ It is difficult to assess the full impact of Young's short-lived mission on Scots in Poland-Lithuania. His report of 1603 constitutes, however, a very important source of information on the organisation of the expatriate community, which will be examined in more detail later in this chapter.²⁶

Spheres of Commercial Activity

Like other merchants, Scots were very mobile, trading not only locally but also with other, sometimes very remote parts of the Commonwealth, as well as with neighbouring states. In the middle of the seventeenth century, for example, Scottish merchants of Cracow traded with Royal Prussia, Silesia (especially Breslau), Saxony (Leipzig), Hungary (Edenburg) and Slovakia (Stará Ľubovňa).²⁷ Scots of Tarnów were known to use a trade route between Breslau in the west and Przemyśl in the east. The most

²⁴ Ibid., 6.

²⁵ A. Biegańska, "Wielka emigracja Szkotów w Polsce druga połowa XVI—koniec XVII wieku," (PhD Thesis, Uniwersytet Śląski, Katowice, 1974), 138.

²⁶ A transcription of Young's report was given in S. Tomkowicz, "Przyczynek do historii Szkotów w Krakowie i w Polsce," *Rocznik Krakowski* 2 (1899): 163–164; a transcription and translation into English was given by Steuart: "Records of the Court of Investigation in Cracow (1603)," in PRSP, 76–79. Both transcriptions have been consulted.

²⁷ J. Wijaczka, *Handel zagraniczny Krakowa w połowie XVII wieku* (Kraków: 2002), 109, 138–140, 109, 189, 211.

prosperous of them, George Petrie (Jerzy Petray), an ox and copper trader, made deals via his factors. In about 1621 he was sending merchandise to Gdańsk, while one of his factors was delegated to Opole and another one to Lublin. Soon after a factor was sent to Toruń, a cart with an apprentice went to the fair at Przemyśl, while another attendant was sent to import beer from Ryglice.²⁸ Petrie's business partner William Keith of Tarnów was trading with Nürnberg (Nuremburg).²⁹ Scots of Zamość, a town located even deeper in the south than Tarnów, had strong commercial contacts with Gdańsk.³⁰ Of those, Andrew Davidson was engaged in transporting grain along the Vistula trade route.³¹

Lack of research into trading patterns, and especially into tax records, prevents us from assessing the position of Scottish traders in relation to other nationalities involved in mercantile activity. In the last quarter of the sixteenth century, at least from the court's point of view, the economic power of Scots cannot have been as great as that of Italians since the tax imposed on the latter in 1578 was twice as high as that laid on Scots.³² Likewise, English merchants operating from Elbląg under the privileges of the Eastland Company had a much stronger economic position at that time. The information contained in the customs register of 1650 from Cracow seems to indicate that the Scottish involvement in commerce there was not that great, but there were several spheres of activity in which Scots became specialised and distinguished themselves. The Scots of Cracow dominated, for example, imports from Leipzig and had a considerable share of imports from Silesia: in 1650, seven out of 24 merchants

²⁸ S. Bidwell-Holdys, "Kupcy w siedemnastowiecznym Tarnowie," *Sobótka* 2 (1975): 224, 228–229.

²⁹ *Ibid.*, 224.

³⁰ A. Biegańska, "Andrew Davidson (1591–1660) and his descendants," *Scottish Slavonic Review* 10 (1998): 7.

³¹ Andrew (Andreas, Andrzej) Davidson (Davison, Davisson, Dawison, Dawidson, Dewison, Dewisson, Diwison) [snr] (1591–1660), burgher and merchant of Zamość. The son of James Davidson of Aikinhamper and Ardonakrone, who had served Mary Queen of Scots and Isabell Scott. Andrew Davidson arrived in Poland in 1606 at the age of 15 and settled in Zamość. He served an apprenticeship for six years, was a journeyman for the next three, before becoming a trader. He was a grain merchant engaged in the Vistula trade. In 1625 he married Anna Dukeli (d. 1626), with whom he had a son. In 1631 Davidson married the daughter of a nobleman, Anna Iwaszkiewicz (d. 1674), with whom he had seven children. He is possibly the same as the Andrew Davidson who was among the Scots and English in Zamość who subscribed to the subsidy for King Charles II in 1651, see Biegańska, "Andrew Davidson," 7–18; idem, "Wielka emigracja Szkotów," *Tabl. VI*; A. B. Pernal, and R. Gasse, "The 1651 Polish subsidy to the Exiled Charles II," *Oxford Slavonic Papers*, vol. XXXII (1999): no. 171; SPLC, no. 2877; SSNE no. 5460.

³² VL II, 193, no. 984; cf. footnote 20 above.

importing goods from that region were Scots (they were responsible for 13 out of 39 consignments).³³ Another area where Scottish involvement was considerable was wine imports from Hungary. In 1650, of 52 merchants who were involved in such business, five belonged to the Scottish nation and were responsible for around 10 per cent of all wine imports that year (202 out of 1929 barrels).³⁴ Other items imported by Scots to Cracow included iron ore, knives, candleholders, textiles, items made out of wool, fustian, cotton yarn, silk, pistols, mirrors, combs, glasses, brushes, strings, playing cards, scissors, powder-horns, sulphur and pepper.³⁵

An important source of information on the merchandise carried by Scots is their wills and post mortem inventories. According to Biegańska, who investigated more than 40 such documents, the inventory of goods and chattels left by William Wood (Killian Wod) is characteristic of merchandise carried by a small vendor at the end of the sixteenth century and includes thimbles, threads, ribbons, combs, soap, stockings, mirrors, leather purses, money-sacks, powder-horns, fake jewellery (copper rings), kerchiefs, spectacles and a wide range of knives—combat, small, large, *białogłowskie* (styled for women), *krakowskie* (from Cracow) and *norymberskie* (from Nürnberg).³⁶ An inventory of merchandise from the beginning of the seventeenth century (1613) belonging to James (Jakub) Szot shows lace, string, embroidery, whips, beads, pictures, threads from Breslau, knives from Chojnice, knives from Hungary, bedspreads from Gdańsk, bedspreads from Breslau and linen from Głogów—worth a total of 27 zł 21 gr. Of note is the fact that inventories show the diverse places of origins of the merchandise.³⁷ Far more elaborate inventories were created for affluent merchants such as Peter Orem, citizen of Cracow.³⁸

³³ Wijaczka, *Handel zagraniczny Krakowa*, 24–25 (Table 1), 109 (Table 34). Note: Robert Blackhall is mistakenly mentioned as two separate individuals. Once as Robert Blakał and then as Wojciech Blakał.

³⁴ Wijaczka, *Handel zagraniczny Krakowa*, 189–191.

³⁵ *Ibid.*, 24–26, 173, 189–191, Table 1.

³⁶ Biegańska, “Wielka emigracja Szkotów,” 192.

³⁷ *Ibid.*, 193, fn 886.

³⁸ The inventory of Orem’s estate lists more than 60 types of wares. In addition to the usual items mentioned above, it includes Silesian linen, Cologne linen, table cloths, towels, Turkish kerchiefs, Jesuit hoods, perfumed skins, Włocławek and Dutch thread, Italian and French gloves, perfumed and summer gloves, Easter lambs, Spanish needles, bone compasses, and meal-bowls. In Polish tradition a small marzipan Easter lamb representing the resurrected Jesus, was put on the dinner table on Easter Day: “An inventory of the estate and property of the deceased Peter Orem (1614),” in PRSP, 64–74.

With haberdashery and metal goods, Scottish peddlers sometimes sold other merchandise. The death inventory of a journeyman, James (Jacob) Anderson of Gdańsk, who died there on 27 March 1658, shows that he was probably involved in art dealing. Anderson owned a collection of 24 pictures, one of which depicted the biblical story of King Saul and David. The pictures cannot have been of great artistic value and were most likely woodcuts, as the whole property of the deceased, including the collection, was sold for 386 zł. According to Bogucka he was most probably a factor, distributing goods on behalf of another, wealthier, Scottish merchant, his master. Apart from the artwork, at the time of his death Anderson did not own any other merchandise. He was, however, in possession of a carriage for distributing the goods and of some weapons, most likely used to protect him against highwaymen.³⁹

Based on these registers, inventories, wills and other documents it is possible to construct a list of the goods that Scots were importing to the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth and were purchasing for export. Imports included products such as weapons, metal goods, scissors, knives, glass, saddler's goods, purses, clothing, furs, bedding, groceries, and perhaps most importantly, textiles (cloth). The goods for export included predominantly agricultural produce, mainly cereals, but also, forestry products, cattle, skins and amber.

Apart from trading, Scots in Poland-Lithuania were involved in various other undertakings. According to the list compiled by Biegańska, Scots participated in almost every major occupation: textile and leather-related manufacturing: linen-drapers, riveters, haberdashers, cap-makers, shearers, weavers of cloth, weavers of silk, cutlers, tailors, hat-makers, glove-makers, tanners, saddle-makers; metal work: smiths, locksmiths, armourers, bell-founders, needle-makers, knife-makers, clock-makers; construction and material supplies: builders, architects, naval architects, carpenters, shipwright, stucco-workers, wheelwrights; food production: butchers, bakers, millers, brewers, wine-makers, confectioners; art and craft: goldsmiths, wood-carvers, bookbinders, painters, potters, stone-masons; weapons production: armourers, gunsmiths, explosives-makers; services: doctors, surgeons, chemists, barbers, wig-makers, comb-makers, musicians. Biegańska recorded some 63 different occupations among

³⁹ M. Bogucka, "Scots in Gdańsk (Danzig) in the Seventeenth Century," in A. I. Macinnes, T. Riis and F. Pedersen, eds., *Ships, Guns and Bibles in the North Sea and Baltic States, c. 1350–c. 1700* (East Lothian: 2000), 145.

Table 5.1. Assets belonging to Peter Leask of Lwów according to his will of 1645.*

<i>Type of assets:</i>	<i>value in zł</i>	<i>total value in zł</i>
1. investments (active capital)		
a. stalls and stores in Jarosław and Lwów	not valued	
b. rent money from the above	2417	
c. commodities	2100	
d. money lent on interest	8555	
		13,072
2. personal property/consumables		
a. real estate		
i. house	6000	
ii. farm (folwark)	600	
b. house contents	731	
c. jewellery	1157	
d. silverware	1687	
e. cash	842	
f. clothing	not valued	
		11,017
Total:		24,089

* Source: A. Biegańska, "Wielka emigracja Szkotów w Polsce druga połowa XVI—koniec XVII wieku," (PhD Thesis, Uniwersytet Śląski, Katowice, 1974), 193–194.

the Scots in Poland-Lithuania.⁴⁰ Unfortunately the sample is too small to establish which trades or sectors were the most popular and how they fitted into the local economy.

In the case of James *Szot*, the value of his merchandise was twice the value of his cash at hand. *Szot* left behind 12 zł in cash and his wares were valued at 27 zł 12 gr. The 1:2.5 cash to merchandise ratio is characteristic of the assets of other Scots.⁴¹ Wills of affluent merchants show that their holdings were structured in a similar fashion. The assets of Peter Leask (Leysk) of Zamość, killed in 1645 in Germany during one of his business expeditions, consisted of a number of active investments and a capital locked in non-rental real estate and personal property (Table 5.1). Even without information about the worth of the stalls and the stores in Jarosław and Lwów owned by Leask, it is clear that the value of his investments (55 per cent of the value of his total holdings) was greater than

⁴⁰ Biegańska, "Wielka emigracja Szkotów," 170–171.

⁴¹ *Ibid.*, 193, fn 886.

that of his other assets. Of note is also the importance of money-lending in wealth creation for some of the Scottish merchants like Leask. In his instance, it accounted for 35.5 per cent of his revenue.⁴² The example of William Hewison (Hewson, Hiuison), a spice and haberdashery merchant of Cracow shows that takings from money-lending were sometimes even higher. In 1683, Hewison's debtors owed him 41,749 zł 26 gr, that is nearly three times more money than the total value of his merchandise assessed which stood at 14,349 zł 16 gr.⁴³

Purveyors to the Court: Scotsmen in Privileged Positions

While the Scottish presence, or more specifically their commercial ventures, drew negative attention, the same abilities in the marketplace attracted favourable attention from the court, especially at the end of the sixteenth century. In 1576, Batory granted a *servitoratus* to a Scottish merchant, John Gibson (Gipson). The *servitoratus* (in Latin) or *serwitoriat* (in Polish) was a personal or group privilege conferred by a monarch, releasing merchants and craftsmen employed by the court from municipal, district or provincial jurisdiction. This meant that the court merchants and purveyors were exempt from restrictions normally imposed on traders by fraternities and town councils and were subject only to the jurisdiction of the Crown Marshall's courts. Gibson was given a "free faculty to follow our Court whithersoever we may proceed; and in all places whithersoever, as also outside the Court, without let or hindrance from anyone". The royal privilege gave him a general licence "to set and build shops or merchant's booths in public places", as well as permitting him and his wife to sell wine and other liquors on their premises.⁴⁴ This faculty elevated Gibson to the role of court purveyor and placed him among the most privileged merchants of Poland-Lithuania.

In 1583, Batory increased the number of Scots among his royal merchants. Recognising Scottish traders' service to the court in campaigns against Muscovy, by "always follow[ing] our Court and Camp with their merchandise...[and] supplying necessities", eight Scots—Thomas Roland (Roplandtt), Thomas Dickson (Dixon), Robert Killoch (Albert

⁴² Ibid., 193–194, fn 887.

⁴³ 53 per cent of Hewison's debtors were local Jews, see Ibid., 193–194 fn 892.

⁴⁴ "Faculty granted to John Gibson, a Scot Merchant, to retail his goods to the Court of His Royal majesty wherever situate (8 August 1576)," in PRSP, 1.

Killus), Robert Tullidaph (Albert Tullitaff), Andrew Dortse [?], Henry Foster, Richard Aitkman (Atman) and Bartholomew Erzmiek [?]⁴⁵—were appointed as purveyors to the court (*Mercatores aulici*, or *Mercatores curiales*) and charged with the organisation of army supplies. The faculty included an instruction to all officials “to preserve . . . these same Scots in the possession of the forseid licences and privileges” and forbade anyone to oppose them.⁴⁵ The court purveyors continued to be appointed from among the Scots until the end of the seventeenth century (1697), when they began to merge into the native Polish population.⁴⁶ The document of 1583 tells even more about those Scots and their relationship with Batory’s court. Justifying the grant of privileges, Batory implied that only Scottish merchants had accompanied him until then on his campaigns. Why was that? Why was it significant? One possible explanation is that there were many risks involved in trading during the war, such as falling into enemy hands, losing merchandise, losing money if sales were made on credit and the campaign were lost, and that in the eyes of indigenous merchants, risks outweighed profits. No doubt maintaining supplies to the army was one of Batory’s prime concerns during the Muscovy campaign. The campaign took place during the winter months and the enemy used a scorched earth policy, successfully destroying food sources, for men and horses. Supplies had to be brought from as far as 30–50 miles from the siege site.⁴⁷

With Batory’s success against the Muscovites, the gamble of the Scottish merchants clearly paid off. It seems that Scots were well received by the Polish Court, especially Batory, who in 1585 proclaimed that his “Court cannot be without them” as they supplied it and the army with “all that is necessary”.⁴⁸ This preferential treatment was significant in light of the documented disputes between Scots trading colonies and their host cities.⁴⁹ One example may have been during Gdańsk’s rebellion of 1576, when

⁴⁵ “King Stefan Batory grants to Eight Scots Free Faculty granted to trade (2 January 1583),” in PRSP, 3–5.

⁴⁶ W. Borowy, *Scots in Old Poland* (Edinburgh-London: 1941).13.

⁴⁷ H. Kotarski, “Wojska polsko-litewskie podczas wyprawy inflanckiej 1576–1582,” in *Studia i Materiały do Historii Wojskowości* 18, part 1 (1972): 52–53.

⁴⁸ “King Stefan Batory commands that a certain district in Cracow may be assigned to Scots (7 May 1585),” in SIG, 49–50.

⁴⁹ There are references to trade competition and rivalries between Gdańsk and the Scottish colony at Stare Szkoty at the end of the sixteenth and in the first half of the seventeenth centuries in M. Bogucka, *Gdańsk jako ośrodek produkcyjny w XIV–XVII wieku* (Warszawa: 1962), 178–180, 186–187, 196, 219, 220, 222, 302, 305, 320, 390. Conflicts between Gdańsk’s guild of weavers and the Scottish weavers from the Stare Szkoty settlement

a German-controlled council waged a war against the Commonwealth. Batory's successor Zygmunt III Waza thought equally highly of Scots who provided services to the court and support during his Muscovy campaign, especially in "advancing wares for our [Polish] soldiery". The king extended the privileges outlined in the original grant of 1583 by allowing the eight Scots to "erect their shops in public places" (26 March 1613).⁵⁰ In the same year the same Scots were appointed purveyors to Livonia, Courland and Estonia.⁵¹ Similarly, Zygmunt III's son Władysław IV confirmed and endorsed their privileges (20 July 1645). The loyalty of Scots to the court, of which he spoke in his grant, must have been reaffirmed during his reign, for the next king, Jan II Kazimierz, granted further privileges to this small group of Scottish merchants (3 February 1649). His Majesty allowed them to sell "wares and goods . . . whoever the workmen who produce them, whether in Our Realm and Dominions or elsewhere among foreign nations". Exercising "his clemency and Royal authority faculty and power", the king exempted their money and goods from the claims of the exchequer at their death.⁵² This was a very significant concession as often the exchequer would claim the whole of an estate of a deceased foreigner, regardless of its size. The exemption is noteworthy for another reason. The grant of 1 August 1669 of King Michał Wiśniowiecki (successor to Jan II Kazimierz) shows that the Catholic-dominated court was well aware that the Scottish merchants were *in religione Dissidentes* yet maintained the Scots' privileged position.⁵³

The Scots were by no means the only foreign merchants granted purveyance privileges to the royal court: similar documents were issued to German, Italian, Dutch, Armenian and Jewish traders.⁵⁴ Nevertheless,

are described in M. Bogucka, *Gdańskie rzemiosło tekstylne od XIV do połowy XVII wieku* (Wrocław: 1956), 52, 59, 69, 161, 249, 250.

⁵⁰ "Faculty to Trade granted to certain Scots within the Realm (26 March 1613)," in PRSP, 8–9. The Scots included in the grant were: Peter MacAllen (Makaliński), Peter Orem, James Gore? (Gorski), James Orem, Thomas Orem, Andrew Fraser, Stephen Orem and Andrew Johnston (Jantson).

⁵¹ Tomkowicz, "Przyczynek do historii Szkotów," 162.

⁵² "Copy of the Approbation by King Jan III at Cracow on 20th February 1676, of the confirmations of the privileges and rights belonging to the Eight Scots Merchants attached to the Court (28th of April 1676)," in PRSP, 14–15.

⁵³ The privileges given between 1583 and 1669 were subsequently endorsed by Jan III Sobieski (26 April 1676), see *Ibid.*, 12–19.

⁵⁴ For information on Italians as purveyors, see W. Tygielski, *Włosi w Polsce XVI–XVII wieku: Utracona szansa na modernizację* (Warszawa: 2005); Poles and Jews granted *servitutus* are mentioned in J. Bieniarzówna and J. Małecki, *Dzieje Krakowa. Kraków w wiekach XVI–XVIII* (Kraków: 1994), 438–440; Germans are mentioned in S. Kutrzeba and J. Ptaśnik,

Scots merchants continued to supply the court for more than a century after Batory's original privilege, which must reflect the quality of the service they provided, though their contribution should not be exaggerated. The last such privilege was issued by August II in 1697 and there is almost no evidence relating to Scottish purveyors after this date.⁵⁵ One of the last remaining documents pertaining to them is the appointment in 1720 of James Ross as successor of the deceased Alexander Innes, one of the eight privileged merchants of Scottish nationality.⁵⁶

The Scottish Quest for Ius Civile (Citizenship)

One way for the more prosperous immigrants to escape taxes, obstacles and other limitations imposed by local or state authorities (if they intended to stay in a particular town for an extended period of time), was to obtain civic rights and enjoy the privileges of that estate. From the perspective of individuals involved in mercantile activity, two of the most enticing privileges of citizens included exemption from certain tariffs normally imposed on their merchandise and immunity from *prawo składu* (staple rights). This law, also known in Latin as *ius stapulae* and in German as *Stapelrecht*, allowed municipal authorities to force all travelling traders, non-citizens, to unload their merchandise and make it available for sale.⁵⁷ However, the procedure for becoming a citizen of a Polish or Lithuanian town was long and elaborate. Foreigners, referred to in documents in Latin as *advenae*, *externi*, *extranei*, *hostes*, in order to acquire *ius civile* (citizenship) had generally to fulfil a number of requirements.

First, they were obliged to buy property in the location in which they desired to settle. In Poland-Lithuania, like elsewhere in Continental Europe, petitioners needed to have lived in the municipality where they

"Dzieje handlu i kupiectwa krakowskiego," *Rocznik Krakowski* 14 (1911): 66–84; Armenians appear in M. Zakrzewska-Dubasowa, *Ormianie w dawnej Polsce* (Lublin: 1982); A. Mączak, "Od połowy XV wieku do rozbiorów," in I. Ilnatowicz et al., eds., *Spółeczeństwo polskie od X do XX wieku* (Warszawa: 1999), 328–330. Cf. M. Horn, "Dostawcy dworów królewskich, w Polsce i na Litwie za ostatnich Jagiellonów, 1506–1572 (ze szczególnym uwzględnieniem dostawców żydowskich, cz. I–II)," in *Biuletyn ŻIH* 150 (1986): 3–16, and no. 151 (1986): 3–24.

⁵⁵ "Copy of the Confirmation by August II at Cracow on 4 October 1697, of the Privileges in which is contained the approbation of the confirmations of Rights of the Eight Merchants of Scottish nationality attached to the Court (13 January 1698)," in PRSP, 25–26.

⁵⁶ "Appointment of James Ross as one of the Eight Privileged Merchants of Scottish Nationality attached to the Court (11 May 1720)," in PRSP, 25–26.

⁵⁷ Gierszewski, *Obywatele miast Polski przedrozbiorowej*, 68.

were trying to obtain citizenship for a minimum of one year and a day (in Gdańsk or Toruń) or sometimes a year and six weeks (in Cracow and Poznań).⁵⁸

Second, the petitioners had to present a certificate of *dobrze urodzenie* (good birth, also known as birth brief), issued by the appropriate authority in Scotland. The records of Scots granted citizenship in Cracow show that to fulfil that requirement Scots were given a specific amount of time. For instance, in 1592 David Liddell (Ledel) was given six months to obtain his birth-brief from the burgh of Brechin.⁵⁹ An investigation conducted by Kowalski into the time between obtaining a birth brief from Scotland and being admitted to the citizenship of Cracow in the period 1509–1655 shows that it took on average two to three years.⁶⁰ This is not surprising given that the window of opportunity for sending information to or from Scotland was quite short as the sea links were severed for most of the year.⁶¹

Third, in addition to the statement about being of legitimate birth (often with genealogical details justifying the name of the petitioner, ancestry—sometimes three or four generations on both the paternal and the maternal side—family connections, coats of arms), they also had to swear allegiance and pay duties. Such duties or payments were usually made once citizenship was granted. The list of Scots granted citizenship in Cracow shows that generally payment of money and provision of a gun and gunpowder was made to the city. Payments varied substantially depending on the financial situation of the applicant.⁶² David Liddell had to pay 50 Hungarian florins.⁶³ In 1625 when James Carmichael and Peter Wood (Odt) became burghers they each had to pay 20 Hungarian gold pieces and one of them was obliged to pay for a long gun (or musket).⁶⁴

⁵⁸ Ibid., 63; cf. M. Mika, "Przyjęcia do prawa miejskiego w Poznaniu w latach 1576–1600," *Kronika Miasta Poznania* XI (1933): 211.

⁵⁹ LICCr II, no. 1286.

⁶⁰ W. Kowalski, "From Aberdeen to Poland: the Seventeenth Century Aberdeen Birth-briefs as a source for Scottish–Polish relations," (paper presented to the Britain and Poland-Lithuania: Contact and Comparison from the Middle Ages to 1795 Conference, Jagiellonian University, Cracow, September 15–18, 2005), Table 3; idem, *Wielka imigracja. Szkoci w Krakowie i Małopolsce w XVI—pierwszej połowie XVII wieku* (Kielce: 2010), 50, Table 2.2.

⁶¹ J. D. Fudge, "Maintaining a presence: Baltic enterprise and the merchants of Lynn during the reign of Henry VIII," in P. Salmon and T. Barrow, eds., *Britain and the Baltic: Studies in Commercial, Political and Cultural Relations 1500–2000* (Sunderland: 2003), 17.

⁶² Cf. Kowalski, *Wielka imigracja*, 45–49.

⁶³ LICCr II, no. 1286.

⁶⁴ APKr, Consularia, MS 1625, fol. 215, in PRSP, 42–43.

Adam Logan (Legan) in 1605 was instructed to pay only 5 zł.⁶⁵ In 1646 George Cruickshank (Crukschank) of Aberdeen paid one of the highest fees on record: 350 zł, one musket, and another 14 zł instead of gun powder.⁶⁶ Other applicants were not charged at all, as was the case of Peter Burnet-. Burnet, who applied for citizenship in 1620, was the son of a burgher and, as such, was admitted free.⁶⁷ There were also instances where fees were waived altogether when the petitioner had performed an outstanding service to the city. For example, in Cracow in 1671, John Scot, a surgeon, was given citizenship without charge, "being excused in return for care and labour on behalf of the plague stricken".⁶⁸

Lastly, in some areas petitioners for civic rights had to be of a certain religious persuasion. For example, in the Crown they were supposed to be Roman Catholics. Sometimes city councils required the petitioner be married to a local girl.⁶⁹ The conditions on entry into burgher estate varied according to the economic situation of the particular municipality. Cities lowered requirements for citizenship in periods of distress, especially after natural disasters such as plague or fires, or war destruction. Prerequisites were lowered when a city felt a shortage of particular specialists or able-bodied men in general. Requirements usually became more complex during times of economic prosperity and when there were an increased number of applications.⁷⁰

Some of the more affluent Scots duly met all the requirements. Full civic rights, giving them the same duties and privileges as the local burgher estate, allowed them in turn to increase their prosperity. The considerable wealth that some of the Scots acquired through trade, often by money-lending, made them powerful in their local areas and helped them to gain prominent offices and/or other distinctions, and to play an active role in the economic, social and political life of the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth.

Although the process helped many to integrate more fully into the host community, obtaining citizenship did not always mean permanent settlement. Despite the attempts of local councils to formulate criteria for

⁶⁵ LICCr II, no. 2282.

⁶⁶ APKr, LICCr, MS 1425, fol. 34, in Kowalski, "From Aberdeen to Poland," Table 1, no. 72. Cf. Bieniarzówna and Małecki, *Dzieje Krakowa*, vol. II, 204.

⁶⁷ APKr, Consularia, MS 1649, fol. 557, in PRSP, 50.

⁶⁸ PRSP, 55.

⁶⁹ Gierszewski, *Obywatele miast Polski przedrozbiorowej*, 68.

⁷⁰ *Ibid.*, 52.

obtaining civic rights that would tie applicants to the local community, many foreigners, including Scots, after improving their financial situation, returned to their homeland.⁷¹ One well-known case was that of the Ross family of Warsaw. Despite the considerable wealth, properties and influential positions they acquired, William Ross [II], clerk of the royal mail (1695–1718), with his son Gilbert, his grandson Wilhelm [III] and their families, left Poland for Scotland.⁷² Unfortunately, no documents survive that might explain for this decision. It is impossible to establish if such movement—taking the whole family back to Scotland—was commonplace or rather a one-off occurrence. Grosjean, who conducted research into return migration to Belhelvie parish in Aberdeenshire and identified several cases of returns from Poland-Lithuania, argued that reasons for homecoming were personal and varied, from the most compelling, such as the death of a family member, to more prosaic, such as the desire to retire at ‘home’.⁷³ The subject of homecoming calls for future research, as it may prove to be one of the many different factors that contributed to the disappearance of Scots in Poland-Lithuania as a separate ethnic group.

*The Financial Status of Scottish Traders in the Middle of the
Seventeenth Century*

Not all Scots achieved wealth and fame. Among Scots in Poland-Lithuania there was a large group of less successful migrants. The hardships they suffered are well represented in the correspondence of Francis Caw to his family in Scotland. In his letters, Caw complained that the situation of migrants in the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth was difficult because they “all must learn two or three severall languages which it is hard for any come to age to attain to”. He complained that a new migrant must serve at least five or six years as an apprentice, and that his wages were low, “about 20 or 30 dollars with ane suit of new clothes”. Caw mentioned migrants who served for 10 or 12 years and remained in “poor condition”. He complained after serving out his time he remained poor and did not know what to do next “having no stock to begin withall”. According to Caw, the

⁷¹ Ibid., 68.

⁷² A. Biegańska, “Scottish merchants and traders in seventeenth- and eighteenth-century Warsaw,” *Scottish Slavonic Review* 5 (1985): 24.

⁷³ Grosjean, “Returning to Belhelvie,” 218–221.

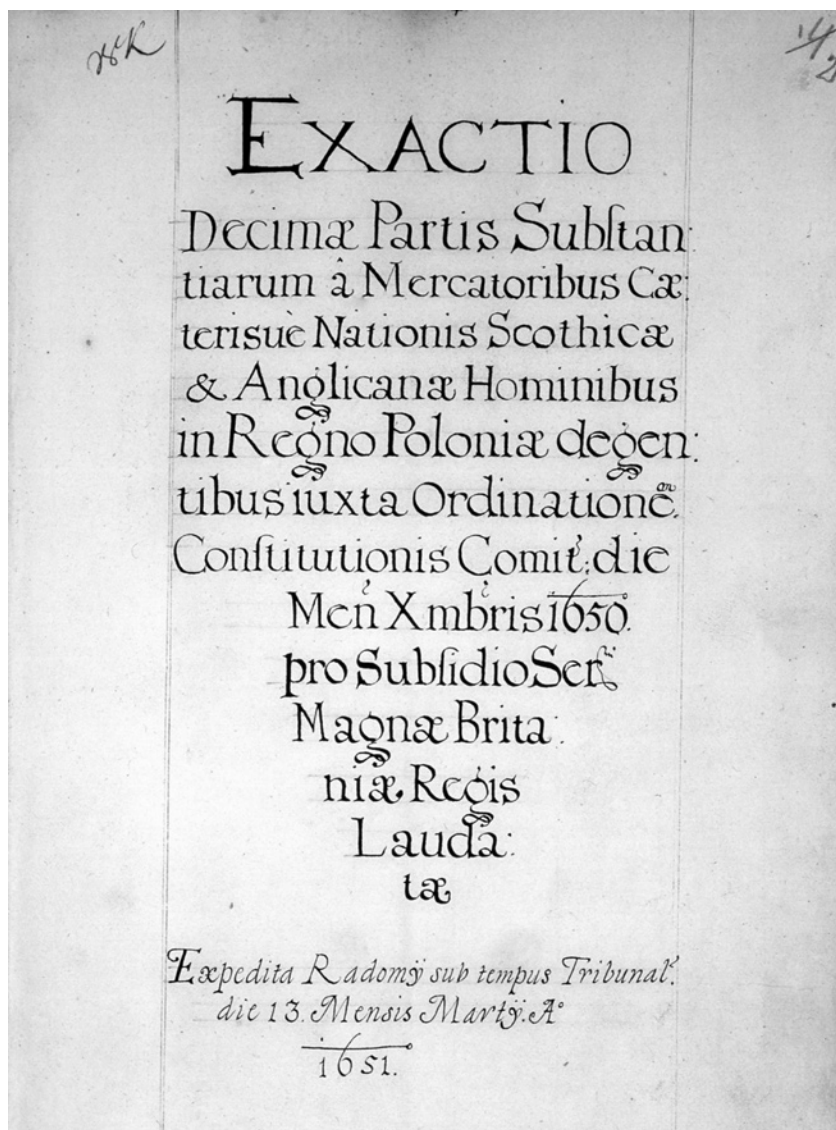
great amount of travelling that traders in Poland-Lithuania must endure in order to sell their goods and the dangers on the roads also caused hardship. Craw's letters show that some migrants were not prepared to take such risks, "contenting... [themselves] with a little rather than have been in continuall jeopardy". They also describe how some Scottish Protestants felt while moving about the country among the "almost savage people for the most part papistes", and how their reservations and fears, stemming from the way they were treated, could influence their livelihood. Finally, Craw's letters elucidate the emotional anguish suffered by many immigrants, such as being removed from family, being unable to amass the considerable wealth needed to return, and being ashamed of their poverty in a foreign land where others were able to succeed.⁷⁴

But how large was the group of impoverished migrants? What was the ratio of commercially successful individuals to their less affluent compatriots? How did the Scottish traders perform in relation to the society of the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth at large? One source that can be used to respond to these questions and establish the financial status of Scots of burgher estate in the Crown in the middle of the seventeenth century is the 1651 Polish Subsidy to King Charles II.⁷⁵

In 1649 the exiled Charles was in great need of political and financial support. Thus, between 1649 and 1651 diplomatic missions were sent to numerous European states to further his cause. In 1649, Charles II sent to the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth his representative, Sir John Cochrane, who supposedly collected a large sum of money. Only a small portion of that sum reached Charles, so later that year he dispatched Sir William Crofts and John Denham on a similar mission. In December 1650, responding to the ambassadors' plea, the *Sejm* ordained a tithe, a 10 per cent property tax on all Scots and English living in the realm. In 1651 the two envoys, aided by Antonio della Boissier, were charged with collecting the money. In the process, they created a register: a listing of contributors and contributions to the subsidy (Fig. 5.1). The envoys tried to arrange this list by *województwo*, however, since the money was collected at various locations, at different times, and using dissimilar methods, they succeeded in their aims only partially. Because of that the data on the roll is not conclusive. Sometimes the source does not provide the sum paid by

⁷⁴ "Francis Craw to his family in Scotland (circa 1670–1681)," quoted in SIG, 250–255.

⁷⁵ AGAD, ASK I, MS 134, fols 1–39; cf. Guldón and Stepkowski, "Szkoci i Anglicy w Koronie," 31–61; idem, "Ludność szkocka i angielska," 202–214; Pernal and Gasse, "The 1651 Polish Subsidy," 1v50.



Source: AGAD, ASK I, MS 134, fol. 2.

Fig. 5.1. Title page of the register of the 1651 Subsidy to Charles II.

an individual taxpayer but instead gives a total of monies collected in a selected place and names of those who contributed, for example Chojnice or Warsaw. In other instances, as in Puck, Nowe, Chełmno or Lignowy, the sum of money collected is given without the names of the taxpayers.⁷⁶ The document is far from being clear and easy to comprehend, and this is perhaps why various errors have been made.⁷⁷

Some of the errors were noticed in 1977 by Guldon and Stępkowski, who first recognised the significance of the document, as well as certain flaws in it. To rectify some of the problems and to better assess Scottish contributions in particular locations, Guldon and Stępkowski used the information from the original register, rearranged by town, according to the palatinates. However, in some cases, Guldon and Stępkowski decided to list names of a number of contributors under the location where the Scots paid the tithe, rather than under the location of their more permanent residence.⁷⁸

Pernal and Gasse transcribed and reproduced the document in 1999, and uncovered further discrepancies, demonstrating that the grand total—101,425 zł 9 gr—as shown in the original document, is erroneous.⁷⁹ Similarly, they questioned final computations made by Guldon and Stępkowski, who calculated a grand total of 102,548 zł 24 gr 3 d.⁸⁰ According to Pernal and Gasse the correct sum was 101,611 zł 5 gr 1 d, a difference of 185 zł 26 gr 1 d.

Notwithstanding their substantial contribution in identifying mistakes contained in the manuscript, unfortunately Pernal and Gasse's calculations were not free of errors either.⁸¹ In order to establish the definitive

⁷⁶ Tax collected in Puck amounted to 2850 zł, in Nowe to 1500 zł, in Chełmno to 800 zł and in Lignowy to 150 zł, see ASK I, MS 134, fols. 35, 37.

⁷⁷ Guldon and Stępkowski, "Szkoci i Anglicy w Koronie," 31–61; idem, "Ludność szkocka i angielska," 202–214; Pernal and Gasse, "The 1651 Polish Subsidy," 1–50.

⁷⁸ For example, they list Rychard Gordon under Węgrów despite the fact that part of his contribution was made in Lwów. At the same time, they list other Scottish traders originally from the same Węgrów under Lwów or Zamość; for example, Andrew Gibson of Węgrów is listed in Lwów, see Guldon and Stępkowski, "Szkoci i Anglicy w Koronie," 56 (no. 343), 60 (no. 442).

⁷⁹ Pernal and Gasse, "The 1651 Polish Subsidy," 1–50.

⁸⁰ Ibid., 40; Guldon and Stępkowski, "Szkoci i Anglicy w Koronie," 35–36, 41–61; idem, "Ludność szkocka i angielska," 211, where they provide a grand total of 102,548 zł 24 gr 3 d; Biegańska, "Wielka emigracja Szkotów," accepted the sum provided in the Register, that is: 101,425 zł 9 gr.

⁸¹ For example Pernal and Gasse failed to notice an error made by the scribe. The sum of contributions made by Henry Farquhar, Andrew Watson, Edward Hepburn and James Hewitt in Poznań, that is: 150 + 150 + 150 + 500 should read = 950 zł and not as it is shown

amount of money contributed by Scots listed in the register (both individually and collectively) a new list of contributors has been compiled. The total is now calculated at 102,220 zł 29 gr 12 d.⁸²

In spite of the fact that the tithe was, in theory, levied on all Scottish and English merchants residing in the Crown, it is clear that not all migrants complied.⁸³ Even a quick glance at the roll reveals that while the subsidy list includes some 476 names, other sources give the names of many other Scots who were in Poland in that year, should have paid the levy, but were not listed. Evaluation of the completeness of the register, done by Guldon and Stępkowski by comparing data from this tax roll with the information obtained from municipal and church records available for the province of Sandomierz, showed several discrepancies. First, it revealed that Scottish colonies existed in more towns and cities (14) than would appear from the tax roll (only eight towns mentioned). Second, the number of Scots who lived in the towns where a tithe was paid was considerably higher than would appear from the register. For example, in Iłża only one Scot—John Scrimgeour (Ian Scryngier)—is listed, while other sources—including the inventory of the properties in the Cracow bishopric—show that in 1653 Scots owned seven properties in Iłża.

Third, Scottish taxpayers understated their wealth in order to pay less tax or no tax at all. For example, Alexander Russel of Szydłowiec, who was exempt from paying tax altogether, belonged to the most prosperous

in the register 1000 zł. Cf. ASK I, MS 134, fol. 4; Pernal and Gasse, "The 1651 Polish Subsidy," 21. A similar error was made when adding up contributions made in Lwów. The sum in the register is shown as 4399 zł 27 gr, instead of 4334 zł 27 gr. This is an error of +60 zł. Cf. ASK I, MS 134, fols 20–21; Pernal and Gasse, "The 1651 Polish Subsidy," 28–29. On page 26 a printing error shows the contribution of Catherine Travell as 300 zł, instead of 200 zł as per the manuscript. Cf. ASK I, MS 134, fols 16.

⁸² In an attempt to best represent the Scottish contribution, Guldon and Stępkowski's method of gathering the data has been adopted and expanded here. Thus, the list (see Appendix I) shows contributions made by Scots under primary location, rather than where they paid the tax. The list shows the correct sums. When mistakes were identified, the correct sum is listed in the table and the sum from the original register is given in the footnotes. One exception is the case of John Meikle or MacKaill (Ian Miciel) whose contribution, as recorded in the register, exceeds the tithe he ought to pay by 6 gr. The sum that he paid and was registered is listed in the current computations and the discrepancy is mentioned in the footnotes.

⁸³ Although according to the tithe only merchants were to pay tax, in practice members of other groups made contribution. For example, among the tax payers one can find: William (Wilhelm) Walker, an apprentice; John Locke (Ioanne Log), a student; James Seath (Jacobus Seyt), a furrier; and Richard Sheddan (Rychardus Schoden), a surgeon, see ASK I, MS 134, fols 27, 36, 37. Cf. Guldon and Stępkowski, "Szkoci i Anglicy w Koronie," 31–61, who first noted this irregularity.

Scottish family in this city, which owned two tenement houses and a farm and whose 31 debtors in 1644 owed them 2922 zł. Similarly, Samuel Edwards (Edwerdt), citizen of Toruń, whose assets were valued around 1659 at more than 200,000 zł, should have paid tax amounting to 20,000 zł (more than was collected from other Scots and Englishmen in the province of Royal Prussia), but his name did not appear in the register at all.⁸⁴ The largest discrepancy can be observed in Gdańsk. When compared with the parish records of St Peter and St Paul and St Elizabeth churches for the

⁸⁴ Samuel Edwards (Edwerdt, Edwedt) (d. 24 August 1654), an English merchant. Edwards is most probably the Samuel Edwards (Edward) who was enrolled at the Gymnasium in Elbląg in 1612 along with Anthony (Antonius), possibly his brother. Apart from that, not much is known about Edwards' early career. His business enterprise was first documented in 1645. Edwards operated, it seems, from Zamość and later Toruń, maintaining agents in Gdańsk, Puławy, Lublin, Lwów and Jarosław. In each of these centres he kept warehouses. Out of Zamość he periodically traded also with Kraków, Kamieniec Podolski and other parts of Podolia. In 1650 he was mentioned in a register of foreign merchants living in Gdańsk as a merchant and burgess of Zamość. From the same document we learn that he was described as German, and that he rented a house belonging to Joachim Borchardt in Długa Street. According to Cracow's tax registers in 1649–50, Edwards, again referred to as a merchant from Zamość, imported from Gdańsk large quantities of pepper, spices, sugar, fish, Spanish wines, cloth, tabacco and other merchandise. In Cracow he purchased mainly wax and hides, which he sent to Gdańsk. Some of the hides he shipped straight to Amsterdam. According to Wojtowicz, Edwards also traded in medicine and chemicals.

Guldon and Wijaczka estimated that yearly net profit from all his operations in 1647–55 was on average 47,707 zł, that is, about £6201. In 1655 alone his net profit was no less than 50,472 zł (c. £6561). Edwards acquired civic rights of Toruń in 1653. He was married to Elizabeth Scheps of Zamość. Between 1642 and 1652 at St Peter and St Paul in Gdańsk, they baptised four children: Daniel (bap. 1642), Samuel Henry (Heinrich) (bap. 1648), Anthony (Antonius) (bap. 1650) and Marianna (bap. 1652). Two of his sons were subsequently recorded in the Gymnasium in Toruń in 1655. Edwards vigorously protested against paying the tithe. A letter addressed to him and other English merchants from Jan Kazimierz threatened him with expulsion from his home and other severe penalties. This document, preserved in the archive in Gdańsk, clearly confirms Edwards' English descent. The outcome of this dispute is unknown, but it does not appear that Edwards made any payments. After his death in 1654 his wife ran the business for the next five years. When in 1659 Elizabeth Edwards decided to remarry, her dowry was estimated at 218,000 zł (c. £27,820): "Jan Kazimierz and his officials to Samuel Edwards and other Englishmen (Lublin, 2–3 May 1651)," APGD., 492/844, fols 391–393, and 395–396, quoted in Pernal and Gasse, "Polish Subsidy," 12, footnote 88; H. Abs, ed., *Die Matrikel des Gymnasiums zu Elbing (1598–1786)*, (Hamburg: 1982), 43; Z. H. Nowak and J. Tandecki, eds., *Metryka uczniów toruńskiego Gimnazjum Akademickiego 1600–1817. Cz. 1, 1600–1717* (Toruń: 1997), nos. 5355, 5356; Biegańska, "Wielka emigracja," 299; Bogucka, "Obcy kupcy," 79; K. Ciesielska, "Edwert Samuel," in K. Mikulski, ed., *Toruński słownik biograficzny* (Toruń: 1998), vol. I, 92; Guldon and Stępkowski, "Szkoci i Anglicy w Koronie," 31–61; idem, "Ludność szkocka i angielska," 203; Z. Guldon and J. Wijaczka, "Kupiec zamojski i toruński Samuel Edwerdt," *Almanach Historyczny* 3 (2001): 93–108; Wijaczka, *Handel zagraniczny Krakowa*, 211; J. Wojtowicz, "Toruńskie przedsiębiorstwo handlowe Samuela Edwardsa w XVII w." *Rocznik Dziejów Społeczno-Gospodarczych* 14 (1953): 204.

period 1645–1655, the register shows a substantial disproportion between the number of Scottish adult male parishioners: about 168 individuals, and those who contributed to the tithe—31 individuals. The equation does not look much better if one considers only those who appear to have had more permanent residence in the city—about 85 individuals. The evidence suggests that only about 36.5 per cent of them made any payment.⁸⁵ However, this computation does not take into account the contribution made by an unknown number of Scots *ex Suburbijis Gedanen[sibus]*, who most likely were members of both parishes. The 890 zł collected among them could have been raised from a couple of individuals, or a much larger group—especially if the single contributions were no larger than 10–20 zł.

The lack of names in the register next to this contribution may suggest that those who made it perhaps feared retribution from Cromwell, who had many supporters in Gdańsk. The Eastland Company dominated by the English merchants had been especially vocal in their objections. The company petitioned their representatives in England and the Council of State to exert pressure on the Gdańsk magistrates not to levy the tithe.⁸⁶ As a result, while the complainants were urged to take an oath of loyalty to the government of the new English Commonwealth and denounce those who refused to take the oath, as well as to monitor the activities of the Royalists, some strongly worded letters were sent to Gdańsk. It is not certain what result the letters had. The official report of 1653 indicates that the attempts were unsuccessful and that the majority of merchants complied, fearing sequestration of their estates.⁸⁷ On the other hand, one would search the tithe register in vain looking for names of any merchants summoned to his Majesty's Court in Gdańsk to answer the charge of disobedience in the matter of the subsidy.⁸⁸ The tithe was also opposed, but

⁸⁵ Of the 31 Scots who appear in the tax roll, 22 have been identified among the parishioners of St Peter and St Paul (13) and St Elizabeth (9) churches, further confirming the supposition of the numerical dominance of the Reformed among Scottish migrants, see ASK I 134, fol. 35.

⁸⁶ "Petition of Edward Daniel and 11 'Eastland Company' merchants to the Council of State (28 June/8 July 1651)," CSPD 1651, vol. 15, 273–274.

⁸⁷ Pernal and Gasse, "The 1651 Polish Subsidy," 12–13.

⁸⁸ The summoned Eastland Company merchant residents of Gdańsk, of most likely English descent, included Gamaliel Acton, Samuel Travel, Edward Bilton, Francis Saunderson, Edward Daniel, Richard Wallis, Richard Whittock, William Williamson, Michael Price, John Collins, and their children. None of them appear on the roll, yet they can be identified in parish registers: *The Acts and Ordinances of the Eastland Company: Edited for the Royal Historical Society, from the Original Muniments of the Gild of Merchant Adventurers of York Book by Maud Sellers* (London: 1906), xlv.

Table 5.2. Size of Scottish contributions by palatinate and number of taxpayers by the size of their input.

Palatinate	Size of contributions in złoty (no. of taxpayers in each category)								Total no. of people	Tax paid zł/gr/dn	Average contribution
	Exempt	1–49	50–99	100–499	500–999	1000–4999	5000+	Not known			
Lesser Poland:	19	19	14	28	10	4	1	26	121	40,538 zł 12 gr 9 d	~335 zł
Greater Poland:	2	70	23	42	9	1	–	9	156	17,326 zł 6 gr 3 d	~111 zł
Mazovia and Podlachia:	4	29	8	2	1	1	–	59	104	14,430 zł 11 gr	~138 zł
Royal Prussia:	–	28	9	31	4	2	–	21	95	29,944 zł	~315 zł
TOTAL:	25	146	54	103	24	8	1	115	476	102,220 zł 29 gr 12 d	~214 zł

on very different grounds, by a group of Scots led by John Mollison. Their objection, which stated that the money was collected prior to the imposition of the subsidy by yet another of Charles' envoys, must have had far less success than that lodged by the Eastland Company merchants, as Mollison appears on the roll.⁸⁹ Apart from those who objected and did not pay, there were also members of the congregation who did not participate in it simply because they were not involved in mercantile activity. Among them there were trooper Alexander Ross, married in 1646, and *einen Schottischen Leuttenant*, Alexander Nairn, married in 1647, who as military men would be exempt from the subsidy.⁹⁰

Notwithstanding the various flaws outlined above, the data obtained from the register allows for the formation of some cautious generalisations about the financial status of the tax-paying Scottish population in Poland in about 1650. Table 5.2 shows that of the 102,220 zł 29 gr 12 d

⁸⁹ Pernal and Gasse, "The 1651 Polish Subsidy," 13.

⁹⁰ "LC 8 November 1646," "LC 27 January 1647," APGD, sig. 351/6, fol. 31; cf. "Trauw Register 1622–1722," EZAB, sig. 5289.

Table 5.3. Size of Scottish contributions by city and number of taxpayers by the size of their input.

City	Size of contributions in złoty (no. of taxpayers in each category)								Total no. of people	Tax paid zł/gr/dn	Average contribution per capita
	5000+	4999– 1000	999– 500	499– 100	99–50	49–1	Exempt	Not known			
Gdańsk	–	2	4	21	2	2	–	–	31	11,765 zł	~380 zł
Zamość	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	22	22	8,053 zł 2 gr 9 d	~366 zł
Cracow	–	2	3	5	2	2	2	–	16	7,772 zł 24 gr	~485 zł
Lublin	–	1	3	13	3	5	10	–	35	7,767 zł 20 gr	~222 zł
Poznań	–	–	4	9	3	10	–	–	26	4,926 zł 15 gr	~189 zł
Warsaw	–	–	–	–	–	1	–	40	41	5,420 zł	~132 zł
Bydgoszcz	–	–	2	1	5	1	–	–	9	1,720 zł	~191 zł

collected in the four provinces of the Crown in 1651, the largest amount of money—40,538 zł 12 gr 9 d, or 39.6 per cent of the total sum—was gathered in Lesser Poland. The figure may indicate that by the middle of the seventeenth century many Scots migrated southwards and were able to form a prosperous community there. The second largest sum was collected in Royal Prussia—29,944 zł or 29.3 per cent of the total amount—where the Scottish community, according to parochial records, was the biggest, although this for some reason was not reflected in the number of taxpayers listed on the roll. If we look at the average contributions in each of the four provinces it is clear that Lesser Poland and Royal Prussia housed communities wealthier than those living in Greater Poland, Mazovia and Podlachia. In the latter territories almost one-third of the contributors valued their assets at below 500 zł.

The register indicates municipalities housing the most numerous and prosperous groups of Scottish migrants (Table 5.3). The greatest amount of tax was collected in Gdańsk, where 35 individuals contributed 11,765 zł. The source confirms the existence of large communities in Zamość, where 22 individuals contributed 8,053 zł; Cracow where 16 people paid 7,766 zł; Lublin, where 35 delivered 6,935 zł; Warsaw, where 40 paid 5,420 zł; and Poznań, where 26 taxpayers contributed 5,290 zł. The amount of 9,000 zł

was collected in Krosno; however, only one individual, the eminent Robert Porteous, paid the tithe there. Sizeable Scottish colonies existed also in Nowe, Puck, Tuchola, all in Royal Prussia; in Człopa, Wałcz, Łobżenica, Bydgoszcz, Brzeziny and Sieradz in Greater Poland; in Warka, Zakroczym, Raciąż and Sierpc in Mazovia; and Tarnów in Lesser Poland. The prosperity of Scots in each of these centres can be measured to some extent by averaging the input of each of the individuals. Although the good financial situation of Gdańsk's Scots is indisputable (on average, they estimated their assets at 3,800 zł), it is the wealth of the Scots of Cracow that is most impressive. The taxpayers there estimated the value of their possessions at 4,850 zł per head. A selection of nine gravestones belonging to Cracow's merchants further attests to the affluence of the members of that particular community.⁹¹ Noteworthy is also the position of Scots of Zamość. The median value of their property could be estimated at 3,660 zł.

The data also reveal that Lwów played an important role as a trading place and that Scots sojourned there rather than stayed permanently. All Scots who were taxed there came from other localities, such as Lublin, Jarosław, Tarnów, Warsaw, Węgrów, Pińczów and Brody.

Looking at individual fortunes it is clear that approximately 7 per cent of all potential contributors were exempt from paying tax (Table 5.4). The grounds for exemptions varied. Living in poverty was the justification of Daniel Stróżewski [*sic*] of Wyszogród.⁹² Adverse balance was an excuse used by Laurence Guthrie (Lorens Gultrie) of Pińczów and Alexander Russel of Szydłowiec.⁹³ John Scrimgeour (Ian Scryngier) of Iłża and John Russel (Ian Rusel) of Radom were exempted from the levy after

⁹¹ The stones were originally located in Wielkanoc, but are now scattered in three different locations. Seven of the monuments are on display in the *Lapitarium* at the Calvinist cemetery in Żychlin near Konin. They include the gravestones of John (Yan) Taylor (d. 1716); Elisabeth Taylor née Forbes (2 Voto Lehnmann) (d. 1723); Catherine Paterson née Kin (d. 1637); George (Georg) Ross; Alexander Symmers (Sommer); Susanna (Zuzanna) de Chambers née Symmers (Sommer); Susanna (Zuzanna) Forbes née Von [...]. The gravestone of William (Wilhelm) Ross can be found in Sielec and the monument of Anna Forbes née Carmichael (Karmichell) (d. 1702) is at the St Martin Lutheran church in Cracow. Cf. W. Kriegseisen, "Dokumentacja historyczna zespołu zabytkowego zboru i cmentarza ewangelicko-reformowanego (kalwińskiego) w Sielcu, gm. Staszów, woj. tarnobrzeskie [Warszawa, 1988]," unpublished manuscript, Biblioteka Synodu Kościoła Ewangelicko-Reformowanego in Warsaw (hereafter BSKER), sig. R-20; idem, "Sprawozdanie z prac inwentaryzacyjnych i poszukiwawczych na dawnym cmentarzu ewangelicko reformowanym (kalwińskim) w Sielcu, gm. Staszów, w latach 1986 i 1987 [Warszawa, 1988]," unpublished manuscript, BSKER, sig. R-42.

⁹² ASK I, MS 134, fols 26, 33v.

⁹³ Ibid., fol. 6v.

Table 5.4. Number of Scottish and English contributions to the 1651 Subsidy by the amount of tax paid.

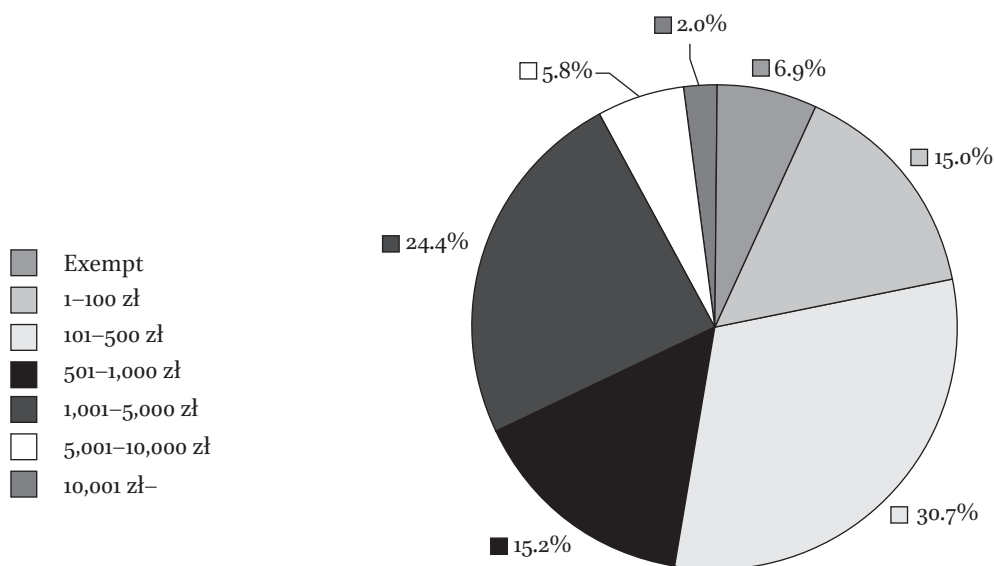
<i>Amount of tax paid in zł</i>	<i>Number of taxpayers</i>
Above 5,000	1 (0.3 per cent)
1,000–4,999	8 (2.2 per cent)
500–999	24 (6.6 per cent)
100–499	103 (28.5 per cent)
50–99	54 (14.9 per cent)
Below 49	146 (40.6 per cent)
Exempt from paying tax	25 (6.9 per cent)
TOTAL:	361
Amount unknown	115
TOTAL:	476

claiming that they did not have any assets.⁹⁴ Other documents from the period show that exemptions were also sought, with various results, on the grounds that some Scots had begun to regard themselves as Poles of Scottish ancestry rather than Scots. Alexander Dickson of Cracow voiced his objection to the tithe by declaring in Polish: “I was born here; I have lived in Cracow for 57 years and continue to live here; and as to this tax, I am ready to swear that I took no inheritance whatsoever after my parents, and ought not to pay this tithe...” His protestation, referred later to the Royal Court, brought no positive result. The prosecutor “produced Letters Universal of His Royal Majesty, whereby he showed that the heirs of Scots were likewise bound to pay the same tithe” and thus rejected the plaintiff’s arguments.⁹⁵ Dickson was forced to pay 840 zł. Surprisingly, another very similar appeal was more successful.⁹⁶ After stating that she was born in Cracow and did not inherit anything after the death of her husband, Ursula Elmslie née Orem (Urszula Elmsle’owa) was exempted

⁹⁴ Ibid., fols 6, 6v.

⁹⁵ “Admonition of the Scots (28 February 1651),” in PRSP, 83.

⁹⁶ ASK I, MS 134, fol. 3.



Note

The chart represents the financial strata as based on data obtained from the 1651 Tax Roll. Although the roll shows the amount of the tax paid, it has been decided to show instead the estimated value of the properties held by Scots and Englishmen in the Commonwealth. The chart is based on information obtained for 350 taxpayers whose names and contributions were included on the roll. In a couple of instances, where a certain amount of tax was levied on two, three or a maximum of four individuals, the value of their property has been estimated based on an average.

Fig. 5.2. Financial status of the Scottish and English population according to the 1651 Tax Roll by the value of their assets (relative numbers).

from paying the tithe.⁹⁷ On the other hand, the tithe was sometimes paid not only by immediate descendants but also those of the third or fourth generation and even by descendants from the maternal side. Such was the case of Albert Tochiński *per lineam maternam descendens in 4 gradu* (Latin: descendant of the fourth degree on the maternal side).⁹⁸

Knowing that each contribution was 10 per cent of a total value of an individual's property, it is easy to estimate the value of the assets held by Scots and Englishmen in the Crown. This gives an even clearer picture of the financial situation of the community (Table 5.4 and Fig. 5.2). The roll shows that the value of property of about 45.7 per cent of Scots

⁹⁷ Stuart missread Ursula Elmslie's surname and transcribed it as Grużek and Grule. Biegańska who sighted the source, APKr 521, fols 2566–2567, corrected this mistake in her work, see Biegańska, "Wielka emigracja Szkotów," 190; cf. "Admonition of the Scots," 82.

⁹⁸ ASK I, MS 134, fol. 36v.

recorded in the roll did not exceed 500 zł. What's more, one-third of all traders belonging to this group evaluated their assets at less than 100 zł. This group of petty merchants, together with those who were declared paupers or unable to pay the tax, made up over 52 per cent of all Scots recorded in the register. Merchants whose property was valued at 501–1000 zł, made up 15.2 per cent of all contributors. A larger group consisted of wealthy merchants whose fortunes were valued at 1001 to 5000 zł. Such merchants made up nearly a quarter (24.4 per cent) of those taxed. The number of very rich merchants was also high. Some 21 Scots (5.8 per cent) valued their properties at between 5001 and 10,000 zł, and properties of a further seven (2 per cent) exceeded 10,000 zł. The seven most prosperous entrepreneurs included: Robert Porteous of Krosno (valued at 90,000 zł),⁹⁹ Alexander Barclay of Lublin (26,000 zł),¹⁰⁰ Thomas Gellatly (Thoma Gelentin) (24,000 zł) and William Robertson (10,200 zł) of Gdańsk;¹⁰¹ Robert Blackhall (20,380 zł) and James Carmichael (18,000 zł), both of Cracow,¹⁰² and Robert Gordon of Zamość (10,007 zł).¹⁰³ The magnitude of their wealth can be fully appreciated when compared with contemporary prices. A horse in the middle of the seventeenth century was worth about 30 zł and 1 zł could purchase one *korzec* (about 120–125 kg) of wheat.¹⁰⁴

The aforementioned fortunes were often built within one generation and, it seems, from the very beginning. This growth in importance and affluence will be illustrated by examining the careers of Robert Blackhall, Robert Porteous, Robert Forbes and Alexander Chalmer, the Scottish-born men who most successfully adapted to the new environment.

Robert Blackhall, born in 1586, travelled to Poland from Aberdeen and settled in Cracow where he became a citizen in 1622.¹⁰⁵ Not much is known about his early years, although he must have been involved in commerce from a young age. In 1649 and 1650 Blackhall traded with Leipzig. In 1649, with other prominent Cracovian Scots Alexander Dickson (Dixon) and George Elmslie, and James Chalmer (Jakub Czamer) and Robert

⁹⁹ ASK I, MS 134, fol. 20.

¹⁰⁰ Ibid., fol. 24.

¹⁰¹ Ibid., fol. 35.

¹⁰² Ibid., fol. 3.

¹⁰³ Ibid., fol. 21.

¹⁰⁴ Biegańska, "Wielka emigracja Szkotów," 195.

¹⁰⁵ Robert Blackhall was recorded in sources as Albricht, Albert, Robert, Rubert, Woyciech. His surname was spelled as Bielak, Blak, Blakal, Blakał, Blakhal, and Blakhall, see Bieniarzówna and Małecki, *Dzieje Krakowa*, vol. II, 204; Kowalski, "From Aberdeen to Poland," Table 1, no. 55; W. Węgierski, *Kronika Zboru Ewangelickiego Krakowskiego*, Kraków, 1651 (reprinted 1817), 106, 121, 129–130; cf. SPLC, no. III.



Fig. 5.3. Portrait of Robert Porteous, The Chapel of St Peter and St Paul, Holy Trinity Roman Catholic church, Krosno (photo by J. Gancarski).

(Wojciech) Farquhar of Poznań, he was involved in importing merchandise into Cracow: fustian, cotton yarn, silk, tapestry, knives and other goods. In 1653 Blackhall imported from Leipzig knives, candlesticks, pistols, mirrors, combs, glasses, brushes, strings, playing cards, scissors, and powder-horns.¹⁰⁶ His activities made him one of the most affluent Scottish merchants of the first half of the seventeenth century. In 1651, his estate was valued at 6795 imperial thalers, 1 zł 24 gr.¹⁰⁷ Blackhall was married to Eva Burnet, a Polish-born Scotswoman, with whom he had thirteen children. He was an active member of the Cracow Assembly. On his death in 1656 he was buried at the Protestant cemetery in Cracow.¹⁰⁸

Robert Gilbert Porteous (Wojciech Portus, Portuss, Portius, Porcysz, Porcjus, Porteus de Lanxeth) (c. 1601–1661), was another influential merchant of Scottish descent (Fig. 5.3).¹⁰⁹ Not much is known about his background, apart from the fact that his family originated from Langside (Lanxeth) near Dalkeith, Midlothian. Porteous arrived in Krosno as a youngster. From 1620 he was apprenticed to a local citizen and merchant of Scottish origin, John Lauriston (Johann Laurenstein or Laurensztyn) (d. 1623).¹¹⁰ Porteous made his name by becoming a wine merchant. He employed a large number of agents and factors, some of whom were Scots. Among them there were George Hay of Erroll (Arral), who was his book-keeper; John Cunningham (Kinengen); Bartholomew Innes (Bartłomiej Ginnes); John Low (Jan Lau) and Thomas Gellatly (Gielenty), who was his factor in Gdańsk in 1658. In 1632 Porteous became one of the privileged royal merchants, which helped him to develop his business further. Porteous was regarded as a monopolist and the chief importer of Hungarian wines north of the Carpathian Mountains in the middle of the seventeenth century. The venture helped him to amass a great fortune

¹⁰⁶ Wijaczka, *Handel zagraniczny Krakowa*, 15, 24, 26, 109, 138–140 Table I.

¹⁰⁷ ASK I, MS 134, fol. 3; PRSP, 81; cf. Pernal and Gasse, "The 1651 Polish Subsidy," no. 20.

¹⁰⁸ "LM 20 September 1656," KW AParEA Kraków, fol. 149; cf. His burial was noted in Węgierski's chronicle: "In [...] 1656, on September 20th, we buried [...], in the seventieth year of his age, this old man, a pious merchant and a citizen of Cracow. [...] A beautiful attendance followed the dead man's body, people of the Reformed and Roman faiths singing even unto the grave itself, where there was a ceremony and where the usual funeral service was celebrated", see Węgierski, *Kronika*, 129–30.

¹⁰⁹ The most comprehensive article about Porteous is: A. Kosiek, "Robert Wojciech Portius—krośnieński mieszczanin, kupiec, fundator," in P. Łopatkiewicz, ed., *Kościół farny w Krośnie—pomnik kultury artystycznej miasta: Materiały z sesji naukowej Krosno* (Krosno: 1997), 193–219; cf. Biegańska, "Wielka emigracja Szkotów," 111, 155–158.

¹¹⁰ F. Leśniak, *Krosno w czasach Odrodzenia. Studia nad społeczeństwem miasta* (Kraków: 1992), 123.

worth then about £11,700. He became perhaps the wealthiest Scot in seventeenth-century Poland.¹¹¹

His contribution to the subsidy for King Charles II amounted to 9000 zł, more than Charles' envoys were able to collect from all Scots of Cracow or Lublin.¹¹² Porteous was also one of the most notable Scottish converts to Roman Catholicism, who wholeheartedly embraced the new creed and generously contributed to the local parish. He was one of the instigators and financial supporters of renovations of the Holy Trinity church, damaged by the fire of 1638 (figs 5.4, 5.5). Porteous built two chapels as extensions to the church and financed a new copper roof. His contribution also paid for three church bells, baptismal font, paintings, as well as new vestments. In his will he divided his property between charity and his heirs, thus securing money for the repair of the city wall, rebuilding of the bridge outside the Krakowska gate, and paving repairs. Porteous also made a large donation to the bishops of Cracow and Przemyśl, and a substantial bequest to King Jan Kazimierz. Porteous died in Krosno on 15 January 1661 and was buried in the church that he supported throughout his life.¹¹³ His remains were placed in the Chapel of St Peter and St Paul, otherwise known as *Kaplica Porcjuszów* (Porteous's Chapel).¹¹⁴

¹¹¹ W. Borowy, "Skąd w Krośnie ulica Portiusa?" *Ziemia* 15 (1936): 238–240; Biegańska, "Wielka emigracja Szkotów," 111, 155–158; S. Cynarski, "Krosno w XVII i XVIII wieku," in J. Garbacik, ed., *Krosno: studia z dziejów miasta i regionu. Vol. 1 (Do roku 1918)* (Kraków: 1972), 209–212; Kosiek, "Robert Wojciech Portius," 193–219; Kowalski, "The placement of urbanised Scots," 73; Leśniak, *Krosno w czasach Odrodzenia*, 123–124; SEWP, 102, 103; SIP, xxxix; SPLC, no. 1004; Tomkowicz, "Przyczynek do historii Szkotów," 154.

¹¹² ASK I, MS 134, fol. 20; cf. Pernal and Gasse, "The 1651 Polish Subsidy," no. 190.

¹¹³ Borowy, "Skąd w Krośnie ulica Portiusa," 238–240; Biegańska, "Wielka emigracja Szkotów," 155–158; Cynarski, "Krosno w XVII i XVIII wieku," 209–212; Kowalski, "The placement of urbanised Scots," 73; Leśniak, *Krosno w czasach Odrodzenia*, 123–124; T. Łopatkiewicz, "Kościół farny w Krośnie najstarsza nekropolia miasta," in *Kościół Farny w Krośnie—pomnik kultury artystycznej miasta. Materiały z sesji naukowej* (Krosno: 1996), 141–161; Tomkowicz, "Przyczynek do historii Szkotów," 154. Large sections of Porteous's testament were transcribed by Sarna, and subsequently translated into English by Fischer. Cf. W. Sarna, *Opis powiatu krośnieńskiego pod względem geograficzno-historycznym* (Przemyśl: 1898), 494–505; SEWP, 101–108.

¹¹⁴ Patrick Gordon, who visited Krosno just before Porteous's burial, paid homage to the merchant's life. His interesting account may be indicative of how Porteous was viewed by his contemporaries: "... a very rich man and great benefactor to the poor there and the contry thereabout. He did many works of charity and magnificence to the monasteries and churches, and left great legacies to the King, Queen, spirituall person[s] and p[ri]ncip[al] nobility, as also the churches, monasteries and poore. And yet three persons whom he left his aires had great estates left them, so that it is incredible what vast estate he had. He had his only or greatest trade in wyne, and was accounted upright in dealing and magnificent in living", see Gordon, "Diary 1659–1667," fol. 98.

Of the same generation was Alexander Chalmer (Aleksander Czamer, Ciamer, Ciammer, Ciemar and Cxiamer), born in 1645 in Standing Stones, Dyce parish, Aberdeenshire, who arrived in Poland in 1659. Like other Scots, he left his homeland at a young age—he was fourteen. Chalmer settled in Warsaw where he married a local maiden, Krystyna Łęgówna. They jointly operated a textiles business and both were conferred with the grant of *servitoratus*. From 1679 Chalmer was an active member of the municipal council. He was elected assessor (1683–87) and several times was re-elected as a city councillor (1688–90, 1692–94, 1697–1701). On four occasions he was elevated to the office of lord mayor (1691–92, 1694–96, 1702–03). In 1692 and 1701 he filled the role of *Advocatus Iudici* (judge of the Advocate Court). He was also nominated a provisor of the Hospital of the Holy Spirit (1695–99) and city deputy for the coronation of August II in 1697.¹¹⁵

Another prominent citizen of Scottish heritage, merchant and a banker of Cracow, was Robert Forbes, son of William of Tarnów and Ursula Dickson (Orszula Dixon). Forbes acquired a citizen right in 1679 and in 1692 he was nominated a king's secretary. The nomination letter patent issued by the Royal Chancellery described Forbes' ability to import fine-quality foreign goods and supply provisions for the royal artillery.¹¹⁶ Forbes was also involved in banking. From his head office in Cracow he conducted business in all the bigger cities of the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth and all major fairs. Through commission agents, Forbes acquired goods from other merchants using receipts signed with his name. Jewish merchants of Cracow often used his network. Among other transactions, Forbes lent substantial amounts of money to the Jewish assembly of elders in Cracow, while he borrowed from the nobility and the clergy. His company collapsed when his debt reached the sum of 133,621 zł. The 478-page report of a special commission set up in 1699 by King August II to investigate the workings of the company shows that among his debtors were 187 Jews. Like many other well-off Scots, Forbes conducted philanthropic activities, financially supporting Wielkanoc-Lucianowice chapels.¹¹⁷

¹¹⁵ Biegańska, "Scottish merchants and traders," 24–25; PRSP, 1, 327, 329, 335.

¹¹⁶ "... in conquendis elegantioribus apud remotas gentes mercibus et in subministranda pro artilleria Regni ammunitione . . .", see APKr. Rel. Castr. Crac. 120, fol. 469.

¹¹⁷ "COMM 1668–1703," KT AParEA Kraków, passim; "LM Wiatowice 26th of January, 1711," BUW 608, fol. 84v; APKr. Rel. Castr. Crac. 120, fol. 469; "Gravestone of Anna Forbes," sandstone, St Martin Lutheran church, Cracow; Bieniarzówna and Małecki, *Dzieje Krakowa*, 438–439; Biegańska, "Wielka emigracja Szkotów," table X; cf. SPLC, no. 428.



Fig. 5.4. The exterior and the interior (p. 207) of the Chapel of St Peter and St Paul, otherwise known as Porteous's Chapel Holy Trinity Roman Catholic church, Krosno (photo by K. Mercik).





Fig. 5.5. Stalls belonging to Robert Porteous Holy Trinity Roman Catholic church, Krosno (photo by K. Mercik).

Yet the level of integration should not be measured on the affluence alone. The example of the Scottish community in Lublin shows that less wealthy merchants also adapted well to the new environment. This can be seen in the careers of John Auchinleck and Thomas Argyll. John Auchinleck (Auenlekt, Autenlect, Autenlekt, Authenlect, Autinlect), who migrated to the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth from Dundee, was a wealthy merchant. In 1651 his assets were valued at 3600 zł. Auchinleck was admitted to citizenship of Lublin in 1648, and became a royal postmaster.¹¹⁸ He also held a number of other important posts and offices in the city council: from 1661 until his death in 1666 he was a councillor (*rajca*), and twice in 1661 and 1664 a burgomaster (*burmistrz*).¹¹⁹ His brother Andrew Auchinleck (Auchinleck, Auchleck) was admitted to citizenship in 1663. He was one of the eight Scots nominated by King Jan III Sobieski as purveyors to the court.¹²⁰

A medium-level merchant, Thomas Argyll (Argiel), whose property in 1651 was valued at 500 zł, became the city secretary and record-keeper 1676–95. Argyll was also an elder of the Scottish Brotherhood of Lublin in 1680.¹²¹ Auchinleck and Argyll were dissenters, yet this did not hinder their chances of reaching the highest posts, even during the times of Counter-Reformation. Apart from the patricians, there were also several well-off commoners, *negotiatores* and *mercatores* families such as Robertson, Paterson, Chalmer and Brandy. As merchants and citizens of Lublin they were involved in trading not only in the local area but also beyond the Commonwealth's borders.¹²²

¹¹⁸ "Rada miejska m. Lublina wydaje świadectwo obywatelstwa miejskiego lubelskiego Szkotowi Janowi Autenlectowi. Rok 1648," APLub, Akta miasta Lublina 1465–1810, sygn. 243, fols 60v–61v.

¹¹⁹ J. Sadownik, *Szkoci w Lublinie XVII wieku* (Leszno: 1937), 4–5, 69; idem, *Przyjęcie do prawa miejskiego*, 38, 69; A. Krawczyk, "The British in Poland in the Seventeenth Century," *The Seventeenth Century* XVII, no. 2 (2002): 258; Pernal and Gasse, "The 1651 Polish Subsidy," 58; Biegańska, "Wielka emigracja Szkotów," tables VI, VII (Rajcy), VIII (Burmistrzowie), SPLC, no. 315.

¹²⁰ Sadownik, *Szkoci w Lublinie*, 5; SIG, 257; "Copy of the Approbation by King John the Third at Cracow on 20th February 1676, of the confirmations of the privileges and rights belonging to the Eight Scots Merchants attached to the Court (20 April, 1676)," in PRSP, 12–19; SPLC, no. 51.

¹²¹ Guldon and Stępkowski, "Szkoci i Anglicy w Koronie," 58; Krawczyk, "The British in Poland," 258; Pernal and Gasse, "The 1651 Polish Subsidy," no. 231; Biegańska, "Wielka emigracja," Tabl. VI (Ława), XII (Aparat pomocniczy); Sadownik, *Szkoci w Lublinie*, 5; SPLC, no. 45.

¹²² Sadownik, *Szkoci w Lublinie*, 4–5.

The Organisation of the Scots in Poland-Lithuania

Some of the wealthier Scots clearly responded positively to their new situation and integrated well into the local society. Some of them, like Porteous and Chalmer, married local women and successfully conducted business with Poles, Jews, Hungarians and the like, while maintaining their own identity. However, their experiences were not universal. Some Scots, especially those who were active in Poland-Lithuania in the last decades of the sixteenth century, responded to challenges in a much different manner.

According to the report of Captain Abraham Young (1603), many Scots banded together for mutual protection in trade union-like organisations—"private guilds and societies"—brotherhoods, which existed in more than twelve cities of the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth.¹²³ Based on information from other sources, it is possible to assume that such organisations existed in the following places: Gdańsk—as early as the first decades of the seventeenth century, Scots had established their own poor box and also had designated places in both the municipal smallpox hospital and the *Hinterspital*;¹²⁴ Elbląg—which was the site of meetings of the Scottish 'Main Diet' before 1639 and where as late as 1692 the Scots referred to themselves as *Bruderschaft Schottischer Nation* (German: the brotherhood of the Scottish nation);¹²⁵ Lublin—the brotherhood that had existed there since at least 1602 remained active for nearly a century;¹²⁶ Cracow—Scots as a 'nation' participated in a multiethnic congregation there as early as the 1610s; Poznań—where 20 Scots residing there were summoned in 1604 to the Royal Court for wilfully creating their own, illegitimate organisation, setting up their own laws and statutes, conducting secret gatherings, holding courts and discriminating against their Catholic countrymen;¹²⁷ Königsberg—the 'nation' organised a poor relief fund there in the early

¹²³ "Records of the Court of Investigation in Cracow (1603)," in PRSP, 76; Tomkowicz, "Przyczynek do historii Szkotów," 163.

¹²⁴ SIG, 189; SEWP, 95–100; K. H. Ruffmann, "Engländer und Schotten in den Seestädten Ost- und Westpreussen," *Zeitschrift für Ostforschung* 7 (1958): 34.

¹²⁵ Kowalski, "The placement of urbanised Scots," 80; H. Kownatzki, *Elbing als ehemaliger englischer Handelsplatz: (Elbing) as an former English trading centre* (Elbing: [1930]), 28–30. Cf. D. Catterall, "At home abroad: Ethnicity and enclave in the world of Scots traders in Northern Europe, c. 1600–1800," *Journal of Early Modern History*, no. 8 (2004): 345–346.

¹²⁶ APLub, *Consularia* 107, fol. 197 cited in Krawczyk, "Szkoci w Lublinie," 2; cf. Sadownik, *Szkoci w Lublinie*, 1–5.

¹²⁷ "Księgi grodzkie Poznańskie," APPozn, sig. 1225, fols 1–2, quoted in J. Dworzaczekowa, *Bracia czeszy w Wielkopolsce w XVI i XVII wieku* (Warszawa: 1997), 59.

seventeenth century;¹²⁸ Kiejdany—prior to 1640 local Scots organised separate communion services just for the ‘nation’, which were conducted in their own language, and where some described themselves as being *z naciej szkotskiej* (of the Scottish nation).¹²⁹

As Young’s witnesses stated, Scots formed their own ‘laws’ and statutes that regulated the workings of brotherhoods. Each Scot coming to Poland-Lithuania was obliged to become a member of a Scottish Brotherhood. New members were to swear an allegiance and their names were entered in a register. An elective committee made up of elders governed each brotherhood. Such committees played a multiple role: representational, legislative, judicial as well as spiritual. They were to protect the brotherhood and its privileges, receive new members, compose regulations and collect taxes. Elders had power to “settle [...] quarrels according to [brotherhood] written laws, judging their cases by means of a decree”, and punish the guilty by fines or imprisonment. Money collected in fines was often lent at interest to other Scots.

Monies collected that way, plus the taxes levied by elders, were used for the building and maintaining of churches, financing of schools, assisting the poor, and if needed, legal defence. Brotherhood elders could also pronounce other forms of punishment: shunning (nobody from the community was allowed to speak to, eat or drink with the guilty party), or even banishment. One of Young’s witnesses, Richard Thomson (Tamson), a citizen and merchant from Poznań, stated also that the elders held their tribunals during fairs and did not appeal to the tribunals “of His Majesty the King”, instead choosing to present their grievances in general court of appeal—the ‘Scottish Diet’, which met once a year at the feast of Epiphany in Toruń.¹³⁰ Two such diets are known to have taken place, one in Toruń around 1603¹³¹ and one between 1640 and 1643.¹³² A Scottish diet apparently met also in Elbląg before 1639.¹³³

¹²⁸ SIG, 188, 190–192; SEWP, 140–142, 218–219.

¹²⁹ “Collecta Zboru Kiejdańskiego: To jest rachunek wszystkich recept i expens zborowych zaczęty roku 1628 dnia 20 novembra,” unpublished print (Wilno: 1939), LMAB, RS F9–3040, 58, 103.

¹³⁰ “Records of the Court of Investigation in Cracow (1603),” in PRSP, 76–77; Tomkowicz, “Przyczynek do historii Szkotów,” 163; cf. Sadownik, *Szkoci w Lublinie*, 2–3.

¹³¹ Ibid.

¹³² P. Mundy, *The travels of Peter Mundy, in Europe and Asia, 1608–1667*, 5 vols ed. Lt. Col. Sir Richard Carnac Temple (Cambridge: 1907–1936), vol. IV, 100–101.

¹³³ “Oration of Adam Grodziecki (1639),” quoted in W. Guldón and Z. Guldón, “Saga szkockiego rodu Russellów w Szydłowcu w pierwszej połowie XVII wieku,” in J. Wijaczka, ed., *Szydłowiec. Z dziejów miasta: materiały sesji popularnonaukowej 20 lutego 1999 roku* (Szydłowiec: 1999), 36.

The lack of suitable documentary evidence such as rolls of members or proceedings of the 'Scottish Diet' prevent one from establishing how many migrants the brotherhoods represented and to what extent the self-imposed laws were observed. Numerous lawsuits between Scots recorded in Polish courts imply that in practice the authority of the brotherhoods' judicial system was weak, at least after the first decade of the seventeenth century.¹³⁴ Likewise, it seems doubtful that all poorer Scots, including peddlers, joined the brotherhoods. Although in theory the brotherhoods were set up to represent the interests of settled and of itinerant Scots, their rules indicate that control over the brotherhoods was firmly in the hands of settled, wealthy merchants. It appears that the Scottish oligarchy had an aspiration to subordinate and rule over their less successful and less settled peers, even over those who were not necessarily members of the brotherhood.¹³⁵ This assertion is supported by the official complaints to James VI (I) and to the Polish Court against their compatriots, unskilled paupers, launched by the Scots of Gdańsk.¹³⁶

The conflict within the Scottish expatriate community suggests the growing importance of the social status in ethnic identification and the role that the brotherhoods assumed in determining the boundaries of the group. These tensions between opposing parties may have triggered Young's investigation. Confessional divisions were responsible for the exclusion of another group of immigrants, the Roman Catholics. Unlike in other parts of Europe, where the brotherhoods promoted non-denominational codes of behaviour and provided poor relief on the basis of ethnicity alone,¹³⁷ Scots in Poland-Lithuania belonging to that creed were discriminated against by elders and remained outside the brotherhoods.¹³⁸ The exemptions suggest that for various reasons some Scots remained outside the brotherhood structures and that the Scottish communities were not as cohesive as Young's report may indicate.

¹³⁴ Kowalski, "The placement of urbanised Scots," 331; Tomkowicz, "Przyczynek do historii Szkotów," 165; cf. Bidwell-Holdys, "Kupcy w Tarnowie," 228–229. A number of examples of Scots suing each other is given in Guldon, "Szkoci w miastach".

¹³⁵ Mączak, "Od połowy XV wieku," 330.

¹³⁶ "Scottish Subjects at Danzig [Danzig] to King James VI (30 August 1624)," quoted in J. Maidment, ed., *Letters and State Papers during the Reign of King James the Sixth. Chiefly from the Manuscript Collections of Sir James Balfour of Denmyln* (Edinburgh: 1838), 367.

¹³⁷ According to Catterall such was the practice of the Scots Church of Rotterdam, see Douglas Catterall, "At home abroad," 319.

¹³⁸ "Records of the Court of Investigation in Cracow (1603)," in PRSP, 77; Tomkowicz, "Przyczynek do historii Szkotów," 164.

This interpretation of the document is further supported by the stiff opposition to Young from his own compatriots: Scottish purveyors to the court and elders of brotherhoods.¹³⁹ A report about activities of the Scottish Brotherhood in Lublin presented to the local town council by *honesti*: Robert Boyd (Robertus Boith), Thomas Forster and James Davidson (Jacobus Devison), demonstrates not only resentment of the powers and the jurisdiction held by Young, but also hostility towards Scots who assisted him in his investigation. Angered by Thomas Duncanson's (Tomasz Dunkeson) testimony—in which he revealed methods employed by members of the brotherhood to avoid taxation and local customs—the elders decided to expel him from their midst. Under the penalty of 20 gr, the elders barred brotherhood members from having any business or social contacts with Duncanson. A denunciation of Duncanson also went out to countrymen in other parts of the Commonwealth.¹⁴⁰

The conflict between Young on one side and the purveyors and the brotherhoods on the other, the genesis of which remains open for discussion, could have been started by the way the appointment was imposed by the state, or because Young's prerogatives seemed to take precedence over those granted to the Scottish court purveyors. The grievances of the elders were possibly related to fears of diminished authority that such an appointment might represent. Yet there remains another reason, related to confessional divisions of the community. Young, like his brother Adrian, was most probably a Roman Catholic, while the majority of Scots, including the privileged ones, were Protestants.¹⁴¹ Whatever the reasons, Young's

¹³⁹ APKr 456, fol. 420 cited in Tomkowicz, "Przyczynek do historii Szkotów," 165; AP Lublin 157, fols 85–86; cf. Biegańska, "Wielka emigracja Szkotów," 138–139.

¹⁴⁰ APLub, *Consularia* 107, fol. 197, cited in Krawczyk, "Szkoci w Lublinie," 2.

¹⁴¹ Adrian George Young (Junga, Jung, Jungius) (c. 1551–1607), Jesuit writer and preacher of the Counter-Reformation. Born in Płońsk in Mazovia, Young was a younger son of Daniel, a religious and a political refugee who migrated to Poland in the first half of the sixteenth century, and his second wife Judyta von Wasselrode of Gdańsk. Young was ordained in 1573 in Braniewo. His first appointment was at the court of Bishop Myszkowski. He lectured in rhetoric in Wilno in 1575–78 and in Poznań in 1578–82. In 1585 he became Master of Arts at the Wilno University. He lectured in physics and mathematics in Wilno in 1585–86 and in Poznań in 1586. Young was also a talented polemicist and left many valuable writings: *Artes et imposturae* (Pz 1589), *Libelli pseudoevangelici* (Pz 1593), *Rozwiązanie pięćdziesiąt i dwu quæstij ministrów Nowo Ewangelickich* (Pz 1593), *Synopsis Novi Evangelii* (Pz 1595), *Messiarz* (Pz 1597), *Eucharystia* (Pz 1602). He also translated into Polish *Roman Catechism* (Pz 1603): A. Biegańska, "In search of tolerance: Scottish Catholics and Presbyterians in Poland," *Scottish Slavonic Review* 17 (1991): 49; idem, "The learned Scots in Poland," *Canadian Slavonic Papers* 43, no. 1 (2001): 18; K. Estreicher, ed., *Bibliografia polska XIX stulecia*: Cz. 3, *Stolecie XV–XVIII w układzie abecadłowym*, 34 vols. (Kraków: 1872–1951), vols XVIII/1901, 664–666; XXVI/1915, 315; XXVII/1929, 246; R. Darowski, *Filozofia w szkołach*

appointment and privileges were prematurely terminated in 1607.¹⁴² The decisive voice on the matter must have belonged to the Polish nobility, who opposed the appointment, but on different grounds—they were hostile to the idea that a foreigner should wield so much power.¹⁴³ The issue was raised by the Zebrzydowski Rebellion (1606–08), an armed rebellion by some of the nobility against Zygmunt III Vasa, caused by the growing dissatisfaction with the King's efforts to strengthen the monarchy by limiting the power of the nobles.¹⁴⁴

The results of the inquiry itself nevertheless weakened Scottish autonomy. The names of members of the brotherhoods, or at least the most important executives, were now officially recorded, so it was easier to tax them. They were now to obey directives of the royal deputy (*namiestnik królewski*), and they could be called to arms in the Crown Army. Biegańska argues that the brotherhood system was abolished outright.¹⁴⁵

jezuickich w Polsce w XVI wieku (Kraków: 1994), 253–263; “Junga (Jung, Jungius), Adrian Jerzy,” in Grzebień, *Encyklopedia wiedzy o jezuitach*, 255; B. Natoński, “Junga, Adrian,” in PSB, vol. XI, 325–326; L. Piechnik, *Początki Akademii Wileńskiej 1570–1599* (Rome: 1984), 49, 90, 91, 110–111; T. Żychliński, ed., *Złota księga szlachty polskiej*, 31 vols (Poznań: 1879–1908), vol. XVIII, 82–83; SPLC, no. 1756.

¹⁴² VL II, 438, no. 26: “Przywilej przez Iunge Szkota otrzymany, kassuiemy, iż żadney wagi mieć nie ma, deklaruiemy. A takowych na potom wydawać, *sub nullitate privilegiorum*, z Kancellaryey naszey nie każemy.” (transl: We declare an annulment of the privilege bestowed on Young, so it is of no value from now on. Moreover, we forbid the Chancellery to dispense similar privileges in the future).

¹⁴³ Żychliński, *Złota księga szlachty polskiej*, vol. XVIII, 83; W. Dworzaczek, ed., *Akta sejmikowe woj. poznańskiego i kaliskiego* (Poznań: 1957), vol. I, part 1, no. 91. par 25 (p. 279, “Jungów przywilej *ad male narrata* otrzymany aby był kasowan”); cf. Biegańska, “Wielka emigracja Szkotów,” 139.

¹⁴⁴ “Jurysdykcya nad wszystkimi Szoty tego królestwa Jundze, jakimuś Szotowi, dana, potrzeba, aby zniesiona była, aby inszych dawnych i zwyczajnych urzędów jurysdykcya nie była umniejszona.” (transl: The jurisdiction over all Scots in this kingdom, given to Young, a certain Scot, should be taken away, so as to protect the jurisdiction of the long-established, conventional offices.), see “Votum Jmci Pana Zamoyskiego, hetmana i kanclerza koronnego, na sejmie warszawskim, już ostatnim za jego żywota, w r. 1605 [mowa autentyczna],” quoted in J. Czubek, ed., *Pisma polityczne z czasów rokoszu Zebrzydowskiego: 1606–1608. T. 2, Proza* (Kraków: 1918), 88; cf. “Examen nonnullorum articulorum in pseudoconventu ad Sandomiriam congregato tumultualiter promulgatorum,” quoted in *Ibid.*, 76. I extend my gratitude to Dr Agnieszka Chmielewska who offered valuable assistance in locating the records.

¹⁴⁵ Biegańska cites a quote in Latin from an undescribed and undated document from the National Archive in Lublin (AP Lub 157, fol. 85): “... societatis conventila seu contubernia omnia privatarum congregationum statutis Regni sublatas esse... societate quodam clandestina et privata coniunctis ac conspiratione seorsina coadinatis”. Biegańska does not explain absence of an equivalent decree in the *Volumina Legum* or other state papers, which would apply to the other provinces of the Commonwealth, see Biegańska, “Wielka emigracja Szkotów,” 139, fn 268.

Local branches, however, such as the one in Lublin, seemed to survive for another hundred years before being totally absorbed into the local diaconate. The conflict between Young on one side and the Scottish purveyors and brotherhood elders on the other, marks an important event that prevented the Scots of Poland-Lithuania obtaining such far-reaching state-approved governing authority as that enjoyed by the Jewish Council of the Four Lands.¹⁴⁶

The situation of Scottish brotherhoods in vassal territories of the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth seems to be somewhat similar to the one described in the Crown. Scots residing in Ducal Prussia formed a brotherhood that at different times was called “the honourable Company of the honourable Scottish Nation” (the signature on a document of 1599), “elders of the Scots in the districts of Holland, Riesenbourg and the Prussian Mark”, or “Scots of the district Rastenburg and Barten” (1628).¹⁴⁷ The brethren were very active in defending themselves against attacks from local traders and guild leaders who like their counterparts elsewhere, unable to withstand Scottish competition, were trying to regain control over trade in other ways. In Ducal Prussia they petitioned the Margrave to endorse seizures of goods and money belonging to Scots. This was to be administered by their representatives: magistrates, burgomasters or town clerks.¹⁴⁸ The Scottish Brotherhood’s opposition to such actions is well documented. In their petitions to the Duke of Prussia of 9 November 1599, 30 January 1600, 21 October 1600, 1612 and 1628, they respond to accusations, explain their situation, list their grievances, but also propose remedies.¹⁴⁹

In the original petition of 1599 they voiced their opposition to the Duke’s order commanding them to cease their trading and journeying as peddlers in the country with the exception of attendance at some predetermined

¹⁴⁶ By 1581 the Jews of the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth governed themselves through a sort of a parliament, the Council of the Four Lands (*Vaad Arba Aratzot*), representing Jews of Greater Poland, Lesser Poland, the Grand Duchy of Lithuania and the Ukraine. The governing body generally met once a year at the great fair at Jarosław to negotiate with the Crown the level of Jewish taxation, to levy taxes on the Jewish communities, to regulate internal educational and economic matters and resolve disputes, see C. Abramsky, M. Jachimczyk and A. Polonsky, *The Jews in Poland* (Oxford: 1987), 5; G. D. Hundert, *Jews in Poland-Lithuania in the Eighteenth Century: A Genealogy of Modernity* (Berkeley: 2004), 95; J. Muszyńska, “The urbanised Jewry of the Sandomierz and Lublin Provinces in the 18th century: A study in the settlement of population,” *Studia Judaica* 2, no. 4 (1999): 235; Mączak, “Od połowy XV wieku,” 324.

¹⁴⁷ Holland was the name of a town and district located about 180 km south-west of Königsberg, see SIG, 37.

¹⁴⁸ SIG, 36–38.

¹⁴⁹ SEWP, 36; SIG, 38, 266.

fairs. In the document they stated that not all Scots in Prussia were newly arrived juveniles, but that many had lived there and had been traveling about the country for many years. They pointed out that complaints against them had never been raised with them. To please the Duke, whose order, it seems, did not mention taxation, the brotherhood proposed to impose on itself an annual tax of two thaler per person and requested a withdrawal of the order and measures to prevent the so-called *Auffreiffer* (German: violent seizure) of their goods.¹⁵⁰ In one of the next petitions on 21 October 1600 they repeated the proposal of a self-imposed tax and again declared the willingness of brotherhood members to impose restrictions (for example expulsion) upon cheating Scots.¹⁵¹

After several such petitions, and possibly intervention from the Scottish court,¹⁵² the Duke decided to look into the matter. In 1615 Johann Sigismund Elector of Brandenburg delegated James Cook (Jacob Koch) to make a register of all "Scotch Krämers in the dominions of His Serene Highness".¹⁵³ Cook's findings mirrored Young's of twelve years earlier. Apart from the list of some 390 Scottish hawkers residing there, Cook also presented 20 articles, which constituted a Scottish Guild or Scottish Brotherhood in Ducal Prussia.¹⁵⁴ The articles formed by the elders of the brotherhood¹⁵⁵ "as to prevent much bothering of the magistrates, cheating and other excesses and other irregularities for the maintenance of good order" specified in detail the forms of religious practice, extent of the powers of elders, the duties of brotherhood members, the sanctions against Scots who failed to observe these rules, the appeal process, the punishment for economic crimes or the hiding of such, and for defamations, brawls and gambling.

¹⁵⁰ SIG, 37–38.

¹⁵¹ "Supplication of the Scots in Prussia (21 October 1600)," in SIG, 266.

¹⁵² Fischer wrote that "the intercession of the King of Great Britain" influenced the Duke to investigate the situation of Scots. Unfortunately, Fischer failed to present the source of this information, see SEWP, 36.

¹⁵³ For his service Cook was to receive "an annual emolument of fifty thalers in gold, half a last of corn, half a last of malt and a last of oats", see SEWP, 36.

¹⁵⁴ "List of Scotch 'Cramers' in the Duchy of Prussia A.D. 1615," in SIG, 258–261.

¹⁵⁵ Although the text of the document clearly states that the brotherhood elders established their rules themselves for the maintenance of good order and to prevent being considered "as has been done most unjustly and untruly [in the past], mere fugitives and vagabonds", Biegańska argues that it was Cook who came up with the rules (thus she calls them "Cook's Statutes") in order to take control over the Scots. This contravenes the interpretation of the document given by Fischer, in SIG, 41 and in SEWP, 36–37, from whose books Biegańska obtained the information on which she constructed her argument. Cf. Biegańska, "Wielka emigracja Szkotów," 139, fn 269.

The articles also regulated industrial relations between employees and employers by explaining their obligations towards each other.¹⁵⁶

Cook stated in his report that the Scots had agreed to a self-imposed tax and were willing to pay four thalers annually for each horse and cart, and two thalers for peddlers carrying goods on their backs. He reminded the Duke that the property of deceased Scots who left no heirs in his domain fell to his coffers and that Scots also made a contribution through paying duty imposed on Scottish ships bringing goods from overseas. In conclusion, Cook proposed that the Duke accept the self-imposed tax, as presumably this would bring more money than the sum of 1000 marks collected in customary fashion.¹⁵⁷ Cook may have seen himself at the top of the Scottish organisation in Ducal Prussia, holding a post similar to that held by Young.

What followed was reminiscent of the situation that took place in the Crown after Young's investigation. The British Agent in Gdańsk, Patrick Gordon of Braco, believing that as British representative all powers over Scots in Poland-Lithuania and its vassal states should rest with him, viewed Cook as a usurper of his prerogatives. Gordon objected to the articles in the form set out by Cook, and started discussions with other Scots, some of whom—for example, those outside the brotherhood—could have been aggrieved by Cook's findings. Skilfully using such discontent and promising to intercede for them with the British Crown, so that they should not have to pay any taxes, he enhanced his own position and turned them against Cook. Gordon's interventions at the British Court resulted in the eventual dismissal of Cook (19 September 1616) and in the establishment of a new statute that constituted a more rigorous compilation of earlier laws and regulations.¹⁵⁸

The new articles, 80 in number, were submitted to the Duke of Prussia. They dealt with the constitution of the brethren: the election of elders, their duties and jurisdiction; duties and contributions of members of the brotherhood; religious matters; respectability; vagabonds, drunkards, gamblers and others; treating of public money; provisions for the maintenance of the sick and the poor; fines to be imposed on those violating laws; appeals to a higher court and the carrying out of a sentence; mercantile activity. The statute specified rules and regulations for the activity of

¹⁵⁶ "Twenty articles which constituted the Scotch Guild or Nation or Brotherhood," in SIG, 41–46.

¹⁵⁷ SEWP, 36.

¹⁵⁸ Ibid., 37–38; cf. Catterall, "At home abroad," 349–350.

peddling; hiring workers (a servant/journeyman/apprentice who did not know German was obliged to bind himself to his employer for a period of four years); relations between master and apprentice; fines for various transgressions on the part of a master or apprentice.¹⁵⁹ The articles outlined first by Cook and then by Gordon confirm the complex character of the brotherhoods. They show that a brotherhood encompassed secular and ecclesiastical spheres of activity, representing the economic interests of its members and regulating conduct of a community of faith. Perhaps more significantly, the institution of brotherhood, which Scots formed, stressed ethnicity as one of the most important organising principles.

Despite the fact that Gordon, as the agent of James VI (I), placed an official seal of approval on the articles, the document had little or no immediate effect on the position of the Scottish traders in Prussia. Various petitions for the confirmation of the articles were apparently lodged in 1617 and 1622. Corrections and annotations were made to them in 1624.¹⁶⁰ In the petition of 1628 Scots still complained that there was no distinction made in the imposing of their 'contribution', though their earnings were very different, thus they proposed that a central controller should be appointed for the province.¹⁶¹ There is no known record to indicate that the confirmation of the articles ever took place;¹⁶² however, it is certain that in the long run the petitions of the Scots had some effect. The most important and lasting were *Schutz-zeddel* (official receipts), known also as letters of protection. One such letter was issued to Alexander Murray, a citizen of Memel, who "in the name of His Grace the Duke, is to be protected by the magistrates of each place against all violence and oppression at the hands of soldiers and recruiting officers".¹⁶³ Similar documents, issued on payment of self-imposed tax, were, it seems, adopted in Ducal Prussia in 1648. A letter of protection secured its owner against violent measures on the part of over-zealous bailiffs or magistrates. In June 1648 some 60 Scotsmen, whose names were recorded in documents, obtained such letters, which may suggest a level of harassment.¹⁶⁴

¹⁵⁹ "The eighty Articles drawn up by Patrick Gordon for the Scots in Prussia (1616)," in SEWP, 159–171.

¹⁶⁰ SEWP, 39.

¹⁶¹ SIG, 38.

¹⁶² SEWP, 39.

¹⁶³ "The protection letter issued to Alexander Murray (3 July 1656)," in SEWP, 39.

¹⁶⁴ SEWP, 39; SIG, 27.

The investigations conducted by Young in the Crown, and by Cook and Gordon in Ducal Prussia, indicate that once established in a town or a district, Scots developed a strong sense of identity. They referred to themselves as members of a “Scottish Nation”, and the brotherhoods that they formed played a pivotal role in the lives of many Scottish immigrants in “ye eist partis” in the last decades of the sixteenth century.

Young’s findings also showed that Scottish brotherhoods initially encompassed the role of religious brethren on the one hand and that of a merchant guild on the other. Brotherhood rules were established to regulate the conduct of its members in those spheres. The investigation showed that, especially prior to 1603, the “Scottish Nation” enjoyed a great autonomy, as they stood outside Polish jurisdiction. Among the various nationalities in the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth, apart from Scots, only two other ethnic groups, the Armenians¹⁶⁵ and the Jews,¹⁶⁶ were able to operate independently of a state-driven agenda and enjoy similar organisation and autonomy—resulting in their case from a particularly favourable legal position.¹⁶⁷

It would seem that some of those organisations survived for another 80 or 90 years, although, over time the brotherhoods evolved from guild-like institutions, representing and protecting the commercial interests of Scottish Protestants, to ecclesiastical associations. An interesting example of this transformation is the growth and subsequent decline of the Scottish Brotherhood of Lublin, which will be examined in the next chapter.

¹⁶⁵ Armenian autonomy was based on the statute of 1519 and encompassed religious, cultural and judicial self-governance, see Mączak, “Od połowy XV wieku,” 328–329.

¹⁶⁶ Abramsky, Jachimczyk and Polonsky, *The Jews in Poland*, 5; Hundert, *Jews in Poland-Lithuania*, 95; Muszyńska, “The urbanised Jewry,” 235; Mączak, “Od połowy XV wieku,” 324.

¹⁶⁷ Mączak, “Od połowy XV wieku,” 331.

CHAPTER SIX

THE KIRK: SCOTS IN THE REFORMED PARISHES—DEFINING IDENTITY

It is well established that for many groups religion plays an important part in the adjustment to migration. Both as a personal matter and as a social reality, religion represents an important component of identity, and 'institutionalised' religion is particularly relevant to the construction of identity of the migrant families when it acts as a distinguishing feature of a particular ethnic group. Religious confession is especially significant when coupled with other features such as language, family structure, ethnic-based organisations and cultural activities.¹ A contemporary example of the Italian Catholic Mission in Nottingham (1958–2002) shows that the Church and organisations established around it worked as religious, moral and social points of reference for most Italian immigrants in the area. Moreover, it was religion that was reinforcing their feeling of Italian-ness.² Confession also played an important role for the migrant Scottish Protestant communities in the Dutch Republic and Northern Europe. For example, the Scots Church of Rotterdam was established in the 1640s as a result of migrants' desire to emphasise their own approach to worship, as well as to maintain their own culture and their language.

¹ L. Jones, ed., *Encyclopedia of Religion* 2nd ed. (Detroit: 2005), s.v. "Community," "Migration and Religion," "Religious Communities: Religion, Community, and Society." For the most recent in-depth discussion on the issues of religious identity, ethnicity and confessional networks I have referred to G. K. Brunelle, "Migration and Religious Identity: The Portuguese of Seventeenth-Century Rouen," *Journal of Early Modern History* 7, nos 3–4 (2003), 283–311; R. Graves, "Religion and Ethnicity: Community," *Numen: International Review for the History of Religions* 50 (2003), 52–71; K. A. Lynch, *Individuals, Families, and Communities in Europe, 1200–1800: The Urban Foundations of Western Society* (New York: 2003), 70–73, 98–99, 215; S. Murdoch, "Children of the diaspora: the 'homecoming' of the second-generation Scot in the seventeenth century," in M. Harper, ed., *Emigrant Homecomings: The Return Movement of Emigrants, 1600–2000* (Manchester: 2005), 55–76; idem, *Network North: Scottish Kin, Commercial and Covert Associations in Northern Europe, 1603–1746* (Leiden: 2006), 85–124; J. J. Smolicz, "Ethnicity and culture in Australia: A core value perspective," *Altreitalia* 8 (1995), 117.

² D. Ganga, "Religion and identity: Families of Italian origin in the Nottingham area, UK," *Migration Letters* 2, no. 2 (2005): 144–152.

In time this Kirk became one of the main institutions of power and discipline in Rotterdam, helping the Scots to maintain their group identity.³

Similarly, the Scottish brand of Calvinism assumed a vital role for the immigrants in Poland-Lithuania and their religion became an element of differentiation and, therefore, of identification. Yet the variety of religious denominations in the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth made the situation somewhat different. Scots were not simply a largely Protestant minority amid a Catholic majority, but another variant of an already established Protestant church. Not only were Lutherans the dominant group in some parts of the kingdom, but Polish Calvinists also represented, in places, a significant part of the population. The Scots were therefore not immediately distinguished by their religion but had to fit in with other existing groups. Although they tended to organise their own services, their own poor-boxes, and to build alongside their faith communities other organisations whose activities extended well beyond the realm of religion—ethnic based merchant guilds, that is, the brotherhoods—they also forged alliances with Polish Calvinists. It is important to fully understand the relationship between ‘identity’ and religion. It is equally vital to understand the role of the Kirk in defining and preserving Scottish identity, as well as in shaping their experience and success in Poland-Lithuania, and to assess Scottish involvement with the local Evangelical Reformed Church and integration processes. In order to do this, it is necessary to take a look

³ The Scottish Kirk in Rotterdam, confessionalisation in Rotterdam and in the Dutch Republic in general are the subject of several publications, see D. Catterall, *Community without Borders: Scots Migrants and the Changing Face of Power in the Dutch Republic, c. 1600–1700* (Boston: 2002), 238–243, 245–293; idem, “At home abroad: Ethnicity and enclave in the world of Scots traders in Northern Europe, c. 1600–1800,” *Journal of Early Modern History*, no. 8 (2004): 341–343; idem, “The rituals of Reformed discipline: Managing honor and conflict in the Scottish Church of Rotterdam, 1643–1665,” *Archiv für Reformationsgeschichte* 94 (2003), 202–221; R. A. Houston, “The Consistory of the Scots Church, Rotterdam: An Aspect of ‘Civic Calvinism,’ c. 1600–1800,” *Archiv für Reformationsgeschichte* 87 (1996), 365–388. The Scots community in Göteborg is discussed in A. Grosjean and S. Murdoch, “The Scottish community in seventeenth-century Gothenburg,” in idem, eds., *Scottish Communities Abroad In The Early Modern Period* (Leiden: 2005), 199–220; E. B. Grage, “Scottish merchants in Gothenburg, 1621–1850,” in T. C. Smout, ed., *Scotland and Europe, 1200–1850* (Edinburgh: 1986), 112–127. The Elsinore Scots community is described in T. Riis, *Should Auld Acquaintance Be Forgot: Scottish-Danish Relations C. 1450–1707* (Odense: 1988), 155–199. The only Scottish community in Poland-Lithuania to have receive more detailed examination is the settlement in Kieydany: L. Eriksonas, “The lost colony of Scots: unravelling overseas connections in a Lithuanian town,” in A. I. Macinnes, T. Riis and F. G. Pedersen, eds., *Ships Guns and Bibles in the North Sea and the Baltic States, c. 1350–c. 1700* (East Linton: 2000), 173–187; R. Žirgulis, “The Scottish community in Kėdainiai c. 1630–c. 1750,” in A. Grosjean and S. Murdoch, eds., *Scottish Communities Abroad in the Early Modern Period* (Leiden: 2005), 224–271.

at the form of Calvinism that the Scots found when they arrived in the Commonwealth.

The Reformed Church in Poland-Lithuania

The religious formula represented by the Calvinists, which combined democratic and elitist elements, was appealing especially to some of the Polish nobility, not only in Lithuania but also in the Crown. The idea of the laity being in control of the activities of the Church and having a special place in the religious practices given to the 'elect'—a way for the nobles to become an integral part of the community—reflected the gentry's aspiration to strengthen their position within the state. Likewise, the Calvinist notion of the right of inferior magistrates to resist the tyranny of princes found fertile ground among the gentry activists, as it supported their case against the political dominance of magnate families. Consequently, Calvinism spread rapidly throughout Lesser Poland and Lithuania. In contrast to Lutheranism, which was limited to urban centres, Calvinism also reached the rural estates of the Polish nobility, although its teachings failed to attract the largely indifferent peasantry.⁴

The Reformed Church of Poland-Lithuania that attracted the Scots was not unified. It comprised of several separate distinct entities: *Jednota Małopolska* (Lesser Poland Brethren), *Jednota Wielkopolska* (Greater Poland Brethren) and *Jednota Litewska* (Lithuanian Brethren). Parallel to these were other Reformed communities in the main cities of Royal Prussia and in Warsaw. Each of the three groups of Brethren had separate synods, different organisational structures and kept in contact with each other only through a sporadically held General Synod.⁵ The Lesser Poland Brethren, in existence since 1564, had a strong synodal structure. While individual parishes were presided over by presbyters—most often members of the local gentry headed by *patronus loci* (the main patron or the person on whose estate the church was erected), the brethren as a whole were governed by district and provincial synods that gathered annually.⁶

⁴ J. Tazbir, "The fate of Polish Protestantism in the seventeenth century," in J. K. Fedorowicz, ed., *A Republic of Nobles* (Cambridge: 1982), 199; J. Łukaszewicz, *Dzieje Kościołów wyznania helweckiego w dawnej Małej Polsce* (Poznań: 1853).

⁵ Before 1795 the name *Jednota* was only used in reference to *Unitas Fratrum Bohemorum* (Greater Poland Brethren), while the other provinces adopted the name only after the eighteenth century.

⁶ W. Kriegseisen, *Ewangelicy polscy i litewscy w epoce saskiej (1696–1763). Sytuacja prawna, organizacja i stosunki międzywyznaniowe* (Warszawa: 1996) 50–56; S. Tworek,

The Greater Poland Brethren (also known as the Moravian Brethren or *Unitas Fratrum Bohemorum*), were formed in the north-west territory of the Crown. They offered less of a role to the laity and allowed the clergy much more power.⁷ The Reformed Church of the Grand Duchy of Lithuania formed yet another, separate entity known as the Lithuanian Brethren. This group was under the strong influence of the Radziwiłł family, or more precisely, descendants of Mikołaj Radziwiłł 'the Black' (1515–1565), who converted to Calvinism in 1552. In time, this branch of the family became the most influential supporters of Protestantism not only in the Grand Duchy of Lithuania but also in the whole of the Commonwealth. Until 1669, that is the extinction in the male line of this branch following the death of Bogusław Radziwiłł, the Radziwiłłs were patrons of a number of important parishes for the Scottish congregations, among them churches in Birże, Kiejdany, Słuck, Węgrów, Wilno and Zabłudów. The Lithuanian Brethren also dominated another church, significant for the Scots, at Königsberg.⁸

While Royal Prussia's first encounter with the Reformation took place in the 1520s, it was not until the late 1550s that Protestantism became the dominant religion in Gdańsk, Elbląg and Toruń. However, as Müller observes, the three main centres of the province remained distinct not only from its Polish-Lithuanian hinterland but also, despite its German origins, from the German Reformation.⁹ All three municipalities experienced

"Z zagadnień liczebności zborów kalwińskich," *Odrodzenie i Reformacja w Polsce* 17 (1972): 212; J. Stahl, "Zarys historii Kościoła Ewangelicko-Reformowanego w Polsce," *Jednota* 7–8 (1973): 9–17; cf. M. Kosman, "Rola Radziwiłłów w ruchu kalwińskim na Litwie," *Miscellanea historico-archivistica* 3 (1989): 127.

⁷ J. Dworaczakowa, *Bracia czeszy w Wielkopolsce w XVI i XVII wieku* (Warszawa: 1997); Kriegseisen, *Ewangelicy polscy i litewscy*, 79–84; cf. H. Gmiterek, *Bracia Czeszy a Kalwini w Rzeczypospolitej. Połowa XVI—połowa XVII wieku. Studium porównawcze* (Lublin: 1997), 141; Stahl, "Zarys historii Kościoła," 9–17.

⁸ Among the most ardent advocates of Calvinism in Lithuania were descendants of Mikołaj, the Radziwiłłs of Birże: Krzysztof 'the Thunderbolt' (1547–1603), Janusz (1579–1620), Krzysztof (1585–1640), Janusz (1612–1655), Bogusław (1620–1669) and his daughter Ludwika Karolina (1667–1695), see Kriegseisen, *Ewangelicy polscy i litewscy*, 88–116; Kosman, "Rola Radziwiłłów w ruchu kalwińskim," 128–139. Cf. U. Augustyniak, *Dwór i klientela Krzysztofa Radziwiłła (1585–1640): Mechanizmy patronatu* (Warszawa: 2001); P. P. Bajer, "Rijkdom, invloed en prestige: En korte geschiedenis van de familie-Radziwiłł," trans. B. Wiskie, *Oost Europa Verkenningen* 162 (2000): 39–53; Gmiterek, *Bracia Czeszy a kalwini*, 163–165; M. Kosman, "Sytuacja prawno-polityczna kalwinizmu litewskiego w drugiej połowie XVII w.," *Odrodzenie i Reformacja w Polsce* 20 (1975): 81–110.

⁹ M. G. Müller, "Late Reformation and Protestant confessionalization in the major towns of Royal Prussia," in K. Maag, ed., *The Reformation in Eastern and Central Europe* (Aldershot: 1997), 192–210. For a more comprehensive account see M. G. Müller, *Zweite Reformation und städtische Autonomie im Königlichen Preußen. Danzig, Elbing und Thorn in der Epoche*

inner-urban tensions between the dominant Reformed patrician elite and the overwhelmingly Lutheran plebeians. The conflict ended with the victory of the latter, but the Lutherans' attempts to banish outrightly the Reformed failed. In Gdańsk, owing to the intervention of Jan II Kazimierz (1652), the Calvinists retained the right to freedom of worship and belief, as well as their claim to their two main churches (St Peter and St Paul, and St Elizabeth) and to the parish located at a nearby Gdańsk country estate in Mokry Dwór.¹⁰ Smaller Reformed parishes existed also in Elbląg, Toruń and Krokowo near Puck, some of which were incorporated later into the Greater Poland Brethren.¹¹

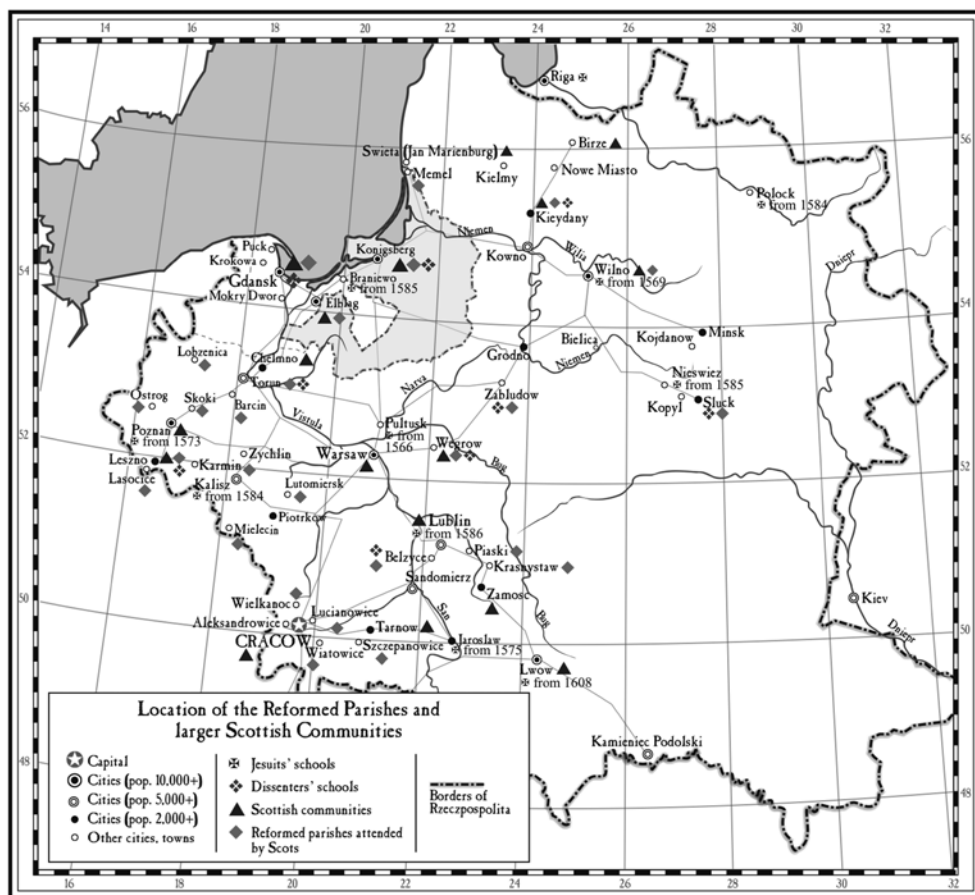
The Scottish migrants most likely found the organisational structure of the Reformed Church of the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth rather confusing. No less perplexing to a fervent Scottish eye were no doubt also some of the practices of their local coreligionists. According to Tazbir, vast differences existed between the Reformed religion in Poland-Lithuania and elsewhere. For example, Polish Calvinists never stressed predestination, so pivotal to the doctrine of their Western coreligionists. They never totally rejected the cult of the Virgin Mary (a patron of the entire 'nation' of the nobility), or stopped the veneration of local patrons such as St Wojciech or St Stanisław, martyred in the tenth and the eleventh centuries. Both Calvinist and Lutheran nobility celebrated Christmas and Easter in much the same way as their Catholic neighbours. The Protestant nobility and some of the burgher estate also adopted certain Catholic ritual forms and customs on the grounds that they were an integral part of a 'national' culture rather than a religious ceremonial.

Such 'nationalisation' of religion was apparently typical of seventeenth-century Poland-Lithuania and, to differing degrees, it affected all dissident

der Konfessionalisierung (Berlin: 1997). Cf. J. Baszanowski, "Statistics of religious denominations and the ethnic problems in Gdańsk in XVII–XVIII centuries," *Studia Maritima* 7 (1988): 50; A. Harnoch, *Chronik und Statistik der evangelischen Kirchen in den Provinzen Ost- und Westpreussen* (Neidenburg: 1890), 558; M. G. Müller, "Protestant confessionalization in the towns of Royal Prussia and the practice of religious toleration in Poland-Lithuania," in O. P. Grell and B. Scribner, eds., *Tolerance and Intolerance in the European Reformation* (Cambridge: 1996), 281; E. Pritzel, *Geschichte der reformierten Gemeinde zu St. Petri-Pauli in Danzig 1570–1940* (Danzig: 1940), 8, 14.

¹⁰ The country estate parish in Mokry Dwór was established in about 1650. The lack of parish records for the period concerned prevents us establishing whether any Scots belonged to it. The documents show, however, that some of its ministers were of Scottish extraction, see Kriegseisen, *Evangelicy polscy i litewscy*, 84–85.

¹¹ Müller, "Late Reformation," 192–210. Cf. K. Bem, "Reformowany Gdańsk," *Jednota* 1–2 (2006): 13–16.



Map 5. Location of the Reformed parishes and larger Scottish communities 1550s–1750s.

Christian denominations. Thus the social reality varied substantially from the moral and ethical doctrines formulated by the synods. The synods enjoyed little success in their attempts to extend tight control over both the private and public behaviour of their flock, in the manner so successfully carried out in the Netherlands and Scotland. The Reformed noble “gave banquets and conducted brawls in exactly the same way as his Catholic neighbour, with whom he often maintained a lively friendship”.¹² Finally, the economic doctrines of the Calvinists in the Polish-Lithuanian

¹² Tazbir, “The fate of Polish Protestantism,” 211–214.

Commonwealth had little in common with the attitudes of Dutch, Flemish or Scottish Reformed merchants. While the ethical concepts of the latter encouraged an active and productive lifestyle in which success in business signified God's favour, the poetry and prose of the Calvinists of Poland-Lithuania indicates an acceptance of mediocrity and contentment with the petty.¹³

The historical developments affecting the Reformation in the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth—tensions between denominations, organisational differences within the Reformed community, as well as doctrinal disparities—played an important role in shaping Scottish experience in Poland-Lithuania. It seems that these issues also influenced the extent to which the Scots participated in the religious life of particular communities, and on the development of their own identity.

Religious Toleration in Practice: Scottish Dissidentes, Confessional Prejudice and Religious Tensions

There is no denying that enmity between different creeds did exist in Poland-Lithuania. It has been well documented that despite the prevailing spirit of toleration, the majority of members of all denominations believed that their own doctrine pointed the only way to eternal salvation.¹⁴ The Scottish preacher Eleazar Gilbert, who in 1638 marvelled at the peaceful coexistence of different religions in Wilno, in the same report dismissively characterised other non-Protestant creeds as being “either of Idolatory, superstition or errors, in league and consanguinity joyned with the Papists”, thus showing the depth of the confessional divisions.¹⁵ Gilbert's opinions were symptomatic of views held by the majority of followers of all denominations, and especially the faithful on the lower rungs of society, full of resentment, if not hatred, against their neighbours, particularly if they were affluent. This is why, at times, there were serious, well-documented discriminations and persecutions, some of which also involved the Scots.

¹³ Ibid., 214.

¹⁴ N. Davies, *God's Playground: A History of Poland in Two Volumes*, vol. I, *The Origins to 1795* (Oxford: 1982), vol. I, 199.

¹⁵ E. Gilbert, *Nevves from Poland wherein is declared the cruell practice of the popish clergy against the Protestants, and in particular against the ministers of the city of Vilna, in the great dukedome of Lithuania, under the governement of the most illustrious prince, Duke Radziwell / faithfully set downe by Eleazar Gilbert...* (London: 1641), 7.

Protestant and Roman Catholic Scots were persecuted in some of the Lutheran-dominated cities of Royal Prussia. They were frequently denied town rights by zealous magistrates and the guilds made every effort to exclude them. Similarly, authorities of Catholic-dominated towns in Lesser Poland at times showed little tolerance for the “heretics”. In 1635 King Władysław IV had to intervene with the Cracow council on behalf of George Cruickshank (Jerzy Krukisank), Steven Henderson (Stefan Hendersen) and several other *dissidentes*, to reverse the council’s refusal to grant them citizenship. The king expressed his dissatisfaction with the fact that the unfavourable decision was solely based on the Protestant creed of the petitioners.¹⁶

Apart from non-violent religious discrimination enshrined in legislation, there were unavoidable instances of persecutions with more or less violent confrontations between the Catholics and the Protestants. Anti-Catholic riots were organised in cities dominated by the Protestants, for example in Memel and Königsberg. The Jesuits were driven out of Elbląg in 1573, banished from Toruń in 1606–07 and 1656–60 (the local Jesuit College was assaulted in 1605).¹⁷ In Gdańsk, Elbląg and Toruń the “Papists” were officially prevented from taking any municipal offices (1648). In Kiejdany Mikołaj Radziwiłł ‘the Red’, issued a decree forbidding Catholic clergy and monks from settling in that town (1627).¹⁸ The Scots too were guilty of similar intolerance. As Young’s inquiry showed, Scottish Brotherhoods controlled by Evangelicals discriminated against their “Popish” compatriots.¹⁹

The Scottish Protestants, as members of the Dissenter community, suffered their share of assaults on their churches. The well-documented attacks on churches included those at Bróg in Cracow (1574, 1587 and 1591), Aleksandrowice (near Cracow in 1613),²⁰ the Reformed church in Wilno

¹⁶ J. Bieniarzówna and J. Małecki, *Dzieje Krakowa. Kraków w wiekach XVI–XVIII* (Kraków: 1994), vol. II, 226–227; A. Biegańska, “In search of tolerance: Scottish Catholics and Presbyterians in Poland,” *Scottish Slavonic Review* 17 (1991): 40.

¹⁷ L. Grzebień, ed., *Encyklopedia wiedzy o Jezuitach na ziemiach Polski i Litwy 1564–1995* (Kraków: 1996.), 146, 697.

¹⁸ Biegańska, “In search of tolerance,” 40.

¹⁹ “Records of the Court of Investigation in Cracow (1603),” in PRSP, 77; S. Tomkowicz, “Przyczynek do historii Szkotów w Krakowie i w Polsce,” *Rocznik Krakowski* 2 (1899): 164.

²⁰ The attacks on the churches in Cracow and Aleksandrowice were well described in “Extract Variorum Casuum,” fols 90–91; cf. W. Węgierski, *Kronika Zboru Ewangelickiego Krakowskiego*, Kraków, 1651 (reprinted 1817), 21, 43, 46, 59.

(1591, 1611, 1639 and 1682),²¹ Giałów (1621),²² Lublin (1614, 1628 and 1633) and in Poznań (1606, 1614 and 1616).²³ Desecrations of the Protestant burial grounds took place in, for example, 1575, 1577, 1607 and 1626.²⁴ In 1655 the Reformed church in Wielkanoc was ransacked, this time not by the Catholics but by the Lutherans, reiters of Karl X Gustav King of Sweden.²⁵

The acts of violence against the Dissenters of the Cracow parish between 1569 and 1698 were scrupulously documented in the parish records. It remains uncertain how many of them were incited by the Jesuits or others "addicted to the Roman See". If some of the incidents listed could be classified as persecutions motivated by confessional differences, other confrontations, as Biegańska suggests, appear as ordinary criminal acts.²⁶ For instance, financial gain may have been one of the main motives behind a looting of the grave of Sophia Murray (Zofia Mora) in 1597. According to Węgierski, the day after the funeral the dead woman's corpse was desecrated, and her jewellery and expensive *bawetnica* (dress) were stolen. The offenders, gravediggers who attempted to sell the goods at the second-hand market, were subsequently caught, stood trial and were beheaded in front of Cracow's town hall.²⁷

If the motive for this crime was straightforward, more complex motivations resulted in a number of attacks on other churches, funeral processions and private homes. On occasions the clashes were not the result so much of confessional tensions, but of confrontation between two political factions of different creeds.²⁸ The funeral processions were reportedly

²¹ H. Merczyng, "Czterokrotne zburzenie zboru wileńskiego," *Zwiastun Ewangelicki* 4 (1901): 327–334. The assault of 5 October 1639 on the church in Wilno was a subject of Gilbert's detailed report, see Gilbert, *Nevves from Poland*, 9–10.

²² U. Augustyniak, *W służbie hetmana i Rzeczypospolitej. Klientela wojskowa Krzysztofa Radziwiłła* (Warszawa: 2004), 206–207.

²³ Assaults on the church in Lublin and Poznań were mentioned in "Extract Variorum Casuum," fol. 92, 94; Węgierski, *Kronika Zboru Ewangelickiego Krakowskiego*, 61; cf. Stahl, "Zarys historii Kościoła Ewangelicko-Reformowanego," 11–13.

²⁴ "Extract Variorum Casuum," fols 90–90a, 93a; Węgierski, *Kronika Zboru Ewangelickiego Krakowskiego*, 28–29, 52, 79.

²⁵ Węgierski, *Kronika Zboru Ewangelickiego Krakowskiego*, 125.

²⁶ Biegańska, "In search of tolerance," 45.

²⁷ Sophia Murray was betrothed to Alexander Dickson (Dixon), a well-known Cracow merchant. She died two days before her wedding, see "Extract Variorum Casuum," fol. 91; Węgierski, *Kronika Zboru Ewangelickiego Krakowskiego*, 48–49.

²⁸ According to Augustyniak, the demise of the Reformed church in Wilno in 1640 was not so much a result of confessional tensions, as of confrontation between two political magnate factions in their struggle for influence—the Reformed party under the leadership of Radziwiłł of Birże on one hand and the Catholic group headed by Prince Sapieha

often used by locals and immigrants alike as forums for expressing their particular political and/or social objectives. Often they were provocatively demonstrative and pompous.²⁹ Possibly one such ceremony was the funeral of Sophia Hunter née King (Kin), wife of the affluent Cracow citizen and merchant Andrew Hunter (1620). The records state that 12 municipal haiduks and 12 Scottish soldiers attended it. The ostentatious nature of the procession reportedly provoked an attack by students. The motives for the assault are not as straightforward as the report may suggest and also contain characteristics of extortion—the assault stopped as soon as Hunter offered money (50 zł) to the students involved.³⁰ However, the assault by a Catholic mob on a funeral procession in Lublin, in 1633, was apparently provoked simply by the ‘habitual singing’ of the Reformed minister. During the scuffle that followed, shots were fired, one Scot was killed and two Catholics were shot dead.³¹

Among the Protestant merchants in Cracow whose private residences were attacked were several prominent, wealthy Scots. On the Feast of the Ascension in 1631, a gang of students plundered the house of the goldsmith David Strachan. Later that morning, the same gang broke into the house of Thomas Forbes. As Węgierski somewhat sarcastically observed, the looters, seeking “heresy in his coffers”, verbally assaulted Forbes and his wife and left with the booty.³² Forbes’ house was unsuccessfully attacked again during unspecified unrest in July–August 1640.³³ More serious assaults on the homes of William Torrie (Wilhelm Thory), James Carmichael (Jakub

of Czereja, on the other, see Augustyniak, *W służbie hetmana i Rzeczypospolitej*, 216; cf. H. Wisner, *Rzeczypospolita Wazów: Czasy Zygmunta III i Władysława IV* (Warszawa: 2002), 293–311.

²⁹ Biegańska presents a list of such funerals involving local and Scottish Protestants, see Biegańska, “In search of tolerance,” 45.

³⁰ An argument about how to divide the money escalated into a brawl between the students soon afterwards, see “Extract Variorum Casuum,” fol. 92a; Węgierski, *Kronika Zboru Ewangelickiego Krakowskiego*, 74; cf. Biegańska, “In search of tolerance,” 45.

³¹ Łukaszewicz, *Dzieje Kościołów [...] w dawnej Małej Polsce*, 367; cf. Biegańska, “In search of tolerance,” 45.

³² “Ztamtąd na koniec poszli na Sławkowską Ulicę y wpadli tyłem do P. Thomasa Forbessa, którego śpiącego jeszcze zastawszy, skrzynie poodbijawszy, wiary wnich szukali, y wszystko z nich wybrawszy, y wielkie szkody poczyniwszy, samego z Małżonką znieważywszy, odeszli.” (transl. Finally they went to Sławkowska Street and stumbled through the back door into the house of Thomas Forbes. While he was still asleep, they forced the coffers open and sought after heresies; and after taking all the spoils, causing much damage, and assaulting him and his wife, they left), see “Extract Variorum Casuum,” fol. 94; cf. Węgierski, *Kronika Zboru Ewangelickiego Krakowskiego*, 82.

³³ “Extract Variorum Casuum,” fol. 101; Węgierski, *Kronika Zboru Ewangelickiego Krakowskiego*, 101.

Karmichel) and several other Protestant merchants occurred in June 1647. While some of the assaults turned into full-scale looting, the mob stopped by the city guards did not break into the houses belonging to the two Scots. The motives for the attacks were again mixed. While the attacks certainly bore characteristics of religious fanaticism, they also revealed greed and envy, and may have had something to do with market share. In fact, the court records used the term 'plunder' to describe the motives of the robberies by assault carried on in Cracow and Kleparz.³⁴

According to the estimates by Biegańska, during the period under investigation there were about 20 serious assaults on the Protestants and approximately a dozen against the Catholics. Yet unlike in virtually any other European state of that time, in Poland-Lithuania there were no bloody mass persecutions orchestrated and perpetrated by the authorities.³⁵ Discrimination was not directed only against Scots, but also against other foreigners in the Commonwealth's urban centres. It appears that the motivation behind discrimination was often far more complex, and included attempts by locals to protect themselves against competition, but such measures were often ineffective. For instance, in their attempt to protect the local traders and artisans from the rivalry of the newly settled, the goldsmiths' guild in Cracow (1637) refused its membership to Hieronymus Strachan (Jarosz Strachon), son of David, a citizen of Cracow (originally from Dundee), who had established himself as a goldsmith in that city. A detailed account of this incident left by Węgierski, accused the guild elders of preventing the son from continuing work begun by the father, simply on the grounds that he was a Nonconformist.³⁶

It is difficult to evaluate the effect the maltreatment of the 'heretics' had on the identity of the Scottish Presbyterians and Episcopalians. Since

³⁴ Biegańska, "In search of tolerance," 46. The lack of conclusive evidence prevents us establishing whether the attacks against the Scots might also have been tied to events in Scotland, such as the rising tensions between the Episcopalians and the Presbyterians in the 1630s, the Bishops' War or the radical backlash against the rise of the Engager Parliament and war against the English allies of Argyll in 1647, which have been shown to have spilt over onto the Continent. Cf. Murdoch, *Britain, Denmark-Norway*; K. Zickermann, "Briteannia ist mein patria': Scotsmen and the 'British' community in Hamburg," in A. Grosjean and S. Murdoch, eds., *Scottish Communities Abroad in the Early Modern Period* (Leiden: 2005), 264–265.

³⁵ Biegańska, "In search of tolerance," 47.

³⁶ According to Węgierski, David Strachan unsuccessfully petitioned against this decision first to the city council and later to the king, see "Extract Variorum Casuum Persequonium Verum Gestarum in Ecclā. (sia) Orth. Crac. (1569–1698)," KW AParEA, fols 97–98; Cf. Węgierski, *Kronika Zboru Ewangelickiego Krakowskiego*, 94–95; Bieniarzówna and Małecki, *Dzieje Krakowa*, 211.

the incidents concerned the whole Reformed community, it is conceivable, that the common adversities strengthened the Scottish ties with the local Protestants. As will be shown later, the sense of belonging to the local community was especially evident in Scottish responses to hardship, in their support of local parishes and in their participation in a wide range of relief activities.

Despite discrimination, being affiliated with a minority Christian denomination in many cases proved to be a smaller obstacle to citizenship than the letter of the law would suggest. In the royal towns of the Crown, for example, where all the applicants were theoretically to be of the Catholic faith, many Scots were granted citizen rights. In Lublin, according to the law, Lutherans and Calvinists could become citizens or guild members only if they pledged to convert to Roman Catholicism within a year of admission. According to Sadownik, in practice this law was neither respected nor fully enforced. The Protestants often presented the council with certificates of conversion purchased from priests or monks, which had no real bearing on the religious beliefs or practices of the candidates. The local city council and artisan guilds were satisfied with pledges expressing readiness to convert in the future. Probably only a fraction of such declarations was genuine, yet the authorities, most likely fully aware, were prepared to turn a blind eye. The pragmatism of the council allowed for the situation in which at least 13 out of 39 Scots who obtained full citizen rights in Lublin were Protestants.³⁷ Similarly, the local merchants guild allowed non-Catholics to represent their community at a management level. They decided that one of its two elders should be a Catholic and the other a Protestant (1676).³⁸

Even in the most unyieldingly Catholic city of the Crown, Warsaw, the restrictive laws were applied with a notable absence of religious fervour. As Biegańska has observed, when the issue of religious persuasion was invoked, it often served merely as a pretext. Such was the case against eight Scottish purveyors to the court, who were summoned in 1659. It was suggested that as Nonconformists they had no right to reside in Warsaw during the King's absence. The case was dismissed when Robert (Wojciech, Albert) Ross committed himself and the remaining servitors to pay ground rent in Warsaw. Worthy of note is the case of a Scot Adam Withman,

³⁷ J. Sadownik, *Szkoci w Lublinie XVII wieku* (Leszno: 1937), 4; cf. idem, *Przyjęcie do prawa miejskiego w Lublinie w XVII w.* (Lublin: 1938), 35–41.

³⁸ This clause was overturned only some 20 years later, in 1693, see Sadownik, *Przyjęcie do prawa miejskiego*, 40; cf. Biegańska, "In search of tolerance," 41–42.

brought to light by Biegańska. In 1574 Withman was summoned to the Municipal Court on the pretext that he had allowed his son to be baptised as a Protestant. The court proceedings revealed that Withman had been granted citizen rights in 1571 on condition that he buy a house in Warsaw, but three years later he still had not made such a purchase. His case was dismissed as soon as he pledged to fulfil the requirement.³⁹ The books of the church of St John the Baptist in Warsaw hold records of some bogus conversions of Scots to Catholicism. It appears that baptisms and weddings were often held in the Scots' private homes in the presence of godparents and witnesses—often referred to as *alienae*, *haereticae*, *fidei augustinae*, *luteranae* or *evangelicae*—who likewise were Protestants.⁴⁰ Some conversions, regardless of their sincerity, took a long time. John Christie, admitted to *ius civile* in Cracow in 1709, did not convert to Catholicism until 14 years later.⁴¹ All of these cases suggest that the attitude towards the non-Catholic Scots of magistrates of Lublin, Warsaw and Cracow was indicative of the practices in other royal towns in the Crown.

These cases of 'persecution' were presented from a particular point of view by Węgierski. In his and in other Protestant accounts the Dissenters are always presented as innocent victims.⁴² Yet the reality was somewhat different. The correspondence of Krzysztof Radziwiłł reveals that this well-known protector of Protestantism in Poland-Lithuania was pressured by the Reformed nobility to cover the excesses and even criminal acts of his coreligionists.⁴³ The records also show that sometimes the Dissenters displayed a contemptuous attitude towards Catholics, their creed and their celebrations. Scots were noted in several of such incidents. In 1652, James Downie (Downy), citizen and merchant of Poznań, in the course of a heated discussion openly disputed the concept of the Immaculate Conception of the Virgin Mary. There was also no reprisal for the action of Peter Gern of Lublin who, like other Protestants in that city, was in principle obliged to participate in the procession on Corpus Christi Day with the Catholic members of the guild, but who went horse-riding out of town instead.⁴⁴

³⁹ "Copy of the Approbation," 17–18; Biegańska, "In search of tolerance," 40–41.

⁴⁰ Biegańska, "In search of tolerance," 41.

⁴¹ Ibid., 40.

⁴² For example, one George Boyd of Cracow was described as *niewinnie aresztowany* (imprisoned despite his innocence) in 1704, see "Extract Variorum Casuum," fol. 101a.

⁴³ Augustyniak, *Dwór i klientela Krzysztofa Radziwiłła*, 206–207.

⁴⁴ Biegańska, "In search of tolerance," 40.

It seems that the authorities tried to respond to the interdenominational violence in a measured way, pursuing the main instigators of religious riots on both sides. Such was the case in Cracow where five leaders of the assault on the Protestant church in Bróg in 1574 were captured, sentenced to death and publicly executed.⁴⁵ The authorities took steps to stop confessional unrest by issuing a series of decrees against the violation of public order on religious pretexts (1578, 1631 and 1650). This did not put an end to such incidents, and minor confrontations arising from such friction continued. Some people took a stand against religion-motivated violence. For example, the vice-chancellor Bishop Piotr Myszkowski spoke out against the destruction of Bróg. The Greyfriars in Wilno succeeded in defending a Protestant minister against a mob in 1611. Members of the same religious order took care of another dissenter in trouble in Cracow in 1633.⁴⁶ Similarly Georg Hartlieb, Rector of the Protestant College in Wilno, was offered help and a refuge by “some pitiful-hearted men and women, (although Papists)” during the religious unrest in Wilno in 1640.⁴⁷ During the assault on William Torrie’s (Wilhelm Thory) house in Cracow, it was his Catholic neighbours who alerted him to the danger and instructed Torrie’s servants to secure the gate to prevent the mob entering the house.⁴⁸ At the other end of the spectrum, Andrzej Młodzianowski, a tenant of Kiejdany, continuously disregarded Krzysztof Radziwiłł’s orders not to employ those of different faiths, and especially Catholics. Młodzianowski’s pragmatic approach to the issue was summed up by a saying attributed to him: “I do not look at one’s religious conviction but rather at one’s capacity.”⁴⁹

The above survey shows that the levels of religious toleration were not constant in all provinces of Poland-Lithuania and that much depended on the socio-political and economic situation. If in some cities Calvinists were discriminated against when applying for citizenship—for example in Chojnice and Toruń only Lutherans were welcomed—in others, such as Gdańsk and Zamość, the denomination and nationality of prospective citizens was routinely overlooked.⁵⁰ On the other hand, if the majority of

⁴⁵ Ibid., 45; Bieniarzówna and Małecki, *Dzieje Krakowa*, 142.

⁴⁶ Biegańska, “In search of tolerance,” 45.

⁴⁷ A detailed account of this assault and rescue is given by Gilbert, see Gilbert, *Nevves from Poland*, 20–21.

⁴⁸ Węgierski, *Kronika Zboru Ewangelickiego Krakowskiego*, 110–111. Cf. Biegańska, “In search of tolerance,” 47.

⁴⁹ “Ja nie pilnuję wiary, jeno dobrej miary,” quoted in Augustyniak, *Dwór i klientela Krzysztofa Radziwiłła*, 150.

⁵⁰ In Königsberg large numbers of Arians, Quakers and Mennonites were recorded in the eighteenth century, see Tazbir, “The fate of Polish Protestantism,” 202–204; Kriegseisen,

a town's population was of the Protestant creed, Catholics were discriminated against. Such was the case in the estates of the aforementioned Radziwiłł, where preference was given to the Reformed.⁵¹ Similarly, it seems that for the Catholics it was easier to obtain a citizen right in cities with overwhelmingly Catholic populations, although there were exceptions.⁵² Religious factors, therefore, certainly influenced Scottish places of settlement and their experience of the three types of Reformed communities with which they were able to establish long-lasting relations: the Reformed parishes in Protestant centres, the Reformed congregations in towns dominated by the Catholics, and the Reformed churches operating under the patronage of the nobility.

Scottish Communities in Large Protestant Cities: Parishes in Gdańsk, Elbląg, Toruń and Königsberg

It seems that the best conditions for the Scottish Presbyterians and Episcopalians existed in the cosmopolitan, Protestant-dominated cities of northern provinces of the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth, especially in Gdańsk, Elbląg and in Ducal Prussia, in the so-called *parafia zagraniczna* (foreign parish) in Königsberg—a Reformed parish belonging to the Lithuanian Brethren. The development of the Scottish congregations there was similar, as these port cities shared many characteristics. Scottish and English merchants were first recorded during the fourteenth century, but migration did not start in earnest until the sixteenth century. The cities' cosmopolitan population relatively quickly accepted Protestantism, and made Lutheranism the dominant religion. Their inhabitants did not have to endure the religious violence seen in many other parts of Europe, and unlike in staunchly Lutheran Sweden or Denmark-Norway, smaller denominations were allowed to practise their creeds.⁵³

Ewangelicy polscy i litewscy, 68; S. Gierszewski, *Obywatele miast Polski przedrozbiorowej: studium źródłoznawcze* (Warszawa: 1973), 75–79.

⁵¹ Augustyniak, *Dwór i klientela Krzysztofa Radziwiłła*, 61–62, 149–151, 200–207.

⁵² For example, such was the case in Greater Poland, where some of the Catholic nobility, hoping to attract talented, hard-working settlers, allowed immigration of the Lutheran Germans and the Moravian Brethren into their private towns. Cf. Tazbir, "The fate of Polish Protestantism," 207; Kriegseisen, *Ewangelicy polscy i litewscy*, 32, 69–71, 76.

⁵³ Lutheranism was proclaimed the state religion in Sweden and in Denmark-Norway. In Sweden, all inhabitants had to adhere to it. Although persecution of non-Lutheran Protestants and Catholics was sporadic, non-conformists could not practise their faith openly. Religious toleration in Denmark-Norway was granted to Calvinists only in 1685. M. E. Ailes, *Military Migration and State Formation: The British Military Community in*

All three municipalities were made up of smaller entities, all had Hanseatic roots and all took full advantage of their position on the Baltic coast to develop economically through the seaborne trade. As the 1651 tax register and numerous artefacts reveal, because of the involvement in trade, Scottish communities in these cities were more affluent than those in other parts of Poland-Lithuania. As the entrepôts to the Commonwealth, these cities produced congregations that included a large number of non-residents: Scots drawn to them from the nearby locations and from other parts of the Commonwealth and Europe. At the same time, each of the congregations retained a number of distinct characteristics. The oldest, the wealthiest and the most numerous Scottish community belonged to two Reformed parishes of Gdańsk: the St Peter and St Paul and the St Elizabeth churches.

Although the St Peter and St Paul church had been frequented by the Protestants since the 1520s, it was not until the late 1570s and 1580s that the congregation largely consisted of the followers of Calvin's doctrine.⁵⁴ Among the parishioners of this de facto chief Reformed church of the Commonwealth were affluent patricians, council members and other prominent burghers. The temple attracted the Reformed from various ethnic groups residing in the city and its suburbs, among them Scots, Dutch, French Huguenots and Englishmen.⁵⁵ The baptismal and marriage records kept since 1573 reveal not only the continuous Scottish presence in that parish until the late eighteenth century, but also the changing structure of the Scottish population (Fig. 6.1).⁵⁶ The statistical evidence illustrates that it was not until the early 1590s that names indicating Scottish origins begin to appear in parish records on a more regular basis. Prior to that, during the period 1573–1580, of 485 marriages performed at St Peter and St Paul only four could be reasonably safely ascribed to Scots, all of whom,

Seventeenth-Century Sweden (Lincoln, Nebraska: 2002), 69–70; A. Grosjean, *An Unofficial Alliance: Scotland and Sweden, 1569–1654* (Leiden: 2003) 257. Cf. M. Bregnsbro, "Danish absolutism and queenship: Louisa, Caroline Matilda and Juliana Maria," in C. Campbell Orr, ed., *Queenship in Europe, 1660–1815. The Role of Consort* (Cambridge: 2004), 344–367.

⁵⁴ The history of the parish is given in P. Arndt, *Die Danziger reformierte Gemeinde bis zu ihrer staatsrechtlichen Anerkennung im Jahre 1652: Nach e. Vortr. vom 3. Juni 1928 in der Petri-Pauli-Kirche in Danzig* (Danzig: [1928]); Pritzel, *Geschichte der reformierten Gemeinde*.

⁵⁵ Z. Nowak, "Kultura, nauka i sztuka w Gdańsku na przełomie dwóch epok," in E. Cieślak, ed., *Historia Gdańska* (Gdańsk: 1982), 353, 355, 359, 389, 393, 399; S. Kościelak, "Wolność wyznaniowa w Gdańsku w XVI–XVIII wieku," in D. Mariańska and J. Iluk, eds., *Protestantyzm i Protestanci na Pomorzu* (Gdańsk-Koszalin: 1997), 95–123; Bem, "Reformowany Gdańsk," 13–16.

⁵⁶ One of the first acts recorded was the marriage in 1573 of James Burgess (Jacob Burgiss) and Anna, former wife of Simon Lange, see "LC 30 August 1573," APGd. sig. 356/2, fol. 3.

	1590s	1600s	1610s	1620s	1630s	1640s	1650s	1660s	1670s	1680s	1690s	1700s	1710s	1720s	1730s	1740s	1750s	1760s
baptisms	25	28	40	33	72	131	126	65	61	64	45	48	53	40	21	16	16	16
marriages	5	17	7	6	32	44	16											

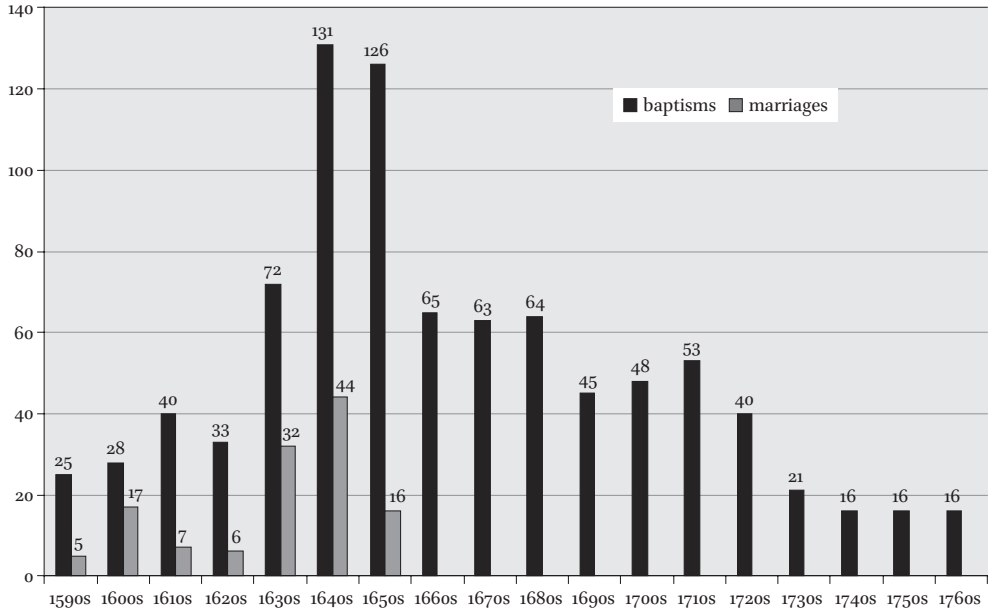


Fig. 6.1. Number of baptisms and marriages involving Scots at St Peter and St Paul church in Gdańsk 1590s–1760s according to the church registers.

it seems, married local women.⁵⁷ The growth of this Scottish community can be illustrated more precisely through the baptismal records after the

⁵⁷ Apart from the marriage mentioned in the previous footnote, there were the marriages of Alexander Gray to Elizabeth, widow of Thomas Jenker (2 February 1578); John Sinclair (Hans Synclar *Ein Schott*) to Orty Magen (20 April 1578); and Andrew Marshall (Andreas Marshale) to Martha (30 November 1579), see “LC 1573–1580,” APGd. sig. 356; fols 2–18. Cf. The list compiled by Fischer, “The Church Records of St Peter and St Paul, and of St Elizabeth at Danzig: Marriages,” is inaccurate. Faulty transliterations resulted in assigning Scottish origins to men of most probably German background. ‘Jacob Hardy’ listed as married in 1574, is Jacob Hecker; ‘Simon Ritch’ (1577) is Simon Riss; and ‘Hans Crockett’ is Hans Hobett (1578). The search could not establish why Fischer included the marriages of ‘M. Nickell’, as his name simply does not appear in the original records, see SEWP, 221–228.

Table 6.1. Number of baptisms conducted at St Peter and St Paul church in 1640–49 according to the church registers.

<i>Year</i>	<i>No. Scots</i>	<i>No. Englishmen</i>	<i>Total number of baptisms</i>
1640	15	3	162
1641	11	1	166
1642	10	4	178
1643	11	2	192
1644	12	4	177
1645	12	3	179
1646	10	1	185
1647	11	4	179
1648	20	5	179
1649	19	2	164
Total for the period	131	29	1761

year 1593. In that particular year only four out of the total of 454 baptisms at St Peter and St Paul were of Scots. By the end of the sixteenth century about 25 baptisms of children whose father (at least) was of Scottish origin had been recorded in the parish. This number grew in the first decades of the seventeenth century. In the 1600s the number rose to about 28, in the 1610s to 40, in the 1620s—probably because of the plague—this dropped to 33, only to increase again to about 72 in the 1630s.⁵⁸ The congregation reached its peak in the fourth decade of the seventeenth century, when 131 Scots baptised their children at St Peter and St Paul. According to this figure, approximately 7.4 per cent of all baptisms in that church involved Scots (Table 6.1).

⁵⁸ The Black Death struck the city especially hard in 1602 and in the 1620s. In 1602 it reportedly caused a minimum of 15,000 fatalities. The new outbreaks in 1620 and 1624 claimed about 9000 and 10,500 victims respectively and caused mass migration to the countryside and further depopulation of the city, see P. Simson, *Geschichte der Stadt Danzig*, 4 vols, (Danzig: 1913–1918) Bd. 2, 461–462; J. Stankiewicz, “Urbanistyczny i przestrzenny rozwój miasta,” in E. Cieślak, ed., *Historia Gdańska* (Gdańsk: 1982), 432–433.

While the overall number of parishioners had dropped since the mid-1610s (possibly as a result of growing tensions between Gdańsk's Lutherans and Reformed), the number of Scots in the parish increased from about 1 per cent in 1593 to 8–10 per cent of the total number of worshippers in the 1640s. The number remained high in the 1650s—when 126 baptisms were recorded—but, as a result of the war with Sweden (1656), decreased sharply in the following decades. In the 1660s the number dropped to 65 baptisms. The number dropped further in the subsequent decades to 61 in the 1670s, 64 in the 1680s, 45 in the 1690s and 48 in the 1700s. By the 1750s, it fell further to about 16 baptisms per decade and moreover, it undoubtedly involved a higher percentage of second- and third-generation migrants, settled families with multiple offspring.⁵⁹

Apart from the couples and their offspring, the Scottish congregation also included a considerable number of single men and women. Unfortunately, unlike the church books kept in Cracow or Kiejdany, the records of St Peter and St Paul do not contain rolls of parishioners or lists of communicants. However, knowing that the ratio of Scottish couples to the total number of Scots in the two aforesaid parishes was 1:10 (one couple to individuals), the approximate size of the Scottish congregation in St Peter and St Paul can be determined by introducing a multiplier of 10 (this multiplier is the base of all calculations made in this chapter).⁶⁰ Consequently, it is possible to speculate that in the 1590s when the Scottish group at St Peter and St Paul was no larger than 20–30 couples, it could have included 200–300 individuals. At its peak, during the 1640s, it may have attracted five times as many parishioners, that is, approximately 100 couples or 900–1000 individuals.

Of importance is the ever-increasing number of marriages involving Scottish women. If in the 1590s they were sporadically mentioned in the records, in the 1640s–1650s one can observe many more of them. Of the total 415 marriages conducted at St Peter and St Paul in the fourth decade of the seventeenth century, 45 (10.8 per cent) involved at least one person of possible Scottish descent. In 16 of these 45 marriages (35.5 per cent), both parties were, most likely, of Scottish background, among them

⁵⁹ The church was also frequented by Englishmen. In the 1640s parishioners of English extraction baptised 26 children, see "LB 1593–1750," APGd. sig. 356; cf. EZAB sig. 5458, 5462.

⁶⁰ For a more detailed explanation of the methodology used, please refer to chapter 3, 112–113. Please note that the same multiplier of 10 has been subsequently used to establish sizes of other Scottish congregations with incomplete records, for example the St Elizabeth church in Gdańsk and the Burgkirche in Königsberg.

Andrew Peacock (Andreas Peakok) and Anna Maria, daughter of David Morrison (Maurison) in 1641; and James Littlejohn (Jacob Litlejan) and Margaret, daughter of James Mortimer (Jacob Mortimers) who married in 1643. Twenty-two Scotsmen married local women, and 7 'Scottish' (most likely born outside Scotland) maidens were betrothed to locals.⁶¹ The size of the parish is also reflected in the fact that between 1654 and 1804 a minimum of 160 Scots and their descendants were buried at St Peter and St Paul.⁶² Only a handful of tombstones have survived, among them those of William Clark (d. 1678),⁶³ Daniel Davidson (Davison) (d. 1710),⁶⁴ Emmanuel Davidson (Davisson) (d. 1743),⁶⁵ John Brown (d. 1744),⁶⁶ and an unknown Davidson (Fig. 6.2).⁶⁷

Very similar demographic changes were recorded at the St Elizabeth church (Fig. 6.3). Taken over by the Protestants in 1524, by 1547 it already had a clear Calvinistic character. Smaller in size and less prestigious than St Peter and St Paul, the St Elizabeth was frequented by the less affluent members of the Reformed community. Although its records date back only to 1622, it is safe to assume that Scots belonged to it from its beginnings. In the 1640s the church attracted approximately 80 Scottish couples: that is, about 700–800 Scottish parishioners. During this period the Scots formed a sizeable part of the congregation. Of the 636 baptisms performed in the

⁶¹ "LC 1640–1641," APGd. sig. 356, fols 175–181; "LC 1642–1649," EZAB, sig. 5458, fols 3–31.

⁶² "Steinbuch [hereafter S-B], St Peter and St Paul, Gdańsk, 1654–1804," EZAB, sig. 5462.

⁶³ The coat of arms appearing on the epitaph has been described in the "Preussische Adels Archiv 1824," APGd. *Biblioteka Archivi* sig. 300R/Ur5, fol. 31. The epitaph can be viewed in the church (no. 7).

⁶⁴ This marble epitaph decorated with the Davidson coat of arms and the following inscription: "DANIEL DAVISON / VOR SICH UND SEINE / ERBEN ANNO 1710 / DEN 20 OKTOB" can be viewed in the church (no. 34).

⁶⁵ The epitaph is decorated with the Davidson coat of arms. At its top it is surmounted by the following inscription in German: "EMMANUEL DAVISON / VOR SICH UND SEINE ERBEN / ANNO 1743 / DEN 20 OKTOB." Below the coat of arms the inscription continues in Latin. The passage from the First Letter of St Paul to the Corinthians reads: "HOC QUAM CORRUPTI[BILE HOC] INDVERIT / INCORRUPTIBILITATEM, / ET MORTALE ISTVD [*sic*] INDVERIT / IMMORTALITATEM / TUNC FLET ILLVD / QUOD SCRIPTUM EST / ASORPTA EST MORS IN VICTORIAM / I EPIST: AD CORINTH. CAP XV / VER. 54" (transl. When the perishable puts on the imperishable, and the mortal puts on immortality, then shall come to pass the saying that is written: "Death is swallowed up in victory." 1 Corinthians 15:54) (no. 133).

⁶⁶ The epitaph has the following inscription: "IOHANN BRAVN / UND / SEINE ERBEN / ANNO 1710" (no. 84).

⁶⁷ The badly damaged epitaph is decorated with the Davidson coat of arms, and below it, with the inscription in Latin: "[VIVE] MEMOR LETHI FUGIT [HORA]" (transl. Live mindful of death, time is fleeing).



Fig. 6.2. Fragment of a damaged epitaph decorated with the Davidson coat of arms St Peter and St Paul church, Gdańsk.

1640s, 111 (approximately 17.5 per cent) involved Scots (Table 6.2). The percentage of marriages was even higher. Of the 125 marriages conducted in 1640–49, 38 (about 30.0 per cent) involved Scots. Of those, 20 (52.6 per cent) were of two Scots. Marriages where only one party was of Scottish extraction involved 14 men and four women. It is thus possible to hypothesise that in the 1640s about one-fifth of all parishioners of St Elizabeth's church were of Scottish background. Overall, between 1623 and 1769 some 160 males who were most likely of Scottish origin were married at this church.⁶⁸ Missing death registers prevent us from establishing how many of them died in that parish, but it is certain that a number of Scots remained, died and were buried there.⁶⁹

⁶⁸ "LB 1622–1781," APGd, sig. 351/5, 351/8; "LC 1631–1704," cf. EZAB, sig. 5294, 5289 (Namensverzeichnisse sig. 5288).

⁶⁹ Two epitaphs that survived in St Elizabeth church include one belonging to David Morrison and the other to Robert Reid. Morrison's marble epitaph is decorated with a housemark (Hausmarke) and the following inscription: "DAVID MAURITZEN / VOR SICH SEINE ERBEN UND ERBNEHMER / ADY 13 APR. A^o1627" and can be viewed in the church (no. 6): "Stein-Buch oder Verzeichnis der Gräber und der darin beerdigten Leichen in der St. Elizabeths-Kirchen in Danzig," APGd, sig. 351/17, fols 17–18. Reid's tombstone includes the following inscription placed in the centre of the epitaph and encircling his housemark:

	1620s	1630s	1640s	1650s	1660s	1670s	1680s	1690s	1700s	1710s	1720s	1730s	1740s	1750s	1760s
baptisms	52+	87	111	115	56	35	13	13	32	7	11	15	5	0	2
marriages	16+	33	34	32	21	18	13	13	11	7	7	3	4	1	4

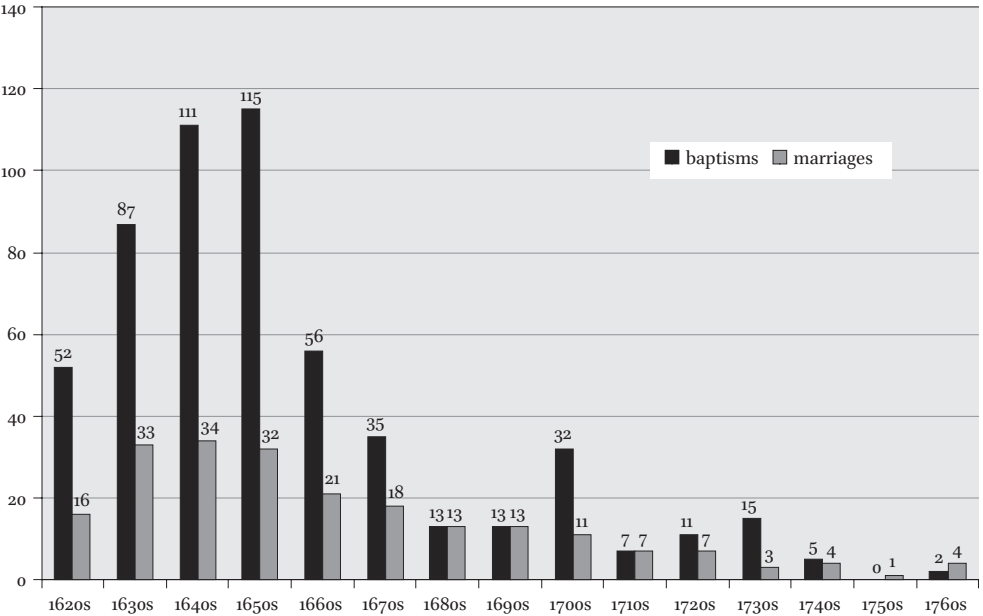


Fig. 6.3. Number of baptisms and marriages involving Scots at St Elizabeth church in Gdańsk 1620s–1760s according to the church registers.

Apart from the demographic trends, both congregations shared yet another characteristic. The records show that not all of the Scots attending either of the parishes were residents of Gdańsk. As noted earlier, the location of the churches in the chief port of Poland-Lithuania had an obvious effect not only on the character of their ever-changing congregations, but also placed them at the heart of the expatriate community. It seems that many Scots belonged to the parish only nominally, and lived in other locations such as Iława, Toruń, Nowe, Kwidzyń or Chełmno. Names of

“ROBERT REID / VOR SICH UND SEINE ERBEN.” Above it, yet another inscription reads “ANNO 1742.”, see *Ibid.*, fols 59–60 (no. 27).

such places appear in the church records on a regular basis. In 1634 Robert Petrie (Albrecht Petri) *aus Thorn* married at St Elizabeth a local maiden, Maria Kandau.⁷⁰ Six years later, John Scott (Hanuß Schott) burgher of Nowe wedded Maria Eckwald.⁷¹ One can also find more distant locations such as Poznań, Königsberg, and Zamość. Other evidence may also support the idea that both Gdańsk's churches attracted Scots from other parts of the Commonwealth.

Of some 168 couples who exchanged their marriage vows or christened their children in St Peter and St Paul and St Elizabeth churches in 1645–55, no more than half (85 couples) appeared in the documents for a longer period of time (those who either married and then baptised their children there, or christened in succession at least two of their children). Other couples, such as David Thomson *von Litt auß Schottland* and Elizabeth Nieland (1649);⁷² George Taylor and Agnita Ross (1653),⁷³ who married at St Peter and St Paul; and Thomas and Anne Forbes, who baptised their son Thomas (1651) at St Elizabeth, appeared in the records only once.⁷⁴ There were also well-documented marriages between Scots already residing in Poland-Lithuania and brides arriving directly from Scotland.⁷⁵ Of all the couples exchanging vows in one of the parishes, nearly 50 per cent did not baptise any children there. Although there may be many other explanations, the idea that these people married there before moving elsewhere seems to be the most plausible.

A further proof that a large percentage of the Scots who attended the churches in 1645–55 were visitors was found when parish records were compared with registers of residents of Gdańsk. The inventory of foreign residents of Gdańsk published by the City Council in 1650 mentioned only 21 Scots and Englishmen living within the city walls, while the church records suggest a much higher figure.⁷⁶

⁷⁰ "LC 6 March 1634," APGd, sig. 351/6, fol. 7; cf. "Trauw Register 1622–1722," EZAB, sig. 5289.

⁷¹ "LC 17 September 1640," APGd, sig. 351/6, fol. 21; cf. "Trauw Register 1622–1722," EZAB, sig. 5289.

⁷² "LC 11 October 1649," EZAB, sig. 5458, fol. 35.

⁷³ "LC 28 March 1653," EZAB, sig. 5458, fol. 67; cf. Fischer erroneously gives the date of this marriage as 1648, see SEWP, 225.

⁷⁴ "LB 1 October 1651," APGd, sig. 351/5, fol. 7; "Tauff Register 1622–1722," EZAB, sig. 5288.

⁷⁵ "Heiraten (Trauw) Register 1623–1625, 1627–1704," APGd, sig. 351/5, 351/6.

⁷⁶ It is interesting to note that only three Scots James Bennett (Jacob Bettnet), John Burnet (Jan Bornet) and John Taylor (Hans Teller), appear in both the register of the foreign residents of Gdańsk of May 1650 and the tithe inventory of 1651, see M. Bogucka,

Table 6.2. Number of baptisms conducted at St Elizabeth church in 1640–49 according to the church registers.

<i>Year</i>	<i>No. Scots</i>	<i>No. Englishmen</i>	<i>Total number of baptisms</i>
1640	11	1	70
1641	10	0	51
1642	9	1	71
1643	15	0	81
1644	9	2	60
1645	12	1	60
1646	14	1	67
1647	9	0	55
1648	11	0	61
1649	11	0	60
Total for the period	111	6	636

The two Scottish congregations shared yet another similarity. They appear as a tightly knit community, well aware of their identity. In the early seventeenth century they apparently had their own separate poor box and a designated space in both the municipal smallpox hospital and the *Hinterspital*. They also had their own *Umbitter* (sexton). David Graham (Grim), who died in the hospital of St Elizabeth in 1667 was, it seems, the caretaker of the church and its graveyard, and his official duties included ringing the bell and announcing deaths (funerals) and marriages.⁷⁷ The evidence shows that throughout the period the Scots were not only primarily marrying compatriots, they were also present as godparents at one another's christenings, often reinforcing the bonds of kinship (interestingly, on the whole Scots did not even mix with the English). Non-Scottish names among the witnesses, a clear sign of integration, start to appear in the records in greater numbers only towards the end of the seventeenth

⁷⁷ "Obcy kupcy osiedli w Gdańsku w pierwszej połowie XVII w.," *Zapiski Historyczne* 37, no. 2 (1972): appendix 2; cf. ASK I 134, fol. 35.

⁷⁷ K. H. Ruffmann, "Engländer und Schotten in den Seestädten Ost- und Westpreussen," *Zeitschrift für Ostforschung* 7 (1958): 34; SEWP, 95–100, 137; SIG, 189.

century. Such witnesses were, more often than not, locals. In most cases they were relatives of the bride and/or people of similar rank or trade, associates of the groom.

While some Scots and their descendants stayed in the two parishes until the late eighteenth century, in 1692 others decided to join Thomas Burnet, the first preacher of the Scottish congregation of Gdańsk, for the Scottish services in his private dwelling at Mariacka Street (Frauengasse).⁷⁸ In 1706 the city authorities permitted Scots and Englishmen to purchase a house for a private 'Brittans Chapell'. This chapel was to have a shared poor box kept originally by the Scots possibly since the beginning of the seventeenth century. Of the five elders appointed to run the church, three were always to be of Scottish background. It was agreed that the clergymen should alternately be from Scotland and England.⁷⁹

The church of St. Peter and St. Paul was frequented by British diplomatic representatives, envoys and other eminent Scots, such as *Englischer Resident Herr James Jaffray, Königlischer Burggraff auf Marienburg und Secretarius* Richard Low and the royal postmaster Robert Low. Sir Francis Gordon of Braco (d. 1644), a privy councillor of the Stuart court, was married and baptised all his children there.⁸⁰ If the other, more prominent parishioners of St Peter and St Paul included the Aidy, Buchan, Clark, Davidson, Forbes, Gourlay, Stuart and Turner families, the more prominent families of St Elizabeth included the Andersons, Hamiltons, Morrisons, Ramsays and the Thomsons. This pattern of church attendance suggests hitherto unrecognised divisions within the Scottish community in Gdańsk, though whether these were political, social, economic or religious in nature is unclear. Religious divisions may have been the most important reason; it is possible that the two congregations divided along episcopalian and presbyterian lines, of particular importance during the 1640s and 1650s, and again after 1690.

The importance of Gdańsk's Scottish congregation must have been recognised by their compatriots and other coreligionists from other towns of Poland-Lithuania and Ducal Prussia.⁸¹ The numerous petitions for financial

⁷⁸ SEWP, 137.

⁷⁹ SIG, 189; M. Dunsby, "Die Englische Kirche in Danzig," *Mitteilungen des Westpreußischen Geschichtsvereins* 31 (1932): 5–6.

⁸⁰ "LC 25 September 1634," APGd. sig. 356/2, fol. 153; "LB 1593–1641," APGd. sig. 356/2, fols 363v, 370, 374v, 377v; "LB 1642–1684," APGd. sig. 356/3, fol. 1.

⁸¹ Scots and their descendants, some of whom probably converted to Lutheranism, were buried in other churches of Gdańsk, as attested by a number of other epitaphs. In St Mary's basilica there is, for example, a badly damaged gravestone of Thomas Payne. The epitaph has the following inscription: "[THO]MAS PEYNE / UND SEINEN ERBEN / ANNO

aid made to them by congregations from Leszno (after 1656), Toruń (1668 and before 1712) and Memel (1681–83) further attest to the financial success of some of the Scots parishioners of the two Gdańsk churches.⁸²

Another large congregation of Scots, similar in character and size to that of Gdańsk, existed in Königsberg.⁸³ Notwithstanding the fact that, as part of Ducal Prussia, Königsberg became independent of the Commonwealth in 1657, the Reformed parish established about 1635 was regarded as part of the Lithuanian Brethren throughout the period under investigation. In addition to the burghers and the residents of Königsberg, the parish was possibly attended by the Reformed students from Poland-Lithuania and other parts of Europe, who were drawn to Königsberg to attend its famous university.⁸⁴ The assembly reportedly grew in numbers during the summer season, when Polish-speaking nobles from the Grand Duchy of Lithuania visited the parish.⁸⁵ Just as in Gdańsk, the Reformed congregation included Germans, Dutch, French, Poles and a sizeable group of Scots, who appear in the parish records from its foundation. John Gellatly (Johann Gelleton), recorded in 1636, was the sixth child baptised at the church after the official register was established (1635). Likewise, the marriage of Edward (Eduard) Carr *Schott* and Elizabeth Jackson (Dziakson) in 1638 was one of the first on record.⁸⁶ According to Fischer, already in 1646, of seven elders of the assembly, three were Scots.⁸⁷

1681" (the unnumbered stone is located in the middle of a nave, on the right-hand side of the basilica). Fischer mentions several other examples of epitaphs belonging to Scots, see SEWP, 138–139, 228–232.

⁸² A. Biegańska, "Wielka emigracja Szkotów w Polsce druga połowa XVI—koniec XVII wieku," (PhD Thesis, Uniwersytet Śląski, Katowice, 1974), 54.

⁸³ Since many documents pertaining to the Reformed community in Königsberg were destroyed during the Second World War, the best sources of information on the history of Scots in that city are works by Sembrzycki and Fischer. A history of the Reformed parish is the subject of work by Fritsch. Despite the fact that these publications are much aged, I have relied on them to create context for the data obtained from the parish registers of the *Bürgkirche*, see J. Sembrzycki, "Die Schotten und Engländer in Ostpreussen und die 'Brüderschaft Gross-Britannischer Nation' in Königsberg," *Altpreussische Monatsschrift*, Bd. XXIX (1892): 228–247, Bd. XXX (1893): 351–356; G. Fritsch, *Die Burgkirche zu Königsberg i. Pr. und ihre Beziehungen zu Holland* (Königsberg: 1935); J. Łukaszewicz, *Dzieje kościołów wyznania helweckiego w Litwie*, 2 vols (Poznań: 1842–43), vol. II, 41–42; SIP; SEWP.

⁸⁴ Ruffman, "Engländer und Schotten," 26. Cf. J. Jasiński, *Historia Królewca: Szkice z XIII–XX stulecia* (Olsztyn: 1994); M. Biskup and W. Wrzesiński, eds., *Królewiec a Polska* (Olsztyn: 1993).

⁸⁵ This was especially the case from the beginning of the eighteenth century. Services in Polish were held there from 1701 and continued for the next hundred years or so, see Kreigseisen, *Ewangelicy polscy i litewscy*, 101–107; cf. Łukaszewicz, *Dzieje kościołów wyznania helweckiego w Litwie*, vol. II, 41.

⁸⁶ "LB 13 Nov 1636," and "LC 4 Jul 1638," EZAB, sig. 2142B, fols 1, 26.

⁸⁷ SIG, 189–190.

It appears that the number of Scots attending the church grew rapidly. Between 1640 and 1649, of the total 98 marriages conducted in the church, about 31 involved Scots (31.6 per cent) and of the total 340 baptisms, about 114 (33.5 per cent) involved children of probable Scottish descent (Fig. 6.4). While some of the children baptised were of parents married at the Burgkirche, others belonged to at least 32 Scottish couples whose names do not appear in the marriage register.⁸⁸ Based on those figures, it is possible to speculate that during the fourth decade of the seventeenth century the congregation may have consisted of 70–80 families, or 700–800 people. The data obtained from the registers of baptism show that this trend continued in the 1650s (92 out of 299 baptisms involved Scots) and the 1660s (88 of 321). While some of the parishioners were residents of Altstadt, Kniephof and Löbenicht, that is, the three cities that made up Königsberg, others, as was the case in Gdańsk, were probably inhabitants of other nearby towns and villages. The registers of marriages provide evidence that the parish was also attended by non-residents. As in Gdańsk, the names of a number of the Scottish newlyweds do not appear in the register of baptisms.

The Scottish congregation in Königsberg resembled Gdańsk's community in several other respects. During the 1640s, the Scots not only formed a considerable part of the local Reformed parish, but also maintained a separate identity and organisation as a community. The Scottish Brotherhood operated there possibly even before 1636 (that year "the Scots nation" in a group action petitioned to have a designated space for Scots in hospital at Löbenicht).⁸⁹ After 1646, the Scots also attended services held in their mother tongue. Responding to the passionate requests of some of them, the Great Elector of Prussia gave the Scots permission to have a service in their own tongue and "complete 'exercitium' with all its *actibus catechisationis, visitationis* of the sick, *administrationis* of the Lord's Supper, Baptism, and other spiritual exercises, appertaining there unto".⁹⁰ The Elector appointed James (Jacob) Brown, a former preacher at Gdańsk, as the minister for this newly formed mixed Scottish-English congregation.⁹¹ Another manifestation of the importance placed on maintaining a distinct

⁸⁸ See Appendix IV.

⁸⁹ SEWP, 64–65.

⁹⁰ SIG, 189–190.

⁹¹ James Brown (fl. 1646–89) was a minister to the congregations in Gdańsk and Königsberg. It is highly likely that he preached in English. Brown was involved in a controversy. In about 1658–59 he was accused of adopting some of the teachings of the Quakers. Brown later preached at the Scots' Church at Rotterdam, see Sembrzycki, "Die Schotten und Engländer," 235–236; SIG, 189–190.

	1630s	1640s	1650s	1660s	1670s	1680s	1690s	1700s	1710s	1720s
baptisms	29+	114	92	88	82	92	76	41	34	7+
marriages	3+	31	19	26	23	30	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a

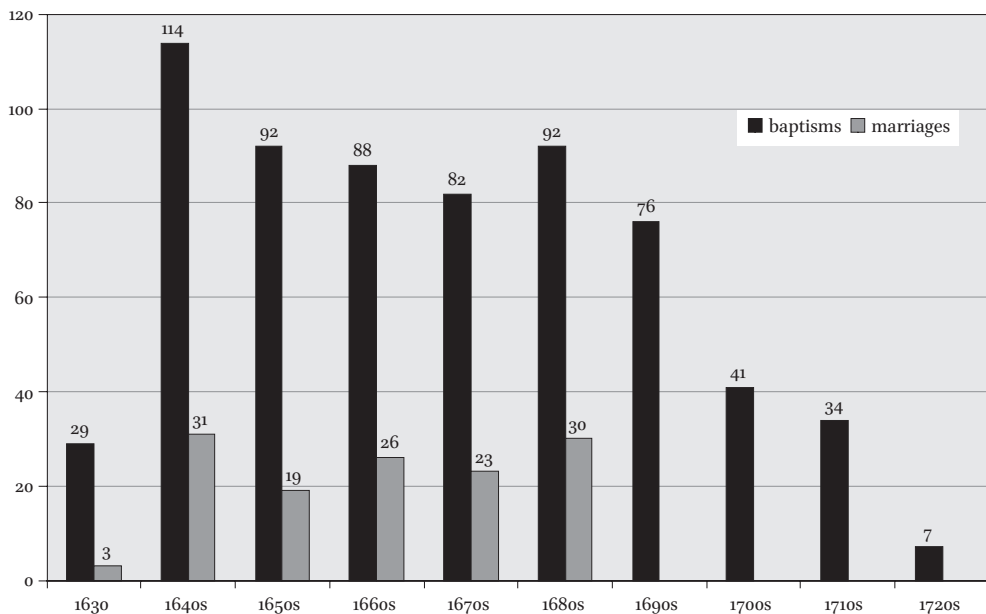


Fig. 6.4. Number of baptisms and marriages involving Scots at Burgkirche in Königsberg between 1630s–1720s, according to the church registers.

identity was contacts between the Scots of Königsberg and their homeland. When in 1701 the Scottish expatriates made contributions towards the restoration fund of Marischal College in Aberdeen, the majority of the 54 supporters of this project belonged to the Burgkirche congregation.⁹²

The overwhelmingly favourable position enjoyed by the Scottish Presbyterians and Episcopalians in Gdańsk and Königsberg did not extend to the other two Protestant centres, Elbląg and Toruń. The Lutheran-dominated town councils there did not allow the construction of a Reformed church. However, the presence of Nonconformists

⁹² "List of contributors towards the restoration fund Marischal College, Aberdeen," quoted in SIG, 268–269.

was tolerated and Scottish congregations existed in both of these locations. The situation of Scots in Elbląg, where the first migrants appeared in the town records around the 1570s, was different to that of any other city in Poland-Lithuania, as the majority of migrants from the British Isles were English. This atypical state of affairs was a consequence of close ties between England and the city's council. In 1579, under the title of the Eastland Company, the English merchants obtained permission to establish their staple, to settle and to trade freely in the city.⁹³

It is estimated that between 1581 and 1628 some 170 families, predominantly from England, settled in the city.⁹⁴ Between 1581 and 1600, 34 men, merchants mainly from London, Newcastle, Ipswich and York, acquired civic rights there. Some, like Robert Farquhar (Fergwart) of Newcastle (1597) or William Cumming (Komin) of London (1597), may have been of Scottish extraction.⁹⁵ So too were John Durie, Thomas Russell, court purveyor to Elizabeth I and governor of the company since 1597, as well as Alexander Nisbet (Niesebeth), an affluent cloth merchant.⁹⁶ The English settlement thrived in Elbląg for more than 40 years until 1626 when a war broke out between Sweden and Poland-Lithuania. The English, accused of supporting Gustav II Adolf, lost their privileges in 1628, and eventually the Eastland Company was forced to remove its staple from Elbląg. While the majority of Elbląg merchants affected by this event returned to their native land, those who had married locals stayed behind. Among them was Charles Ramsay of Dundee, married to the daughter of Gdańsk merchant Andrew Cheyne (Andreas Kayne); and Thomas Auchinvole

⁹³ Detailed studies of the Eastland Company founded 17 August 1579 include R. Hinton, *The Eastland Trade and the Common Wealth in the Seventeenth Century* (Hamden: 1975); B. Krysztopa-Czupryńska, *Kompania Wschodnia (Eastland Company) a Rzeczpospolita w latach 1579–1673* (Olsztyn: 2003); H. Zins, "Geneza angielskiej Kompanii Wschodniej (Eastland Company) z 1579," *Zeszyty Historyczne* 29 zeszyt 3 (1964): 7–42; idem, "Przywilej Elżbiety I z 1579 roku dla angielskiej Kompanii Wschodniej," *Rocznik Elbląski*, vol. III (1966): 71–104; E. A. Mierzwa, *Anglia a Polska w pierwszej połowie XVII w.* (Warszawa: 1986), 65–66; A. Groth, "Handel," in A. Groth, ed., *Historia Elbląga*, 10 vols (Gdańsk: 1996), vol. II, part 1, 42–49; P. Simson, "Die Handelsniederlassung der englischen Kaufleute in Elbing," *Hansische Geschichtsblätter* 16 (1916): 87–143.

⁹⁴ H. Kownatzki, *Elbing als ehemaliger englischer Handelsplatz: (Elbing) as an former English trading centre* (Elbing: [1930]), 28–30; J. Tandecki, "Rozwój przestrzenny miasta i jego stosunki ludnościowe," in A. Groth, ed., *Historia Elbląga*, 10 vols (Gdańsk: 1996), vol. II, part 1, 28–29; A. Groth, *Kupcy angielscy w Elblągu w latach 1583–1628* (Gdańsk: 1986), 38–40; S. Gierszewski, *Elbląg. Przeszłość i teraźniejszość* (Gdańsk: 1970), 68–69.

⁹⁵ H. Zins, *Anglia a Bałtyk w II połowie XVI wieku: Bałtycki handel kupców angielskich z Polską wpoce elżbietańskiej, Kompania Wschodnia* (Wrocław-Warszawa-Kraków: 1967), Table 6.

⁹⁶ Groth, "Handel," 48–49.

(Achenwall, Achenwaldt) of Stirling, who had also most likely wed a local woman, named Alfrede.⁹⁷ Such mixed marriages did not always mean a loss of identity or a higher level of integration. Despite being married to Sybilla Langkagel, daughter of an Elbląg councillor, Alexander Nisbet held tight to his identity, decorating the gable of his town-house with the figure of a lion, a heraldic charge of the Kingdom of Scotland.⁹⁸

Despite the demise of the Eastland Company some Scots migrated to Elbląg well after the 1620s. For example, William (Wilhelm) Durham settled there in 1650.⁹⁹ A number of Scots arrived in Elbląg during the Swedish occupation (1626–35), when the city became Gustav Adolf's headquarters. According to Włodarski, as a result the city played an important role as a rallying point for freshly recruited troops from England, Ireland, Bohemia and Moravia. In the company of the recruits there were most likely also Scottish mercenaries.¹⁰⁰ Among the more notable Scots recorded in Elbląg during this period were General James Spens, ambassador to Gdańsk and Brandenburg in 1627;¹⁰¹ his chaplain Eleazar Borthwick, whom Spens appointed to the congregation there in 1629;¹⁰² Colonel George Cunningham, commander of a 1300-strong Swedish garrison there;¹⁰³ and Colonel Sir James Ramsay with his wife Lady Ramsay.¹⁰⁴ Yet overall, the number of Englishmen and Scotsmen must have significantly decreased. The register of the subsidy to Charles II of 1651 lists only four individuals: John and William Ramsay, Peter Ray and James West.¹⁰⁵ This is certainly

⁹⁷ Groth, *Kupcy angielscy w Elblągu*, 39–47; A. Groth, "Ramseyowie—elbląski ród patrycjuszowski XVII–XVIII wieku," in M. Biskup, ed., *Zaszczeni ludzie dawnego Elbląga. Szkice biograficzne* (Wrocław: 1987), 106–110; cf. "Descendenztafel [Thomas] Achenwall [1581–1918]," APGD, sig. 492/1158; "The birth-brief issued to Thomas Achenwaldt of Stare Pole," (31 December 1663), APGD sig. 369,1/133.

⁹⁸ Nisbet's house, built in 1598, was one of the earliest renaissance town-houses in Elbląg. It was located at 10 Kowalska Street. The house was destroyed during the Second World War, see Groth, "Handel," 48–49; W. Rynkiewicz-Domino, "Budownictwo, architektura i kultura artystyczna," in A. Groth, ed., *Historia Elbląga*, 10 Vols (Gdańsk: 1996), vol. II, part 1, 249.

⁹⁹ William's son William (Wilhelm Duhram, Düram) (1658–1735) was enrolled in the local college in 1664 and later studied in Toruń (1670) and Frankfurt (1677), and became a judge of the Royal Prussian Supreme Court of Appeal and a member of the Consistory, see H. Abs, ed., *Die Matrikel des Gymnasiums zu Elbing (1598–1786)*, (Hamburg: 1982), 144.

¹⁰⁰ J. Włodarski, "Łosy polityczne (1626–1772)," in A. Groth, ed., *Historia Elbląga*, 10 vols (Gdańsk: 1996), vol. II, part 1, 15.

¹⁰¹ "James Spens of Wormiston (b. 1571, d. 1632)," in SSNE, no. 1642.

¹⁰² "Eleazar Borthwick of Chesters and Brunton," in SSNE, no. 1064.

¹⁰³ Włodarski, "Łosy polityczne (1626–1772)," 15; this is possibly the same as "George Cunningham (d. 1632)," in SSNE, no. 2118.

¹⁰⁴ Grosjean, *An Unofficial Alliance*, 142.

¹⁰⁵ ASK I 134, fol. 35a.

an incomplete record of all Scots residing at this time in Elbląg (it does not mention, for example, Auchinvole); nevertheless, the list indicates that by the 1650s the community had shrunk substantially in size.

Unlike in Gdańsk and Königsberg, the Reformed community of Elbląg did not have one specific parish where they would gather. It is unclear where exactly the Scots of Elbląg worshipped.¹⁰⁶ Groth suggested that the Eastland Company held their services in a private house acquired at the market square in 1583. This residence became the centre of the commercial, social as well as religious life of the mixed English-Scottish congregation. The Englishmen, most probably along with the Scots, also conducted their services at two country residences near Elbląg that belonged to the Eastland Company. During the late 1610s the English built a villa near the Elbląg River, which became known as the "English Well". A similar villa was built at the nearby town of Łęcze (Dörbeck). After 1637 they also used the residence of English merchant John Slocombe (Sloucumb, Slucoumbe), known as "Siebengiebelhause" (the House of the Seven Gables).¹⁰⁷ Besides having its own places of worship, the Eastland Company also secured permission from the Council of Elbląg to have its own English preacher. The famous John Durie of Edinburgh held that office in 1624–30. The friendly relations between the English and Scottish Reformed, as well as between them and the host community, continued for many years. Possibly because of that, the English and the Scots were able to bury their dead in the churchyard of St Mary, the main Protestant church in Elbląg. A number of epitaphs existed there until the Second World War. The highly ornamented, expensive stones, some of which are known now only from archival photos, provide a fine indication of the affluence of their subjects.¹⁰⁸

Another churchless Scottish community resided in Lutheran Toruń. The Scots were first recorded there in the middle of the sixteenth century.¹⁰⁹

¹⁰⁶ For an overview of the beginning confessional relationship between Lutherans and Calvinists in Elbląg, see Müller, "Late Reformation," 201–202; cf. O. Heuer, "Von den Anfängen der Reformierten Gemeinde in Elbing," *Mitteilungen des Copernicus-Vereins* 47 (1939): 86–101.

¹⁰⁷ Groth, *Kupcy angielscy w Elblągu*, 38–39; Ruffman, *Engländer und Schotten*, 25; Tandecki, "Rozwój przestrzenny miasta," vol. 2, part 1, 22–23.

¹⁰⁸ Among the epitaphs at St Mary's church destroyed during the Second World War there were the epitaph of Richard Whitelock a Beche, Katharina von Dambitz, Anthony Smyth a Cverdley, Catherine Whitelock a Beche, erected in 1656; the epitaph of Councillor Charles Ramsey *des Ältern*, (1616–1659), see Kownatzki, *Elbing als ehemaliger englischer*, 23, 28–31, 33. Cf. L. Abramowicz and B. Jesionowski, *Od Dominikańskiego kościoła do Galerii Sztuki. Epitafia i płyty nagrobne. Przewodnik* (Elbląg: 1986).

¹⁰⁹ For an overview of the developments in Toruń please refer to P. Arndt, "Die reformierten Geistlichen im Stadt- und Landkreis Thorn 1586–1921," *Mitteilungen des Copernicus-Vereins* 47 (1939), 1–51. Cf. Müller, "Late Reformation," 200–201.

Notwithstanding the fact that, just like Jews, they were not entitled to settle in Toruń, the Scots were drawn to the town, possibly because of its geographical location, as a place suitable for their conventions. Probably for the same reason, each year on the Feast of Epiphany they held a general court of appeal there.¹¹⁰ Mundy, who visited Toruń twice in 1640 and 1643, commented on Scots whom he met there, but apart from that not much is known about the size of the group.¹¹¹ Likewise, not much can be gauged from the tithe register of 1651, as the names of the contributors were not listed. Judging from the amount collected—90 zł—this relatively small contribution could have been made by just one or two Scots.¹¹² The group was perhaps strengthened by the presence of a large number of Scottish soldiers who were stationed at Toruń during the war with Sweden (1655–60).

The Swedish garrison, which occupied the city from 1655 to 1658, consisted of a 500-strong Scottish Body Guard unit. Some of these men, decommissioned in 1659, chose to stay in Toruń after the war.¹¹³ Despite the fact that up until 1677 the Reformed did not have their own place of worship, using Lutheran churches instead, the Scots maintained their religion. When the Reformed finally managed to acquire their own church in 1677, among the members of this small congregation there were several parishioners of Scottish descent.¹¹⁴ Between 1677 and 1795 eight couples,

¹¹⁰ The Scots, some of whom lived temporarily in the suburbs of Toruń, were mentioned in the local *Wettgericht* articles (1634) that explicitly prohibited them from peddling, see S. Cackowski, "W czasach Rzeczypospolitej szlacheckiej," in M. Biskup, ed., *Toruń dawny i dzisiejszy* (Warszawa: 1983), 161; Z. Guldón, "Artykuły wetowe miasta Torunia z 1634 roku," *Zapiski Historyczne* 38 (1973): 95–96. Cf. W. Kowalski, "The placement of urbanised Scots in the Polish Crown during the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries," in A. Grosjean and S. Murdoch, eds., *Scottish Communities Abroad in the Early Modern Period* (Leiden: 2005), 57; SEWP, 22.

¹¹¹ P. Mundy, *The travels of Peter Mundy, in Europe and Asia, 1608–1667*, 5 vols ed. Lt. Col. Sir Richard Carnac Temple (Cambridge: 1907–1936), vol. IV, 100–101.

¹¹² ASK I 134, fol. 35.

¹¹³ Among them were Captain James Fraser and Ensign William Fraser. James Fraser (d. 1659), an officer in Swedish service, was the fifth son of Hugh, 7th Lord Fraser of Lovat, and Isobel, daughter of Sir John Wemyss of that ilk. Captain Fraser was listed as one of the Scottish officers of Colonel Lord Cranstoun's regiment in 1655–58. After the war with Sweden ended Fraser settled in Toruń and became involved in merchandising, see SEWP, 134; SIP, xxii; SSNE, nos. 2290, 5228; J. Fraser, *Chronicles of the Frasers* (Edinburgh: 1905), 424. Cf. A. Grosjean, "Royalist Soldiers and Cromwellian Allies? The Cranstoun Regiment in Sweden 1655–1658," in S. Murdoch and A. Mackillop, eds., *Fighting for Identity: Scottish Military Experience c. 1550–1900* (Leiden and Boston: 2002), 61–82; S. Murdoch, "Scotland, Europe and the English 'Missing Link'," *History Compass* 5 issue 3 (2007): 897.

¹¹⁴ P. Arndt, *Geschichte der evangelisch-reformierten Gemeinde in Thorn: Festschrift zur Einweihung der neuen Kirche am 18. Februar 1904* (Thorn: 1900), 15; Dworzaczkowa, *Bracia czescy w Wielkopolsce*, 105–106; Kriegseisen, *Ewangelicy polscy i litewscy*, 84–88.

of whom at least the male was of Scottish origin, baptised 30 children (the last baptism took place in 1758). It appears that these Scots were well-off merchants or army officers, and that they had contacts with their compatriots in other parts of Poland-Lithuania.¹¹⁵ Among the godparents there were Scots from Gdańsk, Warsaw¹¹⁶ and Königsberg.¹¹⁷ In addition, two men of Scottish descent, Thomas Albert Young (1719–45) and Ernest Waugh (Wauch) (1789–91), were ministers of the Toruń parish in the eighteenth century.¹¹⁸

The evidence demonstrates that the Scottish congregations enjoyed varied success in the Protestant-dominated cities. While they flourished in Gdańsk, Königsberg and, to a degree, in Elbląg where they formed large congregations, tight Lutheran control over Toruń prevented the Scots from forming a larger settlement there but, remarkably, did not stop them establishing their own, albeit small, faith community. It seems that, regardless of circumstances, religion helped the Scots to retain their sense of identity, sometimes over several generations. The evident preference to marry other Scots and to invite compatriots to act as godparents and witnesses attests to Scottish attempts to separate themselves from the other Reformed. Similarly, efforts to organise separate services, poor-boxes or chapels further demonstrate such a mindset. Scottish pride in their identity is further displayed in their coats of arms and use of national emblems on a variety of artefacts. The evidence from the church books of Gdańsk gives the impression that this was also true of situations where confessional and linguistic similarities between the Scots and the English

¹¹⁵ The permanent residents and parishioners of Toruń included John Albert Young (Joung) and Susanna Elizabeth Casur—five children; John Lithgow (Lethgo) wine merchant and winemaker and Teresa Klenkowicz (a Roman Catholic)—two children; and Thomas Ogilvie (Ogilwy) and Maria Louisa Müllich—two children. The Hewisons (Huison, Hujsson), Andrew a local merchant and Anna Julianne née Turner, the only couple in Toruń of which both husband and wife were Scots, were proud parents of 14 children baptised between 1738 and 1758. On the other hand, Andrew Hamilton and Adelgunda née Scholtz, and Alexander Black (Blak) and Dorothea née Schellenberg, who were from Warsaw and Łowicz respectively, appeared in the records only once in 1709, see “LB 1677–1795,” AP Bydgoszcz, oddział w Toruniu (hereafter APBTor.), sig. 279, fols 38–44.

¹¹⁶ Lorenz Birell, a *Laufman* (gunsmith) from Königsberg, was a godfather of Johan Wilhelm Lithgow baptised in 1699, see “LB 10 June 1699,” APBTor. sig. 279, fol. 23.

¹¹⁷ Gottfried Ogilvie from Warsaw and Charlotte Philipina Davidson and Catharina Clark from Gdańsk were godparents of Charlotte Elizabeth Reich, daughter of David and Louise Elizabeth née Davidson, baptised in 1754, see “LB 13 June 1754,” APBTor. sig. 279, fol. 42.

¹¹⁸ SEWP, 139.

resulted in the formation of mixed English-Scottish communities.¹¹⁹ In spite of cooperating to form structures separate from the local church, each ethnic group stayed away from the other when it came to marriage or even choosing godparents.

*Scottish Protestants in the Catholic Cities; The Role of
Rural Reformed Parishes*

There were relatively few large Protestant-dominated towns in the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth, as the majority of towns remained firmly under Catholic control. Yet, because of the relatively low level of religious violence, the Scottish Protestants, by and large, had little hesitation in settling in the Catholic strongholds, towns often without official Protestant places of worship. The following examples illustrate the diverse conditions they encountered at different locations and how the Scots adapted to those conditions.

Of all the Catholic-dominated cities, the most favourable conditions for the Protestants probably existed in Wilno, where, thanks to Radziwiłłs patronage, the first Reformed chapel was built in 1553. The proper church founded in 1579 by Mikołaj Radziwiłł 'the Red' remained in use until 1639, despite two serious attacks on it in 1591 and 1611. According to Gilbert, at this time, in addition to the local Poles, the parish was attended by Scots, Dutch and French. When the church was destroyed in 1639, the parish was moved to a nearby suburb, where it operated peacefully until 1682.¹²⁰

The parish registers, which date back to 1631, show that the Scots were most numerous between 1631 and 1656, when the Scottish congregation comprised of perhaps 8–10 couples, that is, using the calculations applied earlier, 80–100 people.¹²¹ In the 1650s only five Scottish families remained in the parish on a more permanent basis.¹²² Despite the low numbers, the

¹¹⁹ Several interesting observations about the relationship between Scottish and English migrants and their attempts to build integrated 'British' communities were made in A. Grosjean and S. Murdoch, eds., *Scottish Communities Abroad in the Early Modern Period* (Leiden: 2005), 9–10.

¹²⁰ Merczyng, "Czterokrotne zburzenie zboru," 327–334; Gilbert, *Nevves from Poland*, 9–10; Łukaszewicz, *Dzieje kościołów wyznania helweckiego w Litwie*, vol. II, 112–150.

¹²¹ See above, 239. See also Appendix VII.

¹²² Those included the families of William Davidson, Robert Gilbert, John Galloway (Gallowai *Szkot*), James Ogilvie and Robert Ross, see "LB 1631–1761," LVIA Fond 606, Ap. 1, B. 102–104, fols 2–24v.

Scots most probably formed a separate Scottish Brotherhood. A curious designation, *szkockiego narodu audiutor* (auditor of the Scottish nation), given to Thomas Hutcheson (Tomasz Hutson) in 1652, most likely refers to his function within this organisation.¹²³ Maintaining their identity did not stop the Scots from making valuable contributions to the life of the larger Reformed community. John Charles Fraser, an architect and woodcarver (1729–1763), was involved in the building of a local Reformed Evangelical Assembly House, and so was Charles Fraser, originally of Cracow, likewise a woodcarver, active in Wilno in the 1720s.¹²⁴

Slightly different, less favourable conditions existed in Catholic Poznań. Although not much is known about the size of the Reformed brethren there, it is clear that its multiethnic congregation included Polish gentry, Germans and Scots. The congregation must have already been waning in the late 1590s, as it was unable to collect enough to afford a permanent minister.¹²⁵ Should the controversial estimates of the size of the assembly prove accurate, and should the proportion of Scots belonging to it reflect the trends observed elsewhere, they would suggest that of 200–500 parishioners in 1599, about 20 to 40 were Scots.¹²⁶ Scots must have been a part of this congregation at least since the 1570s, but it is impossible to assess the size of the group and how many resided there on a permanent basis. In his decree of 1576, King Stefan Batory instructed the city authorities to remove Scots who did not own a residential property there.¹²⁷ A register of 1590 lists

¹²³ "LB 2 August 1652," LVIA Fond 606, Ap. 1, B. 102–104, fol. 14v.

¹²⁴ M. Morelowski, "Jan Karol Fraser (Frezer)," in PSB VII, 98; idem, "Karol Frazer (Fraser, Frezer, Freser)," in PSB VII, 99. Both men were recorded in the register of communicants. "LComm 1725–1756," LVIA Fond. 1218, Ap. 1, b. 590, fols 10–53v. Cf. Biegańska, "Wielka emigracja Szkotów," Table IX (Rzemieślnicy).

¹²⁵ Dworzaczkowa, *Bracia czescy w Wielkopolsce*, 56; J. Łukaszewicz, *Wiadomość historyczna o dyssydentach w mieście Poznaniu w XVI i XVII wieku porządkiem lat zebrana przez Józefa Łukaszewicza* (Poznań: 1832), passim.

¹²⁶ Based on the death records assembled in the aftermath of the plague that beset Poznań in 1599, Stanisław Waszak estimated the number of the Reformed faithful there at about 200–500 individuals. The accuracy of that figure was questioned later by Dworzaczkowa, see S. Waszak, "Dzielnosc rodziny mieszczańskiej i ruch naturalny ludności Poznania w końcu XVI i w XVII wieku," *Roczniki Dziejów Społecznych i Gospodarczych* 16 (1954): 332; Dworzaczkowa, *Bracia czescy w Wielkopolsce*, 56.

¹²⁷ "Privilegium contra vagabundos: Mandatum Stephani regis permittendi magistratui Posnaniensi ut vagos nullos possessiones habentes per capitaneum pellantur a civitate (Warszawa, 23 June 1576)," APPOzn sig. 13954.

only five Scottish families, yet a similar document of 1605 lists 20 Scots.¹²⁸ Of those, 10 were admitted as citizens between 1585 and 1600.¹²⁹

In 1604, in the fallout of Young's enquiry into Scottish Brotherhoods, twenty Scots of Poznań were summoned to the Royal Court for wilfully creating their own, illegitimate organisation. Although the name 'brotherhood' was not mentioned in the indictment, as stated earlier, they were accused of making their own laws and statutes, conducting secret gatherings, holding courts and employing discriminatory policies against Catholics.¹³⁰ It is therefore safe to assume that a majority of them were Protestants. This assumption is supported by later developments. In 1630, three Scotsmen—Erasmus Lilitson (perhaps Livingstone) and Gilbert Blenschel (?) of Aberdeen and George (Georgius) Gibson from Culross—in order to acquire citizenship of Poznań had to promise to be present at all Catholic services and festivals. Some 30 years later, in 1667, another three Scots—James Joachim Watson and George Edislay from Newbattle, and William Abercrombie (Wilhelmus Aberkrami) from Aberdeen—were enrolled as burgesses of Poznań. Among the conditions set for them to fulfil was attendance at Catholic sermons on Sundays at the St Mary Magdalene church, and also at funerals.¹³¹

It seems that despite additional conditions, the number of Scots in the city continued to grow.¹³² The 1651 tax register lists 26 Scots. As Fischer correctly observed, not a single one of those was mentioned in 1605.¹³³ By confirming the deficiencies of the 1651 roll, it may also attest to the

¹²⁸ According to Łukaszewicz, they included the following Scots: David Burn, John Thosse (perhaps Thomson), John Veneth (perhaps Bennet), David Skene (Skin), John Anderson (Ondron), Andrew Stirling (Sterlin), James Paterson, James Carlyle (Kaliel), Maurycy Wolstom (perhaps Morris Wilson), John Robertson, James Kirkwood (Karkut, Kerkut), Robert Brown (Brun), David Duncan (Duncker, Dunker), Andrew Anstruther (Struders), Alexander Nielson (Nilson), George Beem (perhaps Bain), James Frobell or Trobell (perhaps Forbes?), John Benna (perhaps Bennie), Bernard Ballentine (Belendin) *goldsmith* and Robert Ramsay (Ramza), see J. Łukaszewicz, *Obraz historyczno-statystyczny miasta Poznania w dawniejszych czasach*, 2 vols (Poznań: 1838), vol. II, 104–105; idem, *O kościołach braci czeskich w dawnej Wielkopolsce* (Poznań: 1835), 419. The list was reprinted by Fischer, however, it contains some errors; for example, it does not include Wolstom, who was mentioned by Łukaszewicz, see SIG, 258; cf. S. Abt, "Łudność Poznania w XVI i pierwszej połowie XVII w.," in J. Topolski, ed., *Dzieje Poznania do roku 1793* (Warszawa-Poznań: 1988), vol. I, part 1, 449; Kowalski, "The placement of urbanised Scots," 58.

¹²⁹ SEWP, 204–205.

¹³⁰ "Księgi grodzkie Poznańskie," APPozn, sig. 1225, fols 1–2, quoted in Dworczakowa, *Bracia czeszy w Wielkopolsce*, 59.

¹³¹ SEWP, 57, 207–208, 212; cf. Biegańska, "In search of tolerance," 40.

¹³² ASK I 134, fol. 4.

¹³³ SIG, 258.

fluctuating character of the Scottish settlement in Poznań. Although the war with Sweden must have had a negative effect on the size of the Scottish diaspora there, the register of members of the merchants' brotherhood of Poznań of 1713 lists among its 36 members eight men of Scottish descent.¹³⁴ The Scottish Protestants worshipped in the local Reformed church, until its destruction in 1616.¹³⁵ Subsequently, just like their coreligionists, the majority of Scots, it appears, attended a parish in Skoki (Skokken), situated on a country estate 40 kilometres north of the city. It is unclear how many Scots settled permanently in the parish in the first decades of the seventeenth century. The tax register of 1651 lists only one, John Keill (Jan Kill).¹³⁶

The community flourished until "the Deluge" when its inhabitants, predominantly Dissenters, actively supported the occupant against the Polish Crown. Retributions that followed the defeat of the Swedes brought on a progressive decline of the community.¹³⁷ In the 1680s among the parishioners there were about three Scottish families: Moir (Mora), Cheyne (Cień), and Watson. In the next decade there were also Melville (Melvel or Melver) and Petrie (Petry). Among the witnesses, one can find the Scots of Poznań mentioned earlier: William Watson (Wilem Vattson), Thomas Rait (Red), and Alexander Stuart.¹³⁸ Nevertheless, the Scottish presence there was still reasonably strong. According to Dworzackkowa, the Scots from Poznań, its de facto parishioners, were vital financial supporters of the church.¹³⁹ The plague that decimated the population in 1710 brought the most serious blow to the town and the Reformed parish itself. According

¹³⁴ The members of the brotherhood were William Forbes, James Stuart (Sztuart), Alexander Stuart (Sztuart), Alexander Farquhar (Fracher), Robert Reid (Rydt), William Thomson (Tamson), John Watson and William Ferguson. Of Scottish descent was probably Michael Kin, perhaps King, see Łukaszewicz, *Obraz historyczno-statystyczny*, 316.

¹³⁵ Dworzackkowa, *Bracia czescy w Wielkopolsce*, 102.

¹³⁶ ASK I 134, fol. 4.

¹³⁷ The town which belonged to the prominent Rey family (from 1621 to 1680), was positioned on a trade route between Poznań and Gdańsk. In addition to the visitors from Poznań and the local nobility, its church was also attended by some foreigners whom the owners of Skoki were able to attract through financial incentives—the newcomers were exempt from tax for the first four years of their settlement—and a guarantee of freedom of religion and worship. The town drew interest from a larger number of tradesmen, especially weavers and clothmakers, who helped to quickly expand the local economy, see Dworzackkowa, *Bracia czescy w Wielkopolsce*, 136; Kriegseisen, *Evangelicy polscy i litewscy*, 77.

¹³⁸ "LB 1680–1794," APPozn. sig. 3854/2, fols 9, 20.

¹³⁹ Dworzackkowa, *Bracia czescy w Wielkopolsce*, 182.

to church records, out of some 200 communicants, only 30 survived the epidemic.¹⁴⁰

It was possibly at this time that a group of affluent Scots convinced the elders of the Holy Cross Lutheran parish in Poznań to allow them to worship in their church. Consequently, over the period of the next 44 years, eight Scottish couples appeared in the register of Holy Cross, baptising 24 children.¹⁴¹ The Scots kept apart from the larger congregation. In the parish records they were always referred to as *Reformierte* (Reformed) and the names of the godparents nearly always suggested Scottish descent.¹⁴² These desertions and the plague, left few Scots in Skoki. The Cheynes were the only Scottish family there who survived the 1710 plague. Two new Scottish families, those of Thomas Forbes (possibly of Poznań) and Colbert Drummond (Dromond), joined the parish in post-epidemic times.¹⁴³ Between 1680 and 1731, about 50 adults and children of Scottish extraction appeared in the records of Skoki, showing the importance of this rural parish for the churchless Poznań Scottish congregation.¹⁴⁴

The evidence from Poznań shows that the conditions the Scots encountered there were not much different from those found in some of the Protestant cities, and that they were quickly able to adapt to them. If in the Protestant-dominated centres the Scots found themselves surrounded

¹⁴⁰ "LB 1680–1794," APPozn. sig. 3854/2, fols 1, 35.

¹⁴¹ The records of the Evangelical-Augsburg community of Poznań are unfortunately incomplete. The baptismal books cover 1596–1611, 1632–1732 and 1779–94, while the list of communicants and the marriage register cover the period 1596–1611. The Scots appear in the records during the period 1688–1732. The church itself was officially opened as St Cross only in 1786. Among the Scots were the families of William Ferguson, burgher and merchant of Poznań (1713), Gottfried Brown (Braun), David Dawson *Musketeer unter der Leib Companie vom Hornischen Regins*, Alexander Farquhar (Farcher), William Forbes and Dorothy Paterson, Thomas Rait (Ritt, Rüid, Rütt), James Rait (Reids, Riedt) and Thomas White (Witte): "LB 1632–1794," APPoz sig. 1268; cf. Kriegseisen, *Ewangelicy polscy i litewscy*, 77.

¹⁴² Among the godparents there were Scots of Poznań: James Stuart, Robert White, James Wood (Wald) *chirurgus* and William Watson; but also of Gdańsk, such as Peter Stuart; and Warsaw, such as Elizabeth Collison (Cellison), see *Ibid.* A similar practice was observed by Grosjean and Murdoch among the Scots of *Christine kyrka*, Göteborg's German Lutheran church, see Grosjean and Murdoch, "The Scottish community," 194.

¹⁴³ "LB 1680–1794," APPozn. sig. 3854/2, fols 41, 42, 43, 45, 47, 49, 51, 54, 58, 60.

¹⁴⁴ "LB 1632–1732," APPoz sig. 1268, fols 1–54. In 1733, eight Scots—William (Wilhelm) Forbes (38 fl), James Rait (Jakub Ryt) (38 fl), John (Johann) Watson (15 fl), William Drummond (Wilhelm Drommont) (2 fl), John Cheyne (Jan Cień) (4 fl), Thomas Forbes (6 fl), Samuel Marshall (Marschel) (4 fl) and Michael Marshall (Michał Marschel) (4 fl)—contributed towards the salary of the local minister, see "Connotacia wszystkich w ober którzy sie na solary zacię moią pisali, nie rachuiący tych co już pomarli 1732," APPoz sig. 2458, fols 6–7.

by populations largely of the Lutheran confession, and an unfamiliar language, principally German, in Poznań the Scots formed a minority in a Roman Catholic population, who chiefly used the equally foreign Polish language. These circumstances gave the Scots, it seems, even more impetus to work together and build their own community, reinforcing each other's adherence to their distinct confession and identity. On the other hand, living among Catholics compelled the Scots and other like-minded Protestants to reach an understanding with Lutherans.¹⁴⁵

A reliance on countryside churches was nowhere as strong as in Cracow, where the Reformed were driven away from the city in the last decade of the sixteenth century.¹⁴⁶ The *Bróg*, their prayer house shared with other Protestants since the 1570s, was destroyed in 1591, and the parish was moved to a nearby country estate, Aleksandrowice. The congregation used it only for a couple of years, until its destruction in 1613.¹⁴⁷ No documents survived to assess the Scottish presence in both parishes, although Scots documented as 'heretics' and living in the Catholic parish of St Mary's were noted in the records as early as 1568.¹⁴⁸ Undeterred by sporadic outbreaks of religious violence, the Scots and their host coreligionists adapted well to this difficult situation. Alongside the locals, the Scots attended the two churches located on the private estates of the local nobility, in Lucianowice and Wielkanoc. The almost intact church books kept in those parishes since the late 1630s show a continuous Scottish presence in both places of worship over the next 100 years.¹⁴⁹ The documents are second to none as a source of information on Scottish urban

¹⁴⁵ The cordial relations and contact with other denominations is discussed in more detail later in this chapter.

¹⁴⁶ The most up-to-date examination of the Scottish congregation in Cracow appears in P. P. Bajer, "Scots in the Kraków Reformed Parish in the seventeenth century," in T. M. Devine and D. Hesse, eds., *Scotland and Poland: Historical Encounters, 1500–2010* (Edinburgh: 2011), 62–90; cf. Kowalski, *Wielka imigracja*, 151–168.

¹⁴⁷ "Extract Variorum Casuum," fols 90–91; cf. Węgierski, *Kronika Zboru Ewangelickiego Krakowskiego*, 21, 43, 46, 59; Łukaszewicz, *Dzieje Kościołów [...] w dawnej Małej Polsce*, 309–311.

¹⁴⁸ Urban suggests that *Joannes sarctor*, listed in visitation records of 1565–70, is possibly the same as John Allan Scot from Aberdeen (*Joannes Alanth de Abrodenor*), admitted to the civic rights of Cracow in 1573, see W. Urban, "Heretycy parafii Mariackiej w Krakowie w 1568 roku," *Odrodzenie i Reformacja w Polsce* 32, (1987): 171.

¹⁴⁹ "Extract Variorum Casuum," fols 90–93; "Reiestr Auditorów albo Słuchaczów Zboru Wielkanockiego y Lucianowskiego," KW AParEA, fols 7–9; "Reiestr Kommunikantów w Zborze Wielkanocki[m] y Lucianowskim (1636–1651)," and "Reiestr Kommunikantów w Zborze Wielkanocki[m] y Lucianowskim (1653–1657)," KW AParEA, fols 43–89a, 104–106a; "Rejestr komunikantów 1657–1716," KT AParEA Kraków, fols 1–125v; cf. Węgierski, *Kronika Zboru Ewangelickiego Krakowskiego*, 21, 42–44.

congregations, their worship in rural parishes, and specifically on Scottish settlement in Cracow since the 1630s, and thus deserve closer inspection.

The Scottish community of Lucianowice and Wielkanoc consisted predominantly of merchants of Cracow, but also inhabitants of other nearby towns. The roll of parishioners of 1637 reveals that among 303 worshippers, some of whom were of German, French and Dutch origin, the Scots were numerically the second-largest group after the Poles. The approximately 75 people of Scottish origin—50 men and 25 women—constituted nearly a quarter of the parishioners (24.9 per cent).¹⁵⁰ This ratio remained almost unchanged throughout the 1630s, but rose to about 30 per cent in the 1640s. A communicants list compiled on Palm Sunday in 1644 shows that among 113 adult parishioners there were 42 Scots (37.1 per cent). A similarly high percentage continued into the 1650s, but fell again to about 22 during the next decade. The fact that the overall number of adult parishioners fell sharply too. If during the 1650s the communion at Palm Sunday was being taken on average by about 120 adults (among them 25 Scots), in the 1660s on average there were only about 50 communicants (among them 15 Scots). The whole Reformed congregation shrunk by a staggering 60 per cent and the number of Scots diminished by about 40 per cent. In the 1670s the overall numbers plummeted further to about 30 communicants per record (among them 10 Scots), before rising again towards the end of the seventeenth century.

The last three lists of communicants recorded at Wielkanoc in 1713, 1714 and 1715 showed 57, 55 and 49 communicants (among them 21, 14 and 12 Scots) respectively. At this stage, parishioners of Scottish descent made up nearly a quarter of the congregation.

A partially complete list of communicants for the 1630s shows 115 Scots (78 men and 37 women), among them 13 couples. A close inspection of the records reveals 47 irregular visitors (42 men and five women) appearing in the records less than three times during the period.¹⁵¹ An even more accurate source is the register of communicants for the period 1640–49, as it contains a full set of records. According to it, 134 men and 56 women took the communion at Lucianowice and Wielkanoc chapels in the 1640s. Of those, 61 males and 18 females appeared in the records no more than twice. The 1:1 (63:61) ratio between Scots residing in the parish and visitors

¹⁵⁰ "Reiestr Auditorów," KW AParEA, fols 7–9. Cf. Appendix V.

¹⁵¹ "Reiestr Kommunikantów," KW AParEA, fols 43–51.

	1610s	1620s	1630s	1640s	1650s	1660s	1670s	1680s	1690s	1700s	1710s
baptisms	7	8	22	30	10	1	1	–	3	3	–
marriages	3	6	8	9	5	–	–	–	3	4	5
deaths	–	1	15	24	11	5	2	6	7	8	11
communicants	–	–	115	190	75	33	46	43	47	110	66

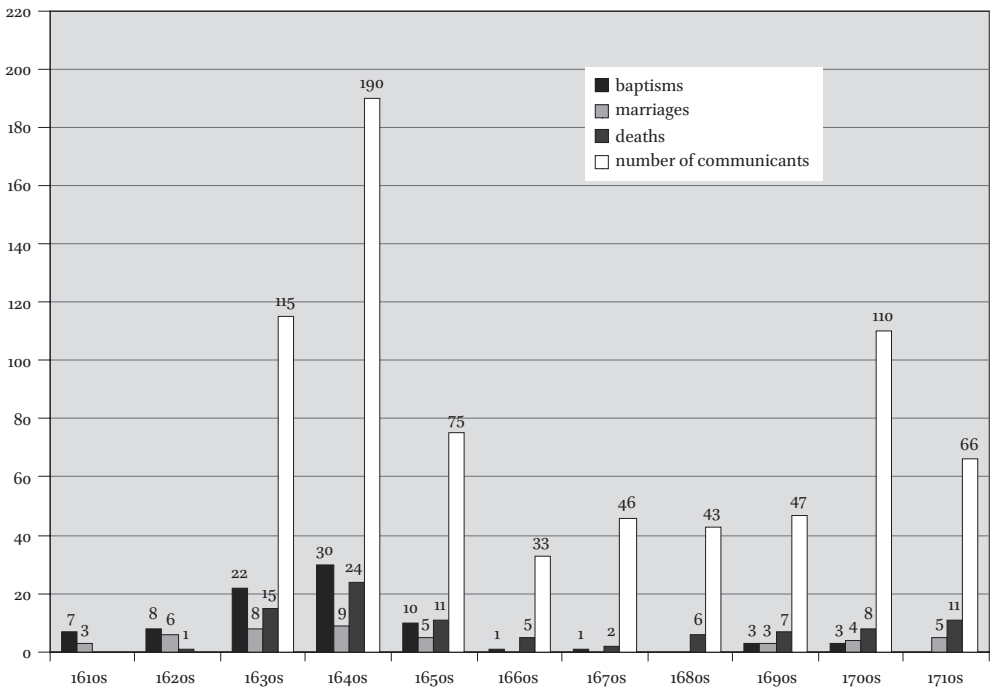


Fig. 6.5. Number of religious ceremonies involving Scots and a number of Scottish communicants at Lucianowice and Wielkanoc chapels in 1610s–1710s according to the parish registers.

reveals much about the make up and dynamics of the parish. Among the 101 permanent parishioners of Scottish extraction, there were now approximately 21–24 couples. At its peak, the congregation boasted 200–250 persons including children and the elderly.¹⁵²

¹⁵² Ibid., fols 52–85v.

The communion services were usually held four times per year. At Lucianowice they took place on Palm Sunday, in early July, in October and on the fourth Sunday of Advent. In Wielkanoc the community gathered on Easter Sunday, Whitsunday, in November, and on Christmas Eve. Scots preferred services at Lucianowice, although some of the more pious congregationalists such as John Aikenhead and Elizabeth Dickson attended nearly every service at both locations. In the 1640s the Palm Sunday services attracted on average 118 parishioners, among them 38 Scots.¹⁵³ Their formidable presence, one-third of the congregation, illustrates the importance the Scottish Protestants had in this and possibly some other Reformed parishes of Poland-Lithuania. While the Counter-Reformation and the war against Sweden resulted in decreasing numbers of parishioners, the Scottish community was losing supporters more slowly than its Polish coreligionists. In Lucianowice and Wielkanoc in the 1670s, on average 50 per cent of all communicants recorded were of Scottish extraction. However, overall, the Scottish membership in the assembly was falling. This was reflected in both a decreasing number of communicants and fewer religious ceremonies held in the parishes (Fig. 6.5).

Much information about the composition of the Scottish congregation of the Cracow parish (Wielkanoc-Lucianowice) can be gained by cross-referencing parish records from the 1650–55 against other sources, especially the 1651 tax register. In light of that document, the Scots appear as a very affluent group of people. Of the 15 contributors recorded in Cracow, 11 belonged to the assembly.¹⁵⁴ Among the regular worshippers, were also John Chiesley (Kieczle) and Thomas Murray (Morey), both of Lublin, who also contributed to the tithe.¹⁵⁵ It appears that all of them were either first- or second-generation Scots, all were accomplished merchants and that a majority enjoyed the civic rights of Cracow. Apart from Fraiter, Chiesley and Thomas Murray, who appear to be single, all the other men were married and possibly had offspring. In total, in 1650–55 period, 15 Scottish

¹⁵³ The 1640 Palm Sunday celebrations in Lucianowice attracted 125 parishioners (38 Scots) in 1641, 132 (39); in 1642, 106 (29); in 1643, 119 (43); in 1644, 113 (42); in 1645, 122 (43); and in 1648, 87 (25), see *Ibid.*

¹⁵⁴ The members of the parish were: Robert Blackhall (Albertus Blakal), James Carmichael (Iacobus Karmichell) [snr], James Carmichael (Iacobo Karmichel) [jnr], James Corbet (Iacobus Korbet), George Cruickshank (Georgius Krukszang), Alexander Dickson, Abraham Fraiter (Abrahamus Frede), Andrew Fraser (Andreas Frasser), Anna Hewison (Huysen), Casper Hunter (Gaspar Huntter) and William Torrie (Wilhelmus Thore). The other contributors included Andrew Fraser (Andrea Frazer), Robert Blackhall (Alberto Bladzkal), George Cruickshank (Georgio Krukessian) and Peter Wall (Piotr Walls). Their combined contribution was 7772 zł 24 gr, see ASK I 134, fols 3, 33v.

¹⁵⁵ Chiesley contributed 100 zł and Thomas Murray 200 zł, see ASK I 134, fols 20, 24.

Table 6.3. Scottish families of the Cracow parish (Wielkanoc-Lucianowice) in the 1650s.

<i>Husband</i>	<i>Wife</i>	<i>Citizenship</i>	<i>Subsidy</i>	<i>Generation</i>	<i>Number of children</i>
Blackhall, Robert	Burnet, Ewa	1622	2038 zł 24 gr	first	13
Burnet, Bartholomew	Rait, Agnes	–	not listed	second	2
Carmichael, James [snr]	Dickson, Anna	1625	1800 zł	first	2
Carmichael, James [jnr]	Burnet, Sarah	1654	c. 480 zł	second	8
Chalmer, James	Orem, Elizabeth	1655	not listed	first	7
Corbet, James	unknown, Susanne	–	50 zł	?	?
Cruickshank, George	Jäger, Susanne	1646	600 zł	first	?
Dickson, Alexander	Krauze, Elizabeth	1623	840 zł	second	8
Fraser, Andrew	Hewitt, Susanne, 1 voto Thomas Orem	1625	870 zł	first	?
Gordon, Richard	Torrie, Elizabeth	Lwów	not listed	?	1
Hewison, William [II]	Dickson, Elizabeth	?	not listed	second?	5
Hunter, Casper	unknown, Catherina	1651	9 zł	second	1
Murray (Mohr), John	Frier (Frajerówna), Zuzanna	?	500 z	?	?
Torrie, William	Orem, Susanne	1626	300 zł	first	6
Wishart, Abraham	Fiddes, Madeline	Lubowla 1651	not listed	?	?

families frequented the Lucianowice and Wielkanoc chapels. The heads of five of them somehow avoided contributing to the 1651 subsidy altogether (Table 6.3).¹⁵⁶

The organisation of this Scottish community was in many respects similar to the organisation of Scots elsewhere. The baptismal records provide

¹⁵⁶ Bartholomew Burnet, James Chalmers, Richard Gordon, William Hewison and Abraham Wishart do not appear in the tax register, see ASK I 134, fols 1–39.

evidence that the Scots of Cracow attempted to separate themselves from the rest of the community. The lists of godparents demonstrate that, as a rule, a child of Scottish descent would have first- or second-generation Scots presenting him/her at baptism. Such practice was true even of mixed marriages, where only the father was of Scottish extraction.¹⁵⁷ This particular custom was recorded among virtually all Scottish Reformed congregations. A similar practice was observed at Scottish weddings, where Scots dominated among the witnesses. The records of the Lucianowice and Wielkanoc chapels also show that the Scots preferred to marry their compatriots. Of the 15 Scottish families frequenting the two Cracow parishes during the 1650–55, 11 spouses were of Scottish descent, two of Polish or German, while the origins of the remaining two were unknown. The majority of these families connected with each other through marriage, if not in the preceding or their own generation, then through marriage of their children. Such families of first- and second-generation Scots and their children formed the core of this particular, close-knit community (Table 6.3).

The documents from the turn of the century, like Andrew Duncan's (Dunken) last will (1606), suggest that the Scots of Cracow were most likely Presbyterians. This, as Kowalski observed, may have been a feature that distinguished them from other ethnic groups, as well as from other Calvinists.¹⁵⁸ Their strong identification with Presbyterianism may also have had an impact on compatriots belonging to different confessions. A 1631–56 register of Cracow parish (Wielkanoc–Lucianowice) provides evidence of several Scots converting from *Papiestwo* (Popery) to Presbyterianism, among them George Kinnaird (Jerzy Kenhart Szot) in 1632 and Anna, wife of Robert Szot of Lublin, in 1643.¹⁵⁹

¹⁵⁷ Among the so-called *compadres* of twins George (Grigen) and Robert (Albert) Aidy (Ede), sons of John and Elizabeth (née unknown), baptised in St Peter and St Paul in 1648, there were only Scots, among them George Aidy (Grigen Ede), James Crichton (Jacob Kricht), Alexander Strachan (Strachon), Thomas Smart (Schmart), William Anderson, Robert Shearer (Albrecht Schirer), *Frau* Auchterlonie (Achterlon) and *Frau* Mill (Millis), see "LB 27 July 1648," APGd, sig. 356/3, fol. 51.

¹⁵⁸ Duncan left a legacy "pauperibus religionis suæ, utpote Scoticæ", see Archiwum Miasta Krakowa, Scabinalia, MS 26, 883, cited in W. Kowalski, "Scoti, cives Cracovienses, their ethnic and social identity, 1570–1660," in D. Worthington *British and Irish emigrants and exiles in Europe, 1603–1688* (Leiden: 2010), 84.

¹⁵⁹ "Reiestr do Słowa Bożego przyiętych y z błędów do Ewangeliey pozyskanych," KW AParEA, fols 31, 32. More research is needed to establish reasons for these conversions—whether they were genuine, resulted from some external pressures, or were made for convenience. Issues arising from similar conversions are discussed in S. Murdoch, *Network North: Scottish Kin, Commercial and Covert Associations in Northern Europe, 1603–1746* (Leiden: 2006), chapter 3.

The Scottish Protestants of Lublin found themselves in a similar predicament to that experienced by their compatriots in Cracow. When in 1633 the Reformed of Lublin were ordered to cease any form of worship in that city, the Brethren, among them Scots, relocated their parish first to the nearby town of Bełżyce and later to Piaski.¹⁶⁰ The parish of Bełżyce, located 20 kilometres south of Lublin, was established in 1558 under the patronage of the Orzechowski family. It was during their time that the congregation flourished, established a college (1617) and a parish library.¹⁶¹ The church was also frequented by the Scottish residents of Bełżyce. According to Bargrave, who visited the town in November 1652, prior to that date its inhabitants were chiefly Scots.¹⁶² However, the town was hit by a plague and its population was decimated. Bargrave noted that among 20 people who survived the calamity, there were only two Scots, members of the same family, "the wife lying [...] sick and the husband howlerly expecting his Call". Their children, according to the empathetic traveler, were already dead.¹⁶³ Not surprisingly, at the end of the seventeenth century the Scots, along with the Brethren of Lublin, moved to Piaski, the church under the patronage of first the Potocki and later the Suchodolski family. In the eighteenth century this parish was also frequented by the churchless Scots of Zamość.¹⁶⁴

Despite the changes of places of worship the Scottish Reformed of Lublin remained a very close knit group for more than a century. The municipal records show that a substantial Scottish community existed there at least from the early 1600's. According to Sadownik, in the seventeenth century, after Germans, Scots were the largest foreign ethnic group in that town. The records of admittance to citizenship in the seventeenth century list altogether 39 Scots (among others there were 90 Germans, 30 Italians, 25 Armenians), which, according to Sadownik, equalled 2.5 per cent of all grants of citizenship and was indicative of Scottish presence in

¹⁶⁰ Łukaszewicz, *Dzieje Kościołów [...] w dawnej Małej Polsce*, 313–315, 362–371, 392–394; Kriegseisen, *Ewangelicy polscy i litewscy*, 60, 64–65.

¹⁶¹ Łukaszewicz, *Dzieje Kościołów [...] w dawnej Małej Polsce*, 313–315, 371; K. Bem, "O Bełżycach i Orzechowskich słów kilka," *Jednota* 11–12 (2005): 15–19.

¹⁶² R. Bargrave, *The Travel Diary of Robert Bargrave: Levant Merchant (1647–1656)*, ed. M. G. Brennan, (London: 1999), 146.

¹⁶³ *Ibid.*, 147.

¹⁶⁴ Unfortunately there are no birth, marriage, death or communicants records from Piaski (also known as Piaski Wielkie and Piaski Luterskie) parish. Information about general business of the parish can be found in "Parish records of Piaski Assembly," BUW SER 585, 592, 593, 594, 596, 600, 601, 602, 607, 609, 619, 641, 642, 651, 652, 659, 665, 795, 796, 834, 835; cf. Łukaszewicz, *Dzieje Kościołów [...] w dawnej Małej Polsce*, 392–394; Kriegseisen, *Ewangelicy polscy i litewscy*, 60, 65.

the total population. Szewczyk, who examined the size of the total population of Lublin from 1583 to 1650 had a different opinion. According to his research, in the first half of the seventeenth century about 20 Scotsmen resided permanently in Lublin.¹⁶⁵ He argued that the group was not only smaller than the Germans, but also numerically less significant than Italians or Hungarians.¹⁶⁶ However, this number indicated only Scots who settled permanently and were affluent enough to obtain citizenship, like the patrician (*patrycjat*) Auchinleck and Argyll families.

It appears that the Scots of Lublin organised themselves into a Brotherhood. Its existence dates back to 1602, when James Riddell (Jakub Ridel) and Peter (Piotr) Hny (perhaps Hay or Hall), the elders and superiors of Scots there, were referred to in municipal records. According to a report from 1605, the Scottish Brotherhood meetings in the *kamienica kramarczykowska* (Kramarczyk house, a house called *kramarczykowski* = belonging to crammers) held there for the past three years, attracted a regular attendance of some 60 Scots.¹⁶⁷ It seems that the great majority of them were Protestants and as such belonged to the local Reformed brethren. This confirms Catterall's observation that the Scottish Brotherhoods in Poland-Lithuania were more confessionalised than those in other parts of Europe, for example Göteborg.¹⁶⁸

Although in its beginnings this Brotherhood was set up as a guild-like institution, representing and protecting the commercial interests of Scottish Evangelicals, it appears that over time it evolved into an ecclesiastical Brethren. The Scottish community is well documented in the register of the local Protestant Assembly, known as the 'Green Book', and also in municipal records.¹⁶⁹ The 'Green Book' contains documents of the Reformed parish of Lublin from 1616 to 1731, organised in three sections.

¹⁶⁵ A list compiled by Szewczyk is not without errors either. For example, Szewczyk lists Alexander Achterlongi and Alexander Axterlan as two separate people, when they were most probably the same individual, Alexander Auchterlonie, see R. Szewczyk, *Ludność Lublina w latach 1583–1650* (Lublin: 1947), 85–96.

¹⁶⁶ Ibid., 113.

¹⁶⁷ APLublin, *Consularia* 107, fol. 197, cited in A. Krawczyk, "Szkoci w Lublinie i lubelskim," *Rocznik Lubelski* 37 (2009): 78; cf. idem, "The British in Poland in the Seventeenth Century," *The Seventeenth Century* XVII, no. 2 (2002): 254; Sadownik, *Szkoci w Lublinie*, 2.

¹⁶⁸ Catterall, "At home abroad," 350–351.

¹⁶⁹ Pages 1–154 of the volume contain information from 1680–1731, while records for years 1616–67 were placed at the back of the volume. Only the first part of the book has survived and is held at Warsaw University Library, see BUW SER 595, fols 1–154. The earlier part is known only through two transcriptions, by Łopaciński and Steuart, see H. Łopaciński, ed., "Odpisy z książki zboru ewangelickiego w Lublinie," Lublin: Biblioteka Publiczna im. H. Łopacińskiego, *Zbiory Hieronima Łopacińskiego*, Manuscript no. 1386, 1–54; "The Records

The oldest part of the book, encompassing the period 1616 to 1667 and containing the records of the parish written in Polish, forms the last, third section of the book. The part containing several documents in English, which covers the period 1680 to 1686, appears at the start of the 'Green Book'. The final section, again recorded in Polish, holds the protocols of the Reformed Brethren, which cover the next 45 years, that is until 1731.¹⁷⁰ The book has been erroneously referred to in the past, first by Steuart and then by other historians, as the "The Original Records of Those Scots in Poland Known as the Scottish Brotherhood at Lublin".¹⁷¹ In fact, the protocols contained in the volume pertain to a larger, multiethnic community of faith in which the Scots participated as *Nacya Szkotska* (Scottish Nation) and which they took charge of in the 1680s.¹⁷² The name 'Scottish Brotherhood' is not mentioned in it once. If the 'Scottish Brotherhood of Lublin' had a set of rules pertaining to the commercial activities of its members and similar to those observed by Young or Cook elsewhere, they were separate from the protocols of the Reformed Brethren and do not appear in the 'Green Book'. Nevertheless, the ecclesiastical records are important as they explain the working relationship between the Scots in the parish and the larger Reformed congregation, as well as the process in which a multiethnic congregation evolved into a specifically Scottish one.

The Calvinist parish in Lublin was established around 1560. While in the beginning its members were predominantly ethnic Poles, the number of foreigners, mostly Germans and Scots, increased towards the end of the sixteenth century. In 1602 among the parish elders there were two Germans and two Scots.¹⁷³ By the middle of the seventeenth century (January 1652), Scots were its largest group, with more than 30 men (and

of the Lublin Protestant Assembly (1626–1667)," in PRSP, 239–289; cf. Sadownik, *Szkoci w Lublinie*, 1–5; Krawczyk, *The British in Poland*, 254, 258.

¹⁷⁰ "Materiały do działalności bractwa Szkotów w Lublinie przed 1732", see BUW SER 595, fols 1–154, were transcribed and translated in: "The Original Records of Those Scots in Poland Known as the Scottish Brotherhood at Lublin," in PRSP, 119–229.

¹⁷¹ Among the authors who presented the records as a 'book of the Scottish brotherhood' were Borowy, Ożóg and Krawczyk. A more correct reading of the records was made by Catterall, "At home abroad," 346, 352. Cf. W. Borowy, *Scots in Old Poland* (Edinburgh-London: 1941), 21; C. Ożóg, "Scottish merchants in Poland 1550–1750," *Journal of the Sydney Society for Scottish History* 3 (1995): 53–75; Krawczyk, "The British in Poland," 66; PRSP, 119–289.

¹⁷² BUW SER 595, fol. 100; "Odpisy z księgi zboru," 33; "The Records of the Lublin Protestant Assembly," 273.

¹⁷³ Those were James Riddell and Peter Hny, see A. Kossowski, *Protestantyzm w Lublinie i w Lubelskiem w XVI–XVII w.* (Lublin: 1933); Sadownik, *Szkoci w Lublinie*, 2; Szewczyk, *Ludność Lublina*, 59, 87.

possibly the same number of families), constituting about 54 per cent of the Brethren's total membership.¹⁷⁴ The other group of parishioners combined 25 families of the German and Polish 'nations' (among them the Mirus and Kent families regarded by some historians as of possible Scottish or English descent).¹⁷⁵ Similar numbers can be observed on the subsequent collection rolls. In 1652, 22 Scots, 15 Germans and two Poles were listed; while the roll of 1655 records 24 Scots, 17 Germans and five Poles.¹⁷⁶ The financial contribution of Scots to the parish was also formidable. In 1627 the 'Scottish Nation' collected 400 zł.¹⁷⁷ To the collection of February 1652, which helped cover expenses of a new bell—"as the old one got spoilt"—the Scots contributed 198 zł while the other 'nations' collected 216 zł, and the members of the nobility a further 180 zł.¹⁷⁸ Scots were also found among the brethren elders. In 1637, of four elders, two were Scots: John Fyfe (Feyff) and John Young (Junge). In 1642, again two of four were Scots.¹⁷⁹

From 1627 onwards, acknowledging their ethnic identity and perhaps also membership of the local Scottish Brotherhood, Scots were continuously listed separately in parish registers as 'Nacya Szkotska', while members of the German and Polish 'nations' were recorded together.¹⁸⁰ This was still happening in the 1650s, even though Scots had belonged to the parish for at least half a century. It is uncertain why this was the case. Was it because of their strong sense of belonging to ethnically different group or 'national' merchant guild—the Scottish Brotherhood of Lublin? Or was the disconnection caused by some dogmatic differences between the local Calvinists and Presbyterians or Episcopalians? What is clear is that Scots made up a large part of the parish; their financial contributions were sub-

¹⁷⁴ "Odpisy z księgi zboru," 33; cf. "The Records of the Lublin Protestant Assembly," 272–273.

¹⁷⁵ According to Sadownik and later Biegańska, Thomas and Daniel Mirus or Myrus were of Scottish background. Such identification is contradicted by source documents. Both men are always listed among the Germans and Poles in all three collection rolls. Likewise ethnic origins of names, such as: Hogrie, Hogreff (Hargrave?) and Kent, which appear on the registers among German names, cannot be positively verified at this stage as belonging to Scots, see Biegańska, "Wielka emigracja Szkotów"; Sadownik, *Szkoci w Lublinie*, 5; "The Records of the Lublin Protestant Assembly," 272–275.

¹⁷⁶ "Odpisy z księgi zboru," 37; cf. "The Records of the Lublin Protestant Assembly," 278.

¹⁷⁷ "Odpisy z księgi zboru," 5; cf. "The Records of the Lublin Protestant Assembly," 241, 256.

¹⁷⁸ "Odpisy z księgi zboru," 34; cf. "The Records of the Lublin Protestant Assembly," 273–274.

¹⁷⁹ "The Records of the Lublin Protestant Assembly," 270.

¹⁸⁰ "Odpisy z księgi zboru," 33; cf. "The Records of the Lublin Protestant Assembly," 272–273.

stantial; as elders they participated in the common administration of the congregation—and that, eventually, they assumed control of the parish.

This gradual takeover took place around 1680, as is evident from the first section of the 'Green Book'. Of much interest are the 'laws' (rules) drafted as a response to the mismanagement of the Brethren's 'poore boxe' funds that were nearly exhausted owing to unauthorised withdrawals by 'negligent collectors', and designed, it seems, to regulate the organisation of the congregation (Fig. 6.6).¹⁸¹ According to the rules, the minister, on the instruction of the elders, was to admonish (three times) members who lived in evil or in 'ungodly manner' (§10).¹⁸² Those who did not repent were to be expelled from the congregation. The rules relating to the pastor, "beside those which St Paul laid down in his First Epistle of Timothy, chapter 3", were that he should be a law-abiding person, "conscious, good, pious and faithful, neither a drunkard nor one who indulges in any other vices" (§1). He was to preach a sermon of an hour's length each Sunday "not counting the signing" (§5) and he should not make jokes during it (§4).¹⁸³

An especially interesting part of this protocol is the way in which the members set out to restore the funds. One of the first measures taken was to impose a series of levies on members of the congregation and others belonging to the Protestant faith passing through Lublin. Monies were to be collected as penalties for quarrels, with the guilty party paying reparation to the 'victim', and the same "in to the poore box for helpe of distressed bretheren".¹⁸⁴ This particular paragraph is very similar to the rules of Scottish Brotherhoods noted by Young and Cook. A levy was imposed upon members who travelled abroad and returned home safely "ripping of benefit and gains", to give "liberallie to the common poore box".¹⁸⁵ Similarly, a contribution to the poor fund was expected from newlyweds "that God of his Infinite goodness may further prosper him in his accomplished matrimonie".¹⁸⁶ Charges were also imposed on Scots from other areas who traded in Lublin, those who sojourned there, as well as those who were leaving Lublin to establish themselves elsewhere. The rules also encouraged legacies to the poor box. One of them stipulated that 45 gr will be collected from members of the Brethren who "having no lawfull

¹⁸¹ BUW SER 595, fols 3b–5a; cf. "The Records of the Lublin Protestant Assembly," 119–124.

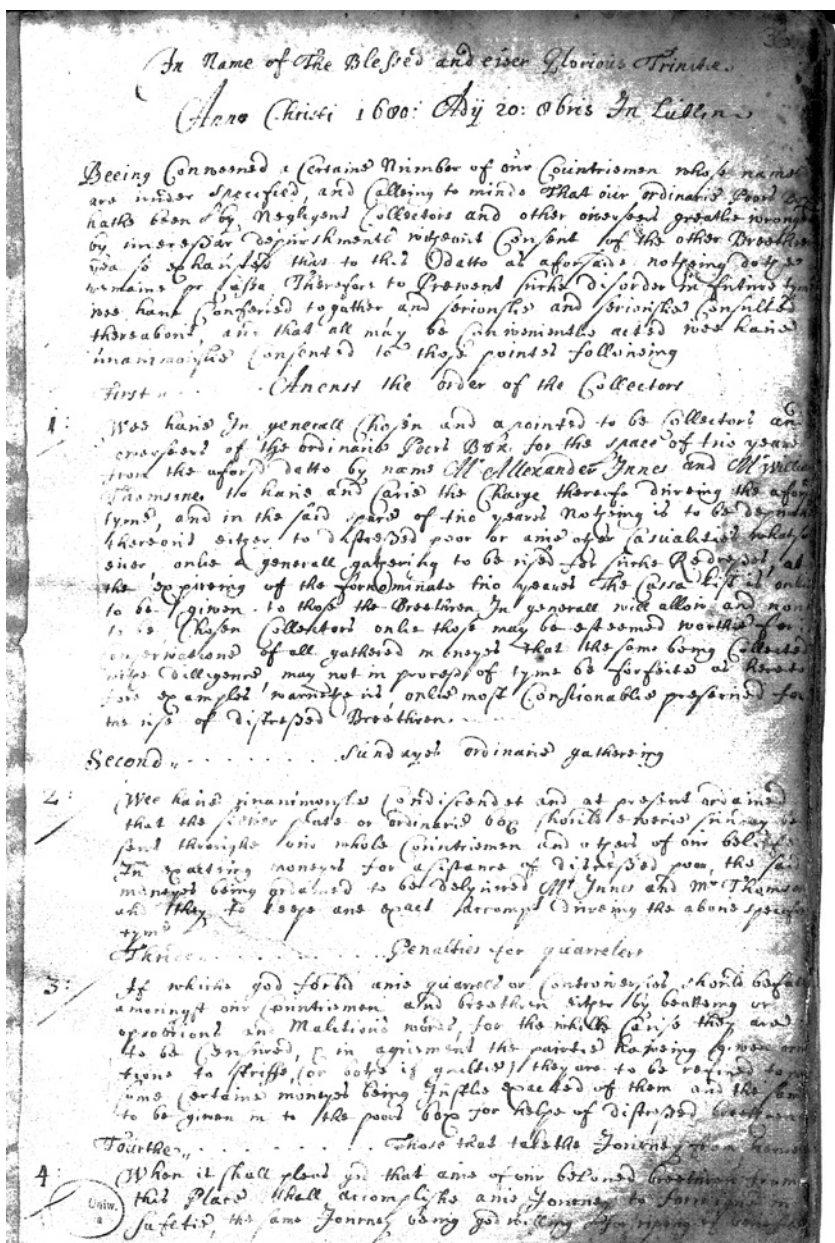
¹⁸² "The Records of the Lublin Protestant Assembly," 245.

¹⁸³ BUW SER 595, fols 3b–4a; cf. "The Records of the Lublin Protestant Assembly," 120–121.

¹⁸⁴ BUW SER 595, fols 3b–4a; cf. "The Records of the Lublin Protestant Assembly," 121–122.

¹⁸⁵ BUW SER 595, fol. 4a; cf. "The Records of the Lublin Protestant Assembly," 121.

¹⁸⁶ Ibid.



Source: BUW SER 595, fol. 3.

Fig. 6.6. Records in English from the register of the Lublin Reformed Brethren.

reason" are late to "anie Conventions".¹⁸⁷ This is another regulation very similar to that used by the Scottish Brotherhood of Ducal Prussia and recorded by Cook. Lastly, the rules stated that persons who disobeyed rules of the congregation and thus became "unworthie of fellowship" were to be suspended from it until they were ready to "submitt themselves to obedience".¹⁸⁸ Apart from showing a regimented approach to collecting money, and some influences from rules regulating the organisation and workings of the Scottish Brotherhood, the document reflects the Reformed Brethren's preoccupation with the wellbeing of their needy.

All 19 Scots who signed the protocol of 1680 did so using the English form of their Christian names. It is likely that among them there were some foreign-born Scots. This illustrates the role of the Brethren in maintaining identity. It is also noteworthy that despite the fact that the document was written in English, among its signatories there were two Germans, Arnold Bernard Keulher and Abraham Schultz.

The revenue statements made between October 1680 and December 1681, show that measures voted in by Scots brought some positive results. The members of the congregation contributed 349 zł 3 gr, while 143 zł 21 gr were collected from strangers and other visitors ('wares sellers', some of presumably Scottish origin), and another 13 zł 15 gr from weddings.¹⁸⁹ It appears that money was also made by lending, with interest, to Brethren members and other townsmen. A loan of 150 zł was made to John Chalmers.¹⁹⁰ Records show that an additional 42 zł was collected from interest. Other sources of money included legacies. Income generated for this period (ending December 1681), was 828 zł 2 gr.¹⁹¹ This included the sources noted above and the balance in hand carried over from the previous period. The statements show that the main source of revenue for the Brethren's funds was still the Sunday collections.

Expenditure over the same period was 554 zł 9 gr. A large part of this was in the form of loans.¹⁹² A second element took the form of 'friendly society benefits', which were, it seems, quite considerable. In 1680, the Brethren decided to give Thomas Argyll, "by reason of his inability", the sum of 100 zł. This yearly benefit was to be paid in quarterly instalments

¹⁸⁷ BUW SER 595, fol. 5a; cf. "The Records of the Lublin Protestant Assembly," 123.

¹⁸⁸ Ibid.

¹⁸⁹ BUW SER 595, fol. 7; cf. "The Records of the Lublin Protestant Assembly," 135.

¹⁹⁰ BUW SER 595, fols 6–7; cf. "The Records of the Lublin Protestant Assembly," 134–135.

¹⁹¹ BUW SER 595, fol. 7; cf. "The Records of the Lublin Protestant Assembly," 135.

¹⁹² Ibid.

until Argyll's death.¹⁹³ The Brethren also paid expenses associated with the funerals and burials of its members. Such was the case of John Foxman, for whose burial in 1680 the congregation paid 46 zł 21 gr.¹⁹⁴

The accounts from the mid-1680s show that the Brethren were prosperous at that time, as their income and expenditure rose. In 1684 the income reached 1652 zł 14 gr, almost twice the sum collected in 1681.¹⁹⁵ The figures from the 1690s show that by then the Brethren's income and expenditure had begun to decrease. The 'general balance' for 1697–99 shows that income was 2446 zł and expenditure for the three years was 2249 zł.¹⁹⁶ The downward trend was reflected in 'debits and credits' of the early 1700s. In 1701 the income equalled 1004 zł 24 gr and the expenditure 750 zł 3 gr (254 zł 21 gr was left in the chest).¹⁹⁷ Some debtors, such as Peter Gardiner, were falling behind with their payments.¹⁹⁸ It was perhaps a sign of tough economic times and/or falling numbers of Scots in the Brethren that income fell even further to 713 zł 3 gr in 1702, while expenditure sank to 543 zł 5 gr.¹⁹⁹

While the numbers of Scots in the Brethren may have fallen (1681 is the last year in which Scots are mentioned as a 'nation') and their income diminished, the congregation was still active. In 1711 its members decided to build a new church at Żmigród, a village on the estate of the Stadnicki family. This decision, it seems, put the Brethren in even greater financial difficulties as expenditure on the church in 1713 came to 2542 zł 28 gr. As the documents state, to build it the congregation had to use the legacy of George Buchan (633 zł), all monies from collections, and had to borrow 800 zł from each of its two Scottish members, Daniel Gregorie and George Ross.²⁰⁰

There were yet other changes affecting the Brethren. While the numbers of Scots dwindled, new members of different ethnic origin were joining. Foreign names such as Persteineusz, Deshommes and Bizert appear on a collection list of 1717. Of 12 names on that list only four appear to be of Scottish descent. In 1717 Jacob von Essen, most likely of German origin,

¹⁹³ BUW SER 595, fol. 6a; cf. "The Records of the Lublin Protestant Assembly," 126.

¹⁹⁴ BUW SER 595, fol. 2; cf. "The Records of the Lublin Protestant Assembly," 130.

¹⁹⁵ BUW SER 595, fol. 15; cf. "The Records of the Lublin Protestant Assembly," 143.

¹⁹⁶ BUW SER 595, fol. 53; cf. "The Records of the Lublin Protestant Assembly," 164.

¹⁹⁷ BUW SER 595, fols 58–59; cf. "The Records of the Lublin Protestant Assembly," 168–169.

¹⁹⁸ Gardiner owed 110 zł and not, as Steuart states, 100 zł. Gardiner was still settling the debt in 1704, see BUW SER 595, fols 58, 62; cf. "The Records of the Lublin Protestant Assembly," 168, 170.

¹⁹⁹ BUW SER 595, fols 59–60; cf. "The Records of the Lublin Protestant Assembly," 169.

²⁰⁰ BUW SER 595, fols 69–71; cf. "The Records of the Lublin Protestant Assembly," 174–175.

was elected to look after the *Bracka Cassa* (Brethren's money box).²⁰¹ In 1718–24 among the contributors to the poor box were more and more Poles: *Pan Podlecki*, *Pan Żychliński*, *Pan Kępiński* and *Pan Jan Rzepecki*.²⁰² It was perhaps sometime between 1686, when the last official entry was made in the 'Green Book' in English, and the early 1720s, that the Scottish Brethren lost its ethnic character and dissolved into an ever weaker *Brać Reformata Confessionis* (Polish and Latin: Brethren of Reformed Protestants). Ożóg rightly observed that the prayer recorded in 1724—"May God of His holy grace bless this small Assembly and multiply it"—voiced the worries of the whole congregation, rather than just the remaining Scots.²⁰³

This downward trend of the 'Scottish Nation' of Lublin, interwoven in the life of the Protestant assembly, reflects the situation of other Scots in Poland-Lithuania. After rapid growth in the early seventeenth century, the Scottish Brethren achieved its highest number in the 1640s and 1650s and remained a sizeable group in the congregation until the late seventeenth century. After 1690, like the Scottish community elsewhere, it showed the beginnings of a decline. By 1731 the Scots of Lublin, like their compatriots in other provinces, it seems, had become integrated with the native population. This perhaps indicates that by this stage their new homeland and religious affiliations had become more important to Scots (if they could still be called that) than their ethnic origins and 'national' identity.

The Reformed congregations of Zamość, Tarnów and Warsaw faced yet another set of circumstances. In Zamość, "a citty inhabited much by Scotts, & the Chief place of Residence they now have in Poland" (1652), there were no Protestant churches.²⁰⁴ Yet, as Bargrave observed, among its inhabitants were a number of prosperous Scots.²⁰⁵ Some of them were recorded as godparents of Catholic Scots baptised in the local church.²⁰⁶

²⁰¹ BUW SER 595, fol. 102; cf. "The Records of the Lublin Protestant Assembly," 198.

²⁰² BUW SER 595, fols 108–114; cf. "The Records of the Lublin Protestant Assembly," 200–207.

²⁰³ "Pan Bóg niech z Łaski swojej Świętey, temu szczupłemu błogosławi Zgromadzeniu y przymnoży go. Amen", see BUW SER 595, fol. 113; cf. "The Records of the Lublin Protestant Assembly," 206; Ożóg, "Scottish merchants in Poland," 72.

²⁰⁴ Bargrave, *The Travel Diary*, 146–147.

²⁰⁵ In 1696 there were, for example: William Lindsay (Wilim Lendza), James Lindsay (Jakub Lendza), Peter Leysk, Andrew Davidson (Andrys Devison), Thomas Taylor (successor of another Scot of Zamość, Begin), James Simson and Wilson (Wilszon), see "Księga egzaktorska miasta Zamościa z 1696 roku," Archiwum Państwowe, Lublin (hereafter APLub.), Akta miasta Zamościa, sig. 73, fols 1, 18, 18v, 20v.

²⁰⁶ Andrew Davidson, a prominent member of the Reformed congregation, was a godfather of Michael Ignatius Wenton (Fenton), baptised in 1683. This Michael was a son of John, an assessor (1689) and councillor (1685–92) of Zamość and Anna née unknown. The

The churchless Evangelicals, although apparently members of the Lublin congregation, just like the other Reformed of Zamość, used several nearby parishes for worship. They were first recorded in Bończa, later in Krasnystaw²⁰⁷ and Radziecin (Radzieńczy),²⁰⁸ and finally in Piaski. Although it is impossible to assess how many Scots attended services in each of the locations, it is quite clear that in all three cases we are dealing with the same individuals.

The Scottish merchants of Tarnów, known as *Panowie Tarnowianie* (Gentlemen of Tarnów), attended and were the main benefactors of the parish in Szczepanowice—church established in 1651 by Chrzastowski family.²⁰⁹ During a synod held in Szczepanowice in 1680, among 41 delegates there were six Scots, whose identity was indicated in the synod's proceedings. The synod tried to solicit their financial support for the school and the alumni of Chmielnik.²¹⁰ The Scots were still present in the parish some 30 years later. A report about this congregation from 1704 mentions several of them: "Pan Huyson, Pan Sinkler, Pan Peip, Pan Leigh, i drugi brat jego, żonaci wszyscy. Pani Frenchowa, wdowa, zięć jej Pan Ross, i młodzieńców kupczyków kilku." Should the wives of Hewison, Sinclair, Paip and Leith, mentioned in the document as attending the church with

Fentons baptised five other children in the local Roman Catholic church, see "LB 1 August 1683," APLub., sig. 105, fol. 273; cf. SPLC, no. 2819; Biegańska, "Wielka emigracja Szkotów," tables VI (Ława), VII (Rajcy).

²⁰⁷ Among 29 delegates of a provincial synod that took place in Krasnobród in September 1647, Andrew Davidson and James Birnie (Jakób Berny) represented Scottish communities in Lublin and in Bełżyce, see Łukaszewicz, *Dzieje Kościołów [...] w dawnej Małej Polsce*, 350.

²⁰⁸ In 1682 seven Scots, most likely of Zamość, participated at a synod held at Radzieńczy, among them Rev. Daniel Orem (Aram), consenior of the Lublin District, John Aikenhead (Achenew), Andrew Boyd, Andrew and John Davidson, William Lindsay (Wilem Łędz) and William Forbes, see "Acta et Conclusiones Synodu Prowincjalnego w Radziecinie odprawionego A", 1682, d. 2 et seq. Octobris," BUW SER 593, fol. 205; cf. Łukaszewicz, *Dzieje Kościołów [...] w dawnej Małej Polsce*, 399–402.

²⁰⁹ "Parish records of Szczepanowice Assembly," BUW SER 585, 587, 588, 592, 593, 595, 600, 606, 608, 628, 647, 650, 674; R. Darowski SJ, *Szczepanowice nad Dunajcem. Dzieje wsi, parafii katolickiej i gminy kalwińskiej*, wyd. 2 rozszerzone (Kraków: 2004), 82–92; M. Wajsblum, "Ex regestro arianismi: Szkice z dziejów upadku protestantyzmu w Małopolsce," *Reformacja w Polsce* 7–10 (1935–39): 293–294; cf. K. Bem, "O mężach i białogłowach, co srodzy w herezji byli," *Jednota* 8–9 (2001): 29–33; S. Bidwell-Holdys, "Kupcy w siedemnastowiecznym Tarnowie," *Sobótka* 2 (1975): 222–229.

²¹⁰ The Scots were John Murray (Morai), Richard Gordon (Richart Gordan), Alexander Smith (Szmid), John Gilbert (Galbricht), Pan Wilson (Wolson) and Andrew French (Frenc). Murray, Gordon and Smith were asked for a contribution of at least 100 zł, see "Acta et conclusiones Synodi Provincialis Sandomir. Szczepanoviciis celebratae Anno 1680, dies 4, 5, et 6 Octobr," BUW Rkps 592, fols 193–197.

their husbands, prove to be of Scottish descent, there could have been 12–15 adult Scots among the parishioners.²¹¹

Much tougher conditions had to be endured by the Scots of Warsaw. According to the edict of 1525 issued by Janusz III Prince of Mazovia, the Protestants were forbidden to settle in Mazovia and conversion from Roman Catholicism to any form of Protestantism was to be punished by death and sequestration of assets. The distribution, study or possession of any books deemed heretical was likewise prohibited. Despite republication of this edict (it appeared, for example, in 1577 in *Constitutio contra Haereticos*), it was never fully enacted and a small Protestant community existed in Warsaw. Nevertheless, the Lutheran-dominated Warsaw congregation did not worship in public until 1767. The churchless community, among them most likely some Scots, gathered for services in private homes, often those belonging to the Reformed nobility. It is possible that for the major feasts some parishioners also travelled to the not-so-distant church in Węgrów, located on the estate of the Radziwiłł family and officially belonging to the Lithuanian Brethren.²¹²

It appears that conditions in the royal cities dominated by Catholics were more difficult for the Scots than those experienced by their compatriots in Gdańsk or Königsberg. Yet the situation of the Evangelicals in Wilno was possibly much better than that of the Scots in Protestant Toruń. Nevertheless, it is clear that some of the Scottish faith communities continued to exist in large, confessionally hostile locations. Of prime importance for their continuation were the rural parishes operated under the patronage of the local nobility.

Scottish Faith Communities under the Patronage of the Nobility

The freedom of religion act enshrined in the 1573 constitution allowed the nobility not only to follow their preferred creed, but also to offer on their estates protection to Nonconformists belonging to other social groups.

²¹¹ Łukaszewicz, *Dzieje Kościołów [...] w dawnej Małej Polsce*, 414–417. The conference held in Szczepanowice the same year was attended by seven Scots: Alexander Allen (Allon), delegate of Lublin District; Alexander and John Hewison (Huison); John Sinclair; Alexander Low (Lay); Hercules Paip (Peap) and Charles Leslie (Karol Lesley), see “Acta Conferencyji Prowinconalney Extraordinarney w Imieniu Pańskim w Szczepanowskim Zborze odprawioney A° Dni 1704, Die 14 Februarius,” BUW SER 593, fols 236v–237.

²¹² T. Stegner, *Ewangelicy warszawscy 1815–1918* (Warszawa: 1993), 8–10; L. M. Otto, *Przyczynek do historii zboru ewangelicko-augsburskiego warszawskiego 1650–1781* (Warszawa: 1881), 18–21.

Although the most powerful protectors of the Reformed, magnate families such as the Radziwiłłs of Birże in Lithuania, the Ostrogskis in Ukraine and the Leszczyńskis in Greater Poland, followed the teachings of Calvin, a number of Scottish Protestant communities flourished in ecclesial estates and in towns belonging to the Catholic *szlachta*.

In Catholic Chełmno, the local bishop, Jan Małachowski, in order to increase its depleted population, in 1678 declared freedom of religion for the Protestants. His declaration attracted a number of Scots whose settlement played an important role in the development of that municipality.²¹³ The owners of nominally 'Catholic' towns such as Brody, Gostyń, Koniecpol and Tarnów also encouraged talented merchants and artisans, regardless of the immigrants' creed, to settle on their estates.²¹⁴

The most notable example of this was Zamość, whose influential owner, Jan Zamoyski (1542–1605), allowed the Nonconformists to carry on their trade freely and, along with the Catholics, to study at the Zamość Academy. All this despite the fact that the town's foundation charter (1580) required all new settlers to be Catholic. According to Kowalski, realising that the policy of creating a mono-religious society had failed, Zamoyski redrafted the original charter and extended the invitation to the Dissenters (1588). This opened the door to Scots, whose first representative was recorded there as early as 1591.²¹⁵ Even more favourable conditions existed in Leszno, an estate near Warsaw, acquired in 1648 by Bogusław Leszczyński, who converted to Catholicism in 1642.²¹⁶ Its settlers, predominantly Lutheran German-speaking merchants and traders, were given equal opportunity, including freedom of religion.²¹⁷ Among them, in all probability, were some Scots, although, because Leszno's records are missing, it is impossible to assess their strength.²¹⁸

²¹³ S. Nowak, "Dzieje Chełmna do końca XVIII wieku," in M. Biskup, ed., *Dzieje Chełmna: zarys monograficzny* (Warszawa-Poznań: 1987), 195. Cf. M. G. Zieliński, *Chełmno civitas totius Prussiae metropolis XVI–XVIII w.* (Bydgoszcz: 2007).

²¹⁴ Bidwell-Holdys, "Kupcy w siedemnastowiecznym Tarnowie," 221–230; Kowalski, "The placement of urbanised Scots," 58–59; W. Stachowski, *Szkoci w Gostyniu. Przyczynek do dziejów mieszczaństwa gostyńskiego* (Gostyń: 1932).

²¹⁵ Kowalski, "The placement of urbanised Scots," 58–59, 70; A. Biegańska, "Andrew Davidson (1591–1660) and his descendants," *Scottish Slavonic Review* 10 (1998): 7–18; R. Szczygieł, "Zamość w czasach staropolskich," in J. Kowalczyk, ed., *Czteryście lat Zamościa* (Wrocław: 1983), 105–108; cf. idem, ed., *Zamoyscy, Zamość i Ordynacja Zamojska w badaniach końca XIX i XX wieku* (Zamość: 2005).

²¹⁶ Leszno, near Warsaw, should not be confused with the town of the same name, also belonging to the Leszczyński family, located in Greater Poland.

²¹⁷ Stegner, *Ewangelicy warszawscy*, 8–10; Otto, *Przyczynek do historii zboru*, 18–21.

²¹⁸ For example, in 1654 Patrick Gordon visited there, calling it 'Lesczinsky', see Gordon, "Diary 1635–1659," fol. 10.

Of all the noble patrons, the Radziwiłłs of Birże were unmatched in their attempts to support the various Reformed groups. In the middle of the seventeenth century, under their patronage and that of several other less influential families, in the Lithuanian Brethren alone there were about 100 Protestant churches and chapels. Of those, the Scots attended only a few selected parishes—those located in or close to a larger municipal centre in which they resided, such as Kiejdany, Węgrów and Zabłudów.²¹⁹ The records of these parishes provide precious information not only about the Scottish presence in the places of worship protected by the nobility, but also about the distribution of the Scots in the Grand Duchy of Lithuania. This is of particular importance, especially since no document like the 1651 Subsidy register, which was recorded in the Crown, has survived for the Grand Duchy of Lithuania.²²⁰

The most important and the largest Reformed church under Radziwiłłs protection was located in their chief town in Kiejdany (Kėdainiai).²²¹ Patrick Gordon, who passed through in 1661, remarked:

This towne belongeth to the family of the Radzivils, where is the publick exercize of the Protestant religion, and because of that many Scotsmen here liveing, by one whereof wee lodged; and being welcomed by some of our countrey men with a hearty cup of strong meade...²²²

The Radziwiłłs, owners of Kiejdany since 1614, had a considerable impact on the development of the city by granting generous privileges. For example, they allowed free passage in and out of the town to all, and also stimulated its economic and religious life by inviting foreign settlers. The Radziwiłłs were also responsible for establishing a local school (1619), later upgraded to a Protestant college (1629), and for erecting the Reformed church.²²³ It attracted a large congregation, including a large group of

²¹⁹ Kosman, "Sytuacja prawno-polityczna," 81–110; Łukaszewicz, *Dzieje kościołów wyznania helweckiego w Litwie*.

²²⁰ It is unknown whether the tax collectors kept a corresponding roll for Lithuania, see Pernal and Gasse, "The 1651 Polish subsidy," 16.

²²¹ The Scottish congregation at Kiejdany was the subject of articles by Eriksonas and Žirgulis, see L. Eriksonas, "The lost colony of Scots: unravelling overseas connections in a Lithuanian town," in A. I. Macinnes, T. Riis and F. G. Pedersen, eds., *Ships Guns and Bibles in the North Sea and the Baltic States, c. 1350–c. 1700* (East Linton: 2000), 173–187; R. Žirgulis, "The Scottish community in Kėdainiai c. 1630–c. 1750," in A. Grosjean and S. Murdoch, eds., *Scottish Communities Abroad in the Early Modern Period* (Leiden: 2005), 225–247.

²²² Gordon, "Diary 1659–1667," fol. 121v.

²²³ Founded in 1631 by Krzysztof Radziwiłł (1585–1640), the church was built by his son Janusz (1612–1655) in 1652. It contained crypts of its prestigious founders and patrons and other notable parishioners, as well as a burial ground near it. The cemetery and the crypts have been nearly totally destroyed. Of the few artefacts that have survived there are six

Scots. It appears that the parish housed the largest Scottish congregation in the whole of Lithuania. However, the first migrants do not appear in Kiejdany until 1628. Throughout the next two decades, the number of Scots rose to perhaps 20–25 couples, that is 200–250 people (in the 1640s there were 36 baptisms and 10 marriages involving Scots).²²⁴ Eriksonas suggested that some of the migrants may have moved there from Elbląg, possibly as part of an attempted plantation. Although there is no record of an official invitation, this hypothesis is supported by Krzysztof Radziwiłł's desire to attract migrants to his estates and his contact with the Reformed Church in Elbląg, and specifically with its influential preacher John Durie.²²⁵ The similarities between surnames appearing in Kiejdany and the names recorded in the registers of Wilno and Königsberg suggest at least two points of origin of selected migrants. As the parish records show, the growth of the Scottish congregation in Kiejdany was halted during the war with Sweden (1655–1660), which ravaged the town. The war brought famine and plague, which depopulated the town and the parish.

Many of the townspeople, following Janusz Radziwiłł's example, decided to collaborate with the invaders. Probably, as elsewhere, the majority of the Scots chose to support Karl X Gustav and thus fled the town in the face of the advancing Polish-Lithuanian army. Eriksonas suggests that only a small part of the pre-war population survived the ordeal, yet the Scots came out of the war stronger, effectively taking over the town's administration and gaining many other positions of authority.²²⁶ By the 1660s their numbers had risen again to about 20–30 families. The Scottish community expanded in size throughout the 1670s and the 1680s, to reach its apex in the 1690s (Fig. 6.7). There exists little evidence to support the theory that the numbers were boosted by fresh Scottish immigrants escaping the

beautifully decorated seventeenth-century metal sarcophagi, belonging to the following: Krzysztof 'Thunderbolt' Radziwiłł (1547–1603) and his grandchildren Janusz (1612–1655), Mikołaj (1610–1611), Jerzy (1616–1617), Stefan (1624–1624) and Elżbieta (1622–1626). Only one part of a wooden coffin bearing the inscription 'Ross' has survived the Second World War and the Soviet occupation. However, we know that Scots must have been buried there, as in 1663 George (Jerzy) Bennet built his own crypt, see Eriksonas, "The lost colony of Scots," 173–187; Žirgulis, "The Scottish community in Kėdainiai," 225–247; Łukaszewicz, *Dzieje kościołów wyznania helweckiego w Litwie*, vol. II, 21–29; "Collecta Zboru Kiejdańskiego," 126. I am grateful to Mr Rimantas Žirgulis, director of the Regional Museum in Kėdainiai (Lithuania), for providing me with the information about the present state of the church.

²²⁴ See Appendix VIII.

²²⁵ Eriksonas, "The lost colony of Scots," 178; cf. Žirgulis, "The Scottish community in Kėdainiai," 227; Murdoch, "Kith and Kin," 34; idem, *Scottish Communities Abroad*, 15–16.

²²⁶ Eriksonas, "The lost colony of Scots," 175, 180.

	1640s	1650s	1660s	1670s	1680s	1690s	1700s	1710s	1720s	1730s	1740s	1750s	1760s
baptisms	36	49	70	25	30	31	5+	12	24	9	4	3+	n/a
marriages	10	14	16	5+	11+	11	n/a	n/a	n/a	4	4	1	1
deaths	4+	4+	n/a	n/a	n/a	23	n/a	n/a	2+	19	11	8	1
comm.			c. 48	c. 34	c. 42	c. 30		c. 20	c. 15		c. 19		c. 5

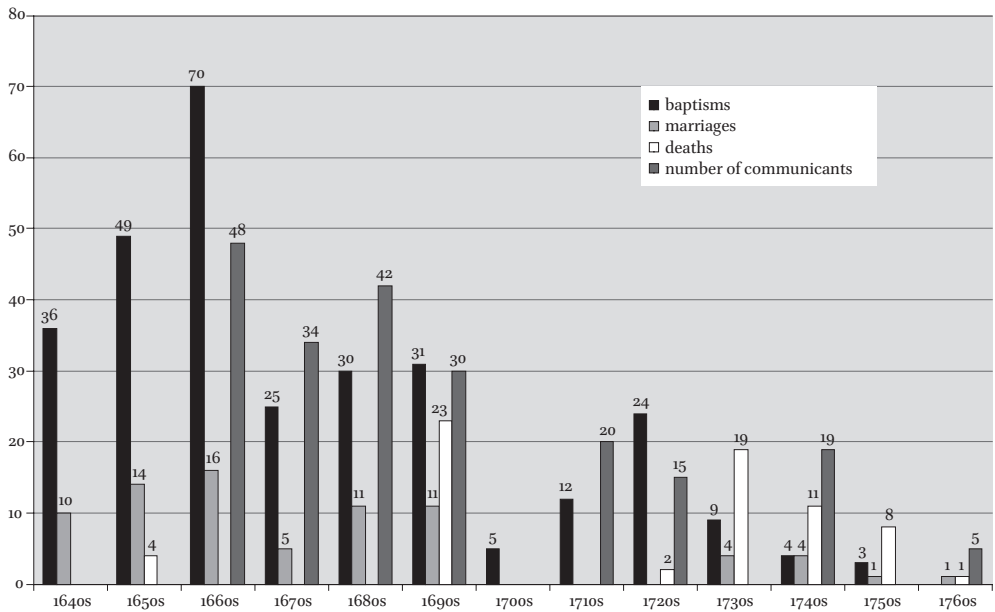


Fig. 6.7. Number of religious ceremonies involving Scots and number of Scottish communicants at Kiejdany parish 1640s–1760s according to the church registers.

‘Killing Times’ in Scotland (1680–88).²²⁷ The more likely reasons for this growth are far more prosaic. The lack of new names among the parishioners suggests that if there was an influx of new migrants, it happened in the years following the war with Sweden. Such movement would involve Scots from nearby locations, former supporters of the Swedes, now fleeing retribution. The majority of those were possibly relatives of Scots

²²⁷ Ibid., 180; cf. S. Murdoch, “The Scottish Community in Kedainiai (Kiejdany) in its Scandinavian and Baltic Context,” Paper presented to the Colloquium Balticum Conference, Kedainiai, June 2001, 17.

of Kiejdany, a town that, despite Janusz Radziwiłł's defeat, retained its Protestant character. Most of all, the evidence suggests natural growth, and success for second-generation Scots.

Although the records for the next three decades are incomplete, in that period a numerical decline of the Scottish is evident. Once again, during the Northern War (1700–21) the town suffered. The register of communicants shows that at this time Scots formed only a small part of the congregation. If in the 1670s and the 1680s they represented about 32 per cent of all communicants, by the 1730s they comprised perhaps 15–20 per cent of the congregation. Despite that, the Scots and their descendants remained a distinct group within the Reformed brethren.²²⁸

The most accurate insight into the size of the Scottish congregation in Kiejdany to be obtained is the list of parishioners completed by Rev. Mikołajewski in 1679.²²⁹ The register lists 238 parishioners in total, among them nine people in hospital (Catholics and Lutherans). Of those, one can identify 76 parishioners of most probable Scottish extraction. Among those were 45 men and 31 women.²³⁰ According to these figures, the Scots comprised 32.3 per cent of all parishioners. When checked against the registers of communicants, it appears that Mikołajewski's list was either incomplete or people who received communion at Kiejdany did not nominally belong to the parish. For example, neither the Arnots nor the Forsyths, who lived in Kiejdany and baptised their children in the parish, did appear on Mikołajewski's list. On the other hand John Allan, who took communion twice in 1679, did not appear on the list or on any other parish document, suggesting that he may have stayed in Kiejdany only for a short time. There are 18 names from the registers of the communicants, baptisms and marriages for 1679 that do not appear on the "List of parishioners of the Kiejdany Assembly" but should be included there. If this information is combined with the names on Mikołajewski's list, it takes the total number of Scots (above the age of 14) in the parish to 94. Surprisingly, only 26 of 76 Scots (32.3 per cent) mentioned on Mikołajewski's list were recorded among the communicants in 1679. Knowing how strict the elders

²²⁸ "LComm 1669–1697," LVIA Fond 1218, Ap. 1, b. 390a, fols 30v–157.

²²⁹ D. Mikołajewski, "Rejestr Auditorów Zboru Kiejdańskiego (1679)," quoted in S. Tworek, "Materiały do dziejów kalwinizmu w Wielkim Księstwie Litewskim w XVII wieku," *Odrodzenie i reformacja w Polsce* XIV (1969): 213–215. See also Appendix IX below.

²³⁰ Žirgulis mistakenly states that the list of parishioners of Kiejdany Reformed church for 1679 recorded 253 people. Likewise, he mistakenly classifies 96 of them as Scots or members of their families. The Scots made up 32.3 per cent and not, as he suggests, 37.9 per cent of the parishioners, see Žirgulis, "The Scottish community in Kėdainiai," 237.

were—in particular the Scots—on communion attendance, and excluding the underaged, this low turnout is difficult to explain.²³¹ Perhaps the Scots simply resisted the Assembly elders' attempts to persuade them to join the services attended by the whole congregation.

A further examination of Mikołajewski's list and the lists of communicants for 1676 shows that at this time the Scottish congregation consisted of 16 couples with children. Of those, seven Scots were married to women of Polish extraction and another seven to women of Scottish descent (the nationality of the other two wives could not be established). This shows a similar rate of intermarriage to that recorded in Wilno, but higher than that recorded in Cracow.

Despite the mixed marriages, the evidence demonstrates that, just as in other places, the Scots maintained their distinct identity. The best illustration of their attempts at separation is their struggle for services in Scots. According to a complaint by the Polish-speaking parishioners in 1638, sermons in Scots, and then in Lithuanian, were so long that there was little time for the sermon in Polish that followed.²³² It appears that the Scots wanted more than just sermons in their own language. A document from 1640 suggests that they were also organising separate services. The issue came to the attention of the Assembly elders who attempted to make the Scots conform and join the services attended by the whole congregation. Item number five on the session's proceedings stipulated:

...according to our decision in regards to holding and celebrating of the Lord's Supper by the Scottish Gentlemen, we declare that they should attend the Communion together with the whole congregation, and should not conduct separate Communions.²³³

A larger Scottish presence was uncovered in Węgrów. This was a small town located on a main trading route linking the Crown with the Grand Duchy of Lithuania and Royal Prussia that attracted grain merchants from Gdańsk, who brought with them new religious ideals. The Calvinist

²³¹ In 1638 the Session, item 4, warned parishioners reluctant to participate in services and not taking communion, that should their lack of attendance continue after warnings, in accordance with the laws approved by the Synod of Toruń they will be excommunicated, see "Collecta zboru Kiejdańskiego," fol. 55.

²³² The services in Scots, rescheduled to follow the one in Polish, may have continued in Kiejdany until the 1670s, see The 1638 session, Item V, "O porządku kazań (About the order of the sermons)," in "Collecta zboru Kiejdańskiego," fol. 55.

²³³ "Punkt V... postanowienie względem wieczery pańskiej odprawowania i używania między Szotami a nami przyjmujemy, zwłaszcza, żeby z nami wspólnie komunizowali, a osobnych komunij nie sprawowali," see *Ibid.*, fol. 73.

parish and school established around the middle of the sixteenth century attracted other foreign settlers. Further growth of the town was recorded during the patronage of the Radziwiłłs, who became its owners (1593–1664). Krzysztof Radziwiłł erected a large new church there in 1630–34 for the growing Reformed congregation. According to historians, during the first half of the seventeenth century the parish attracted a fairly large flock composed mainly of dissident local nobility and Scottish settlers who, apart from trading, were involved in weaving and cloth-making.

Bogusław Radziwiłł's edict of 14 June 1650, giving vast privileges to the foreigners in Węgrów, in all probability enticed an even larger number of Scots. In this decree, designed to attract migrants, Scots were called "miłą ozdobą miasta" (a fine ornament of the town), and were guaranteed "wszelką wolność i swobodę, a od postronnych ludzi ochronę i obronę" (freedom and free will, as well as protection from hostile people) and were granted the right to make bequests and to choose their successors. Property left by a childless parishioner (presumably without a legal will), was to be given to a local church, school or hospital, rather than, as elsewhere, to boost the coffers of the estate owners.²³⁴ The numerical growth of the Scottish congregation resulted, in turn, in the establishment of their own *osada* (small settlement).²³⁵

Unfortunately, since the parish registers have been lost, there is little information to assess the extent of the Scottish presence. According to Biegańska, the Scots of Węgrów were strong enough to form their own brotherhood.²³⁶

Another sign of the strength of the Scottish settlement was its involvement in the 1651 subsidy. According to its register, the Scots of Węgrów contributed in total 4630 zł 20 gr, a sum greater than that collected from 21 Scots of Sandomierz Palatinate, and only about 800 zł less than that raised from 41 Scots in nearby Warsaw.²³⁷ Only two Scots are named in the register—Andrew (Andryss) Gibson and Richard (Rychald) Gordon. The

²³⁴ J. Kazimierski, "Z dziejów Węgrowa w XV–XVII w.," *Rocznik Mazowiecki* 3 (1970): 267–282; T. Wyszomirski, "Z przeszłości zboru protestanckiego w Węgrowie w XVII i XVIII w.," *Odrodzenie i Reformacja* 4 (1959): 137–155; "Inwentarz majątności Węgrów," AGAD, AR XXV, 4549h.

²³⁵ A. Kołodziejczyk and T. Swat, eds., *Węgrów dzieje miasta i okolic w latach 1441–1944* (Węgrów: 1991), 36–41; Łukaszewicz, *Dzieje kościołów wyznania helweckiego w Litwie*, vol. II, 90–95; Wyszomirski, "Z przeszłości zboru protestanckiego," 137–155. I am grateful to Mrs Małgorzata Piórkowska, director of the Municipal Library in Węgrów, who helped me obtain a copy of the book by Kołodziejczyk and Swat.

²³⁶ Biegańska, "Wielka emigracja Szkotów," 165.

²³⁷ Scots of Sandomierz Palatinate contributed 4488 zł 6 gr, while their compatriots in Warsaw contributed 5420 zł, see ASK I 134, fols 6–6v, 28.

two men of clearly different wealth paid 30 zł and 1000 zł 20 gr respectively. It is unknown how many of their compatriots contributed towards the remaining 3600 zł.²³⁸ The inventory of the Węgrów estate compiled in about 1650, which contains a register of the names of all the inhabitants of the town, provides the names of eight possible contributors, nearly all of them merchants.²³⁹ Neither Gibson nor Richard Gordon appear in that record as residents of the town or adjacent villages belonging to the Węgrów estate.²⁴⁰ It is clear, however, that some of the Scottish inhabitants were first-generation migrants and arrived in Węgrów in the late 1630s.²⁴¹ It is likely that Scots and other Calvinists of Warsaw frequented the church during the main feasts. Although the church was located about 90 kilometres from the capital of Poland-Lithuania, it was still the closest Reformed parish.²⁴² As elsewhere, the war with Sweden brought about the demise of the congregation.²⁴³ While some Scots left the town, a small group remained in the parish until the early eighteenth century. Epitaphs of some of them can be found in the church graveyard (Fig. 6.8).²⁴⁴

²³⁸ Ibid., fol. 31v.

²³⁹ They were Szczesny Gordon, John Gordon (Jan Gordun), William Gordon (Wilim Gordun), *Pani Gordonowa* (wife of George), Tobiasz Morton (Tobiasz Orton), Thomas Miller (Tomasz Meller), *Pan Morrison* (Moryson) and James Carr (Jacob Kary). The following merchants may also have been of Scottish origin, see an unnamed Klasford (perhaps Glassford), Alexander Fuil, Killian Czempla (most likely William Temple), see "Inwentarz majątności Węgrów," AGAD, AR XXV, 4549i, fol. 9; cf. Kazimierski, "Z dziejów Węgrowa w XV–XVII w.," 274.

²⁴⁰ Elsewhere in the inventory, the names of further five Scots can be found: 'the second' *Pan Morrison* (*Pan Moryson drugi*), listed among millers of Węgrów; Andrew Scott (Andrys Szot), recorded in Stara Wieś; John Gordon (possibly the same as the mentioned above); George Gordon, who paid for lease of the meadows in Moczydła and Szymer; and George Morrison (Moryson), who also leased a meadow in Szymer. No Scots were found in other villages, such as Zębków or Sokołów, see "Inwentarz majątności Węgrów," AGAD, AR XXV, 4549i, fol. 13, 4549h, fols 1, 40–44, 58, 60.

²⁴¹ Of the Scots listed in the inventory, two, William and John Gordon, are probably the same as the Gordons of Bray whose applications for birth briefs were recorded in the Propinquity Books of Aberdeen in 1655 and 1656. The third Gordon with the very unusual name—Szczesny—may well have been their brother Hew who, likewise, settled in *Vangroba* as it was transliterated in Scottish, see MSC 336, 338.

²⁴² Wyszomirski, "Z przeszłości zboru protestanckiego," 142–143.

²⁴³ The church was devastated by the troops of the Crown Army in 1656. A year later, the Swedes raided the town, and the church suffered again. It finally burnt down in 1679, see Kazimierski, "Z dziejów Węgrowa," 267–282; Wyszomirski, "Z przeszłości zboru protestanckiego," 137–155.

²⁴⁴ Only four sandstone gravestones from the late seventeenth century have survived: "Epitaph of Archibald, Helen, James and Alexander Hughy (Hueys)," (17/18th century); "Epitaph of James Hughy (Hueys) and Henriette Campbell," (1696–1700); "Epitaph of Archibald Campbell," (1692); and "Epitaph of Anna Henderson-Liddell," (1692?).—I am grateful to Mr Michał Kurc of Węgrów who helped me photograph the epitaphs.

The third of the parishes under the Radziwiłłs' protection and frequented by Scots was Zabłudów in the Podlachia District. In 1608 the wealthy patrons erected a Reformed church there along with a vestry, a *schola trivialis* (college) and a hospital.²⁴⁵ In 1662 Bogusław Radziwiłł granted substantial privileges, specifically to those from *nacja szkocka* (the Scottish nation) residing in Zabłudów. In this edict Radziwiłł exempted them from tax and financial obligations to the town, and removed them from municipal jurisdiction.²⁴⁶

The absence of parish registers—a fire in 1658–60 destroyed many of the town dwellings along with the Reformed church—prevents us from establishing how many Scots belonged to the parish. Scots most likely resided there before 1662, yet Zabłudów does not appear in the 1651 tithe register.²⁴⁷ Scottish-sounding names were recorded in the register of students of the college in 1685. According to that document, among its 27 pupils studying at the college were five students of Scottish ancestry.²⁴⁸ An inventory of the estate of 1688 shows the names of three further Scots, owners of houses in that town.²⁴⁹ The names of some of them suggest family connections with the Scots of nearby Węgrów. There is no doubt that the Scots participated in the rebuilding of the church in 1687, which existed until the late 1740s. Soon after that, the Reformed community all but disappeared.²⁵⁰

Scottish Evangelicals were supposedly members of the parish in Birże established in 1589 by Mikołaj Radziwiłł 'the Red'. The assembly existed peacefully until the Great Northern War (the Third Northern War) when,

²⁴⁵ Łukasiewicz, *Dzieje kościołów wyznania helweckiego w Litwie*, vol. II, 152.

²⁴⁶ "Zbigniew Morsztyn administrator dóbr zabłudowskich i Jan Pękalski, z woli Bogusława Radziwiłła zwalniają cudzoziemców 'nacji szkockiej' od podatków do skarbu książęcego i składek miejskich, wyłączają ich spod jurysdykcji miejskiej i podporządkowują zamkowej, obiecują jednocześnie protekcję wszystkim obcokrajowcom garnącym się do Zabłudowa," quoted in J. Maroszek, ed., *Prawa i przywileje miasta i dóbr ziemskich. Zabłudów XV–XVIII w.* (Białystok: 1994), 213.

²⁴⁷ ASK I 134, fols 1–39.

²⁴⁸ The students included: Daniel Campbell (Kamel) in the lowest Grade 1; Stephen Carmichael (Stephanus Karmichel), Andrew Ramsay (Andreas Ramesz), and David Balfour (Dawid Balfoer) in Grade 3; as well as Andrew Black, and Daniel Carmichael (Karmichel) in Grade 4, see "Spis uczniów gimnazjum kalwińskiego w Zabłudowie z 1685 roku wraz z podziałem na 4 klasy i wykazem przedmiotów oraz lektur," AGAD, AR, dz. VIII, nr 655, fols 12–14.

²⁴⁹ They were: an unknown Campbell (Kamel), Alexander Chalmers (Czamer) and Alexander Hume (Him), see "Opis uposażenia parafii kalwińskiej w Zabłudowie [30 January 1688]," *Ibid.*, fol. 7.

²⁵⁰ Maroszek, ed., *Prawa i przywileje*, 13–15.

in 1704, in the face of advancing enemy troops, the town's defenders burnt it down along with its Reformed church. The church was subsequently rebuilt and Birże was elevated to the rank of a district capital. The seat of its senior (superintendent) was given to the Reverend John Paterson, senior of the Zawilejski District.²⁵¹ The lack of parish registers for the pre-1741 period prevents us from assessing the extent of the Scottish presence in this congregation. The late eighteenth-century records confirm observations by Kriegseisen that, at this stage, Birże's parishioners were predominantly of peasant background.²⁵²

Surprisingly, very few Scots were part of the congregation in Śluck, another city under the patronage of the Radziwiłł family. Documentary evidence suggests that several of them attended the parish in the early seventeenth century, among them merchants who traded with such far-away places as Gniezno.²⁵³ Like Kiejdany, Śluck was the seat of a Reformed school established about 1625. Its first rector and its pastor was a fourth-generation Scot, Andrew Musonius.²⁵⁴ Although some other Scots, such as Rev. James Inglis, worked at the school, by the 1640s, the Scots disappear from its records.²⁵⁵ An investigation of the parish registers produced over-

²⁵¹ Biegańska, "The learned Scots in Poland," 2; Žirgulis, "The Scottish community in Kėdainiai," 238; Kriegseisen, *Ewangelicy polscy i litewscy*, 105, 112–113, 219; Łukasiewicz, *Dzieje kościołów wyznania helweckiego w Litwie*, vol. II, 7–9.

²⁵² "Communicants 1741–1797," LVIA Fond 606, Ap. 1, B. 101, 237; F. 1322, Ap. 1, Bb. 2–27, 36v–46; Kriegseisen, *Ewangelicy polscy i litewscy*, 112–113.

²⁵³ In 1637 the merchants travelling to Gniezno carried a letter from the rector of the Śluck Academy to the senior of the Moravian Brethren, see Łukasiewicz, *Dzieje kościołów wyznania helweckiego w Litwie*, vol. II, 70–78.

²⁵⁴ Andrew (Jędrzej) Musonius (1595–1672) was the son of the Rev. Christopher (I). He studied at Bytom (1609), then in Frankfurt. He was a rector of a school in Łobżenica, and then in Śluck. He was also a senior of Nowogródek District. Finally he became a senior of the Wilno District. He was regarded as a well educated and erudite man, see Łukasiewicz, *Dzieje kościołów wyznania helweckiego w Litwie*, vol. II, 162, 211–212; M. Sipayłło, ed., *Akta synodów różnowierczych w Polsce, Vol. 4 (Wielkopolska 1569–1632)* (Warszawa: 1997), 430.

²⁵⁵ James Inglis (Jakub Ingliss, English) (fl. 1726–1756), pastor. Inglis was one of the few students who benefited from a fund established by his compatriot and fellow expatriate Robert Brown, a merchant of Zamość. Brown dedicated 10,000 shillings to educate two young men of the Reformed faith, one a Scot and the other a Pole, at the University of Edinburgh. Inglis went to Scotland in the early 1620s and was awarded an MA at Edinburgh. He later returned to the Commonwealth, where he became a pastor and a rector of the Śluck Academy and later a dean of Białoruś District (*konsenior białoruski*). Inglis was also an author of sacral poetry, see Biegańska, "The Learned Scots in Poland," 2; idem, "In search of tolerance," 43 (Biegańska mistakenly translates his name as English); N. Hans, "Polish Protestants and their connections with England and Holland in the 17th and 18th centuries," *The Slavonic and Eastern European Review* XXXVII (1958–59): 212; Kriegseisen, *Ewangelicy polscy i litewscy*, 147, 259, 267.

whelmingly a negative result.²⁵⁶ Scots appear on the lists of communicants very infrequently and it seems that none of them—apart from Inglis—stayed in the parish for longer periods of time. Some of the Scots recorded, like Marshall or James Mollison (Jakub Molesson), could perhaps have been visitors from nearby Kiejdany.²⁵⁷

The survey of the parishes on the Radziwiłł estates demonstrates that the death of Bogusław Radziwiłł (1669) and his daughter Princess Ludwika Karolina (1695)—the last agnatic-line member of the Calvinist branch of this family—changed the context for the Protestants on the Radziwiłł estates. Without politically significant, influential protectors and financial backers, the Lithuanian Brethren witnessed the gradual demise of their churches. The Protestant disaster can be seen in the dwindling number of their congregations.²⁵⁸

Several parishes under the protection of the nobility that were important for the Scots existed in Greater Poland. Leszno (Lissa), the seat of the Leszczyński family, was the prime Protestant centre in Greater Poland. The parish, established in 1550, was attended by Polish nobility, German burghers and, after 1620, by several hundred families from Moravia and Bohemia. The Reformed Brethren opened a school, seminary, library, as well as a provincial archive. It was estimated that before 1655 Leszno had about 10,000 inhabitants (of whom 2000–2500 were Jews). A contemporaneous account suggests that there were 1200 communicants in 1654. Although Scots were part of this congregation from its early days, it is unclear how big their presence was. In 1604–08 a third-generation Scot, John (Jan) Musonius [I], was a minister and a rector of the school in Leszno.²⁵⁹ His son Ernest Musonius later took this post.²⁶⁰

²⁵⁶ "Parish registers of the Reformed Church, Śluck 1643–1795," LVIA Fond 606, Ap. 1, Bb. 231–236, 249–250.

²⁵⁷ "LComm 1703," LVIA Fond 606, Ap. 1, Bb. 249–250, fols 95v–97.

²⁵⁸ Tazbir, "The fate of Polish Protestantism," 204; Kriegseisen, *Ewangelicy polscy i litewscy*, 88–102.

²⁵⁹ John (Jan) Musonius (I) (c. 1577; d. 18 October 1618), son of Christopher (Christophorus) (I), minister of the Reformed congregation of Łobżenica. Musonius studied in Frankfurt am Oder, Basilea and Altdorf (1599). Ordained as a deacon in 1600, he became a minister in 1604. Musonius was the rector of the school and a minister of the Polish assembly in Leszno (1604–08). Later he was appointed minister in Kryłów in 1609, konsenior of Greater Poland in 1609, minister in Koźminek in 1612 and finally minister in Wola Łąszkowska in 1614 and Marszew in 1615. Musonius died in 1618 during Synod in Ostroróg, see "Wykaz konseniorów jednoty," APPozn, sig. 1693, fol. 2, no. IX; cf. Sipayło, ed., *Akta synodów różnowierczych*, vol. IV, 430; Łukaszewicz, *O kościołach braci czeskich*, 296–297, 321.

²⁶⁰ Ernest Musonius (I), son of the minister of the Polish assembly in Leszno, see Łukaszewicz, *O kościołach braci czeskich*, 308.

In 1651 only six Scots were recorded as contributors from Leszno.²⁶¹ The Scots, along with the other parishioners, suffered greatly during the war with Sweden. The Reformed paid a heavy price for siding with the occupying forces. After their retreat in April 1656, the city was burnt down along with its Reformed church.²⁶² Some 11 Scots settled in Leszno in the 1670s–80s, among them second-generation migrant Bartholomew Burnet, son of Bartholomew of Cracow and Agnes Rait (1674),²⁶³ and Robert, James, William (jnr), Alexander and Elizabeth, children of William Farquhar (Farcher) and Elizabeth Jamieson (1688).²⁶⁴ Two Scots, Peter Innes (snr)²⁶⁵ and Archibald Rait,²⁶⁶ were elevated to the position of lord mayor of that town in 1682 and 1714 respectively. Three families of possible Scottish ancestry, the Logans, the Thomsons (Thomaszen) and the Turners (Törner), were recorded in the baptismal book between 1743 and 1779. But the most famous Scottish descendant of Leszno was John Johnstone MD, who lived and worked there in 1625–29 and 1632–56.²⁶⁷ It seems that dur-

²⁶¹ James Neish (Nicz), David Wont, Peter Yates (Jetisz), John Heath (Chize), Peter Simson and James Orem (Orent) contributed 765 zł to the 1651 Subsidy, see ASK I 134, fols 4–4v.

²⁶² “Parish registers of St. John Church, Leszno 1667–1779,” APPozn. sig. 3808; Łukaszewicz, *O kościołach braci czeskich*, 301–304; Dworzaczkowa, *Bracia czescy w Wielkopolsce*, 134–135.

²⁶³ Burnet’s birth brief was witnessed by Archibald Reid (Ritt) and Robert Jamieson (Immsen), burghers and merchants of Leszno, see H. Harms, *Lissaer Geburtsbriefe 1639–1731* (Poznań: 1940), no. 135; SEWP; SPLC 2902, 3646, 3649, 3650.

²⁶⁴ Harms, *Lissaer Geburtsbriefe*, nos. 272, 273, 274, 275, 276, 289; SPLC 3655, 3656, 3657, 3658, 3659, 3660, 3661.

²⁶⁵ Peter Innes (fl. 1682–1691) was a burgher, a merchant and lord mayor in the municipal council of Leszno in 1682. In 1690 he was the target of a religious riot. He was apparently dragged from his house and buffeted by the servants and soldiers of the Palatinate of Płock. Innes was also mentioned in a document of 1691 in which the well-born Albert Dromiński (father of Paul Dromiński, who was killed during the riot) indemnified Innes, Marianne née Watson his wife and their children, Alexander, Peter (jnr.) and Elizabeth, against any liability or future claims, see Biegańska, “Wielka emigracja Szkotów,” Table VIII (Burmistrzowie); SIP, 20–22; S. Łoza, *Rodziny polskie pochodzenia cudzoziemskiego osiadłe w Warszawie i okolicach*, 3 vols (Warszawa: 1932–1935), vol. II, 99–104; SEWP nos. 2917, 3017, 3018, 3019, 3020.

²⁶⁶ Harms, *Lissaer Geburtsbriefe*, nos. 135, 480; MSC, 357; SEWP, 181; SIG, 246; SPLC, nos. 1013, 2902, 3651.

²⁶⁷ SPLC, no. 3851; T. Bilikiewicz, “Jan Jonston,” in PSB, vol. XI (1964–65), 268–270; B. Janowicz, “Jan Jonston 1603–1675: His life, stay in Poland and contribution to the seventeenth century science,” *Polish-AngloSaxon Studies* 8–9 (2000), 39–59; T. Secombe, “Johnstone, John (1603–1675),” in ODNB, <http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/8323> (accessed 28 September 2006); cf. M. von Johnston und Kroegeborn, *Geschichte der Familie von Johnston* (Breslau: 1891), 9–11; B. Świdorski, *Dr Jan Jonston wybitny uczony dawnego Leszna* (Leszno: 1935); Hans, “Polish Protestants,” 200–201.

ing the first half of the seventeenth century about six, with a maximum of 10 families of Scottish ancestry, attended the parish.²⁶⁸

A number of Scots were recorded at the end of the sixteenth century in one of the oldest parishes in Greater Poland, Ostroróg. In 1570 its congregation numbered about 200 parishioners. It increased in the 1590s, when the Scots appeared among the worshippers. Although their precise figures are not known, Dworzaczkowa suggested that wealthy Scottish inhabitants of Ostroróg, who, along with the nobility, were the main financial supporters of the church and the school, eventually left the parish in the 1630s–40s.²⁶⁹

In the early seventeenth century some Scottish traders also settled in Łobżenica, a town belonging to the Krotowski family. In 1606 the Scots established Nowe Miasto (New Town), known then also as Mały Gdańsk (Little Gdańsk). An account of a contribution made by parishioners towards the salary of the local minister in 1632 lists 16 names, among them five Scots. Probably the same Scots were mentioned in a letter of 1639, which stipulated that the livelihood of the impoverished minister depended on the support of several of them.²⁷⁰ The 1651 register provides names of seven resident Scots. Their collective contribution of 530 zł suggests that they were petty merchants, less wealthy than their compatriots from Poznań.²⁷¹ One of them was James (Jacob) Musonius, burgher of Łobżenica, ancestor of several well-known Reformed ministers of Greater Poland. Of his sons, Christopher was a minister and rector of the school of Łobżenica, and later a dean (*konsenior*) of Greater Poland (1587), and Simon was a minister at Łobżenica (1592).²⁷²

²⁶⁸ "Parish registers," APPozn. sig. 3808.

²⁶⁹ Dworzaczkowa, *Bracia czeszy w Wielkopolsce*, 56, 131–132.

²⁷⁰ Dworzaczkowa, *Bracia czeszy w Wielkopolsce*, 99–101, 104, 106, 108, 133; Łukaszewicz, *O kościołach braci czeskich*, 316–318.

²⁷¹ John Bone (Joannes Bon), Robert Brittan (Brotone), Alexander Christie (Christn), Robert Fender (Fendar), Robert Gibb (Ginb), Alexander Martin, Andrew Paisley (Andris Peisloy), see ASK I 134, fol. 5.

²⁷² Christopher Musonius (I) (c. 1542–1612) studied in Słupsk and Wittenberg, and was ordained in Poznań in 1587. He was appointed minister and rector of the school of Łobżenica, minister in Pakość in 1573, Liszkowa in 1585, dean of Greater Poland in 1587, and was minister in Koźminek until 1591. He was also the father of Andrew, James (II), John (I), and Christopher (Krzysztof) (II). His brother Simon Musonius (d. 1592) studied in Wittenberg in 1565. He was ordained as a deacon in 1575 and as a minister in 1580. He preached first at Sypniew (1580–88) then at Łobżenica (1588–92), see "Wykaz konseniorów jednoty braci czeskich z lat 1567–1737," APPozn, sig. 1693, fol. 2, no. V; cf. Sipayło, ed., *Akta synodów różnowierczych*, vol. IV, 430; Łukaszewicz, *O kościołach braci czeskich*, 317.

The evidence confirms an observation made by Fischer, who, after examining the Scottish congregation in Gdańsk, concluded that despite belonging to the local Reformed churches, the Scots of that congregation Scots formed an *ecclesiola in ecclesia*.²⁷³ As has been demonstrated, regardless of the type of congregation, be it in Lutheran- or Catholic-dominated municipalities, or in the estates of the nobility (both Protestant and Catholic), almost always the Scots made concentrated efforts somehow to separate themselves from the local community, even their coreligionists. They attempted to have services in their own native tongue, kept their own poor-funds and elected their own representatives among the church elders and officials.

Scottish endeavours to separate themselves from the local followers of Calvinism were not necessarily caused by ethnic or language differences alone. Theological differences likewise played a significant role in separating the migrants from their hosts, and especially during church feasts. The records show that despite living abroad, the Scots in Poland-Lithuania still adhered to their much stricter brand of Calvinism. This, for example, had an effect on Church attendance. The Scottish presence in Lucianowice was nearly always strongest on Palm Sunday, but relatively few of them, unlike their local coreligionists, attended services at Christmas.

The Scottish Impact on the Reformed Church in Poland-Lithuania

Despite maintaining their strong sense of Scottishness—establishing distinctively Scottish services, poor-boxes, and employing where possible their own preachers—the Scots nevertheless maintained a close affiliation with local adherents of the same faith. Such cordial relations and contacts among them had, it seems, an important influence on the development of the Reformed Church in Poland-Lithuania.

An interesting example of this interaction was recorded in Elbląg, where in the earlier part of the seventeenth century the Scots formed their own brotherhood. The *Bruderschaft Schottischer Nation* had, it seems, a friendly relationship with the larger, predominantly German Reformed community in Elbląg. Evidence of these warm relations is perhaps a silver chalice presented to the church by William Durham (jnr) in 1683, possibly a member of the Brotherhood, inscribed with a special dedication.²⁷⁴ A few

²⁷³ SEWP, 137.

²⁷⁴ The inscription on the cup reads: "Gott zu Ehren verehrte Wilhelm Durham diesen Kelch der Elblingschen Reformierten Gemeinde. Anno 1683." (transl. To the glory of God,

years later a similar gift—a salver—was presented by other Scots (1692). The inscription engraved on it notes that it was given to the Reformed community by the brotherhood.²⁷⁵

Frequent intermarriages and the eventual collapse of the Eastland Company, which halted direct migration from Britain, helped to accelerate the assimilation process among some of the Scots and English of Elbląg. A number of them converted later to Lutheranism. Among such converts was Thomas Achenwall (1695–1755), a fourth-generation Scot, who became a clergyman at the Holy Trinity church in Elbląg. His cousin Thomas (1702–1764) was a preacher at St Mary's church there. His son and a great-great grandson of Thomas Auchinvol of Stirling, Gottlieb Thomas Achenwall, (1731–1774) was also a member of the clergy. Of English or Scottish descent was also William Robinson (Rupsohn), a clergyman at the Corpus Christi church in Elbląg.²⁷⁶

Analogous trends were recorded in other parishes. More than a few Scots became closely involved in the life of the Cracow assembly as executives and financial supporters, godparents or witnesses. As early as 1586 Robert King (Woyciech Kin) became its deacon. In 1616 he became a senior of Aleksandrowice, along possibly with another Scot, William Smith (Kilian Szmid).²⁷⁷ Andrew Fraser, a senior of Lucianowice in 1631, was elected to look after its poor-box a year later. Among the administrators there were also: Thomas Forbes, a senior of Wielkanoc (1633, 1639) and of Lucianowice (1637); and Alexander Dickson, a senior of the latter parish (1637). In 1639 another Scot, James Carmichael (snr) was elected a senior of Lucianowice.²⁷⁸ This participation did not diminish following the war with Sweden. Some 30 years later, Scottish involvement in the life of the parish was as strong as ever. In 1677, three men of Scottish origin James Carmichael, William Hewison and Peter Forbes, were elected as its seniors. While Hewison was to look after the church records, Forbes was left in charge of the poor-

William Durham dedicated this chalice to the Elbing Reformed Community. Anno 1683), see Kownatzki, *Elbing als ehemaliger englischer*, 30.

²⁷⁵ The salver is inscribed with the following words: "Von der Bruderschaft Schottischer Nation der Reformierten Gemeinde in Elbing verehret Anno 1692, H. B. B. D. H. S. G. S. H. W. W. B. D. K. G. H." (transl. The Brotherhood of Scottish Nation gave this to the Reformed Community, Anno 1692...), see *Ibid.*

²⁷⁶ J. Tandecki, "Zmiany terytorialne i ludnościowe," in A. Groth, ed., *Historia Elbląga*, 10 vols (Gdańsk: 1996), vol. 2, part 2, 73–74; cf. "Descendenztafel [Thomas] Achenwall," APGd, sig. 492/1158; SEWP, 138.

²⁷⁷ "Extract Variorum Casuum," fols 91, 92v.

²⁷⁸ The session decided that due to absences caused by Carmichael's mercantile activity, Robert Blackhall was to be appointed as his proxy, see *Ibid.* fols 94v, 95v; "Visitacje Zboru Wielkanockiego y Lucianowskiego," KW AParEA, fols 160v, 161–161v, 164, 165v.

box.²⁷⁹ The latter was also known for his donations; for example, in 1681 he provided cloth for the altar, velvet, and a cover for the chalice. In 1682 he supported the renovations of the Wielkanoc church by providing nails and calcium hydroxide.²⁸⁰ In 1704 another Scot, John Taylor, was elected as a senior at Wielkanoc.²⁸¹ Surprisingly, there were no ministers of Scottish descent in the parish until the 1740s when Rev. Bogusław Orem (Aram) took that post. He was still preaching there in the 1760s.²⁸²

The Scots, as staunch supporters of the Reformed cause, probably formed stronger links with the local Protestant community during and after the war with Sweden (1655–60). The evidence suggests that just like many of their hosts, the Scots overwhelmingly sided with Karl X Gustav.²⁸³ One of the better-known cases involved the Scots of Cracow.²⁸⁴ After the Polish victory, several of their names were included on the list of collaborators *qui hostibus servitia praestabant* (1657). Of those James Carmichael, Casper Hunter, William Torrie, Abraham Urquhart (Usiert), John Murray and Robert, Eva and their son Adam Blackhall were incarcerated. Yet their prison stay was apparently short, owing to a royal pardon. According to Bieniarzówna, the lenient treatment received by the Scots was due to their capacity to provide a large loan to the cash-strapped Polish monarch. Carmichael and Hunter alone reportedly offered an advance of 6000 zł.²⁸⁵

The Scots took a growing interest in the wellbeing of the Reformed Church in the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth. One indication of this is the financial support given to particular local parishes, as well as to projects concerning the Reformed of Poland-Lithuania in general. The register of a 1637 collection in Kiejdany shows that among the 41 benefactors, 23 were *ex gente scotica*.²⁸⁶ A much more substantial donation to

²⁷⁹ "Rejestr komunikantów 1657–1716," KT AParEA Kraków, fol. 32v.

²⁸⁰ Ibid., fol. 41.

²⁸¹ "Raport zdany D. Jabłońskiemu (1704)," quoted in Łukaszewicz, *Dzieje Kościołów [...]* w dawnej Małej Polsce, 425–426.

²⁸² Kriegseisen, *Ewangelicy polscy i litewscy*, 60, 205.

²⁸³ The pro-Swedish espionage network operated by Scots against the interests of Poland-Lithuania is described in Murdoch, *Network North*, 254–279.

²⁸⁴ One of the most prominent collaborators of Scottish origin was James Chalmer (Jakub Czamer), who on behalf of the occupants supervised plundering of the Cracow's Catholic churches, see Bieniarzówna and Małecki, *Dzieje Krakowa*, 376.

²⁸⁵ However, not all of the Scots collaborated with the invaders. Alexander Dickson showed his loyalty to the Crown by refusing to swear allegiance to the King of Sweden. Dickson allegedly publicly declared, "... wołę, aby psi krew moję na ulicy leptali, anizelibym miał na takąow przysięgę pozwolić". (transl. I would prefer dogs to slurp my blood on the street, rather than allow myself to take such an oath.), see Ibid., 376, 380, 388.

²⁸⁶ "Collecta Zboru Kiejdańskiego," fol. 49.

the church was made in 1650 by John Lawson (Jan Lauson), who gave 2000 zł.²⁸⁷ According to Biegańska, the Scottish Merchants' Society of Kiejdany reportedly allocated as much as 10 per cent of their profits to the local poor-box.²⁸⁸

The Scots made substantial contributions towards the building of the new Reformed church in Königsberg. Among the most ardent supporters of the project were three Scottish merchants: Francis Hay, Thomas Harvie²⁸⁹ and Charles Ramsay. Ramsay and Hay solicited funds throughout Scotland for the building of the new house of worship, which brought in 4000 thaler (nearly £700).²⁹⁰ The Scots also showed their support for the initiatives of the Lithuanian Brethren. In 1699 they lodged a complaint with the Elector that the local Reformed school, which once attracted children even from Poland-Lithuania, was in a state of decline. Subsequently they argued for new competent teachers and, in particular, a Polish-speaking minister. Although it is unclear to what extent such petitions could be of influence, in about 1700 Friedrich III donated 500 thaler towards maintaining a permanent Polish pastor in the capital of Ducal Prussia.²⁹¹ In addition, members of the 'Scottish Nation' established a poor-relief fund in the early seventeenth century. As Caterall observed, this foundation, in line with similar attempts by the Scots in Göteborg and Rotterdam, was initially intended only for the members of the nation.²⁹²

After the union of 1707, the Scots allowed the English into their ranks, forming in the process a more ethnically inclusive "Brüderschaft Hochlöblicher Groß-Brittannischer Nation" (Venerable Brotherhood of Great Britain). The newly set up poor-fund was to be used for the welfare of Scottish and English residents and travellers, but also to support

²⁸⁷ Ibid., fol. 85.

²⁸⁸ Biegańska, "In search of tolerance," 44.

²⁸⁹ Thomas Harvie (Harwie, Hervie) (1621–1710), merchant and burgher of Königsberg. Harvie was born in Aberdeen and settled in Königsberg in 1656, where he acquired civic rights and was admitted to the merchants guild. Harvie had a successful career as a merchant. He was one of the main financial supporters behind the new church, promoted the establishment of a "home for widows". Married in the Burgkirche in 1656 to Jungfrau Catharina Gibson (Gyson), he baptised a number of his children in the church. Harvie died in Königsberg in 1710, see Sembrzycki, "Die Schotten und Engländer," 236–237; SEWP, 201; SIG, 227; "LC 11 July 1656," EZAB, sig. 2142B, fol. 28.

²⁹⁰ SIG, 188, 190–92; SEWP, 140–142, 218–219.

²⁹¹ Kriegseisen, *Evangelicy polscy i litewscy*, 113; Sembrzycki, "Die Schotten und Engländer," 240–241.

²⁹² Caterall, "At home abroad," 345.

shipwrecked and disabled sailors, and provide care for impoverished invalids.²⁹³

A number of important donations were registered in the documents of the Lesser Poland Brethren. In 1667 Alexander Cheyne (Cien) made a 120 zł bequest to the Bełżyce parish. Possibly at the same time Robert Tweeddale (Tewendel) left a legacy of 90 zł. The biggest contribution came from Daniel Aikenhead (Akenhyd), who left 240 zł for the church, 60 zł towards the hospital and 45 zł to a local minister (*loci ordinario*). Aikenhead's generosity also benefited several other parishes: Chmielnik received 390 zł, Łapczyńska Wola 290 zł, Malice 360 zł, Rejowiec 300 zł, and the assembly attended by a larger number of Scots, Piaski, obtained 330 zł.²⁹⁴

A 1671 record of a collection for the poor at Lucianowice shows that of 142 zł gathered, Scots contributed 56 zł. A second collection that year delivered 48 zł to the parish coffers. A significant part of that sum was donated once more by the Scots.²⁹⁵

The Scots gave their financial backing to projects concerning the Reformed of Poland-Lithuania in general. A good example of such support was the bequest set up in 1713 by Robert Brown of Zamość.²⁹⁶ Brown left £500 for the purposes of maintaining and educating two dissident students, "one a Pole, the other a Scot", at the University of Edinburgh. The bursary documents list a number of students from Poland-Lithuania who gave their nationality at matriculation as *Polonus*. Some of these, such as James Inglis (1723), Christopher Carkettle (Karkettle) (1723), Samuel Cran [*sic*] (1731), and Robert Sinclair (St. Clair) (1744), had Scottish names. Among students arriving in Edinburgh were also some of purely Polish descent, for example Nicodemus Bienaszewski (1739) and Andrew Kurnatowski (1735).²⁹⁷

²⁹³ Sembrzycki, "Die Schotten und Engländer," 234–235; SIG, 64–65. The Brotherhood of Great Britain in Gdańsk was also discussed by Ruffman, "Engländer und Schotten," 26.

²⁹⁴ "Excerpta z Księgi Polskiej Czerwonej in Folio którą P.P. Seniorowie Lubelscy Dotąd Przy Sobie Maią Ab Anno 1626," BUW SER 595 fol. 212.

²⁹⁵ The contribution was made by the following: Carmichael (Karmichel) 16 zł, Chalmers (Ciamer), Hewison (Hujson), Mrs Hewison (Hujsonowa), Forbes at 10 zł each, see "Collecta na Alumny 1671," KT AParEA Kraków, fol. 23v.

²⁹⁶ "Letter to the Reverend Presbyters and Elders of the Congregation of the Reformed Faith at Zamość (1771)," quoted in SIP, 290–298.

²⁹⁷ W. A. Wójcik, "Time in context—the Polish School of Medicine and Paderewski Polish Hospital in Edinburgh, 1941–1949," *Proceedings of the Royal College of Physicians* 31 (2001), 69–76; W. Tomaszewski, *The University of Edinburgh and Poland* (Edinburgh: 1968), 27–28. I am grateful to Dr David Worthington for providing me with details of Wójcik's article.

By the mid-seventeenth century the host Reformed community was, it seems, well aware not only of the Scottish devotion to the Protestant cause, but also of their financial capacity. A plea to collect funds for the church in Skalice in Hungary, sent in 1647 by church elders to the *Synowie Narodu Szkockiego* (sons of the Scottish Nation), clearly illustrates how the Scots were perceived by others as able and willing.²⁹⁸

Another well-known benefactor of the Reformed Church of the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth was an influential parishioner of Szczepanowice, David Aikenhead of Tarnów.²⁹⁹ In 1688 Aikenhead made a bequest with the purpose of giving young people, university education. This bequest became known—after the name of the will's executors Daniel Davidson and his descendants—as 'Davidson's Legacy'.³⁰⁰ It seems that Aikenhead's main idea was to secure well-educated Protestant theologians for service in the Reformed Church in Poland-Lithuania. According to the rules of the legacy, a student applying for the grant had to be from either Poland or the Grand Duchy of Lithuania, "or be born in Poland, so that he be perfect with the Polish language". However, Aikenhead stipulated that "those descended from Scots" were to be given first preference.³⁰¹ A letter of John Daniel Clark (1744) demonstrates that the grant allowed students to go to universities in places such as Edinburgh in Scotland or Leiden in the Netherlands.³⁰² The bequest provides further evidence that integration did not ultimately mean denying one's roots. It appears that some migrants were able to reconcile the need to maintain their strong sense of Scottishness and the need to assimilate into Polish society.

²⁹⁸ According to the document, the money was to be collected, from the Scots attending various fairs, by two designated agents, Robert Farquhar (Wojciech Farchar) and James Boyd (Jakub Boyt), see "Odezwa seniorów Jana Bytnera i Marcina Gertycha do Szkotów zamieszkałych w Polsce w sprawie kolektki na kościół w Skalicach na Węgrzech" (Karmin, 16 July 1647), APPOzn. sig. 1822.

²⁹⁹ The name Aikenhead has been recorded in many different ways, for example: Aitenhead, Akenheave, Akenheve, Akenhid, Akenhiff, Akenhiffe, Akenhive, Akenhit, Akenhüff, Akenhef, Akienhiew, Akynhyff, Ekenheve. Cf. Biegańska, "In search of tolerance," 43.

³⁰⁰ The fund, which was set up in 1688, was enlarged by voluntary subscriptions from other Scottish merchants. The money invested in the fund built up to a considerable sum. The fund itself was not used until 1735. When in 1782 the British Consul, Alexander Gibson, was appointed provisor to the legacy, he found that it was in great disorder. Gibson attempted to "set the whole affair in order" but his attempts to put it on a legal footing, even 11 years after his appointment, seemed to have achieved only little. The fund was mentioned in "Acta Conferencyji Provincjonalney," BUW SER 593, fol. 236v–237; "Letter to the Reverend Presbyters," 290–298; "Alexander Gibson to the Synod of the Reformed Church in Lesser Poland (1782)," quoted in SIP, 319–322.

³⁰¹ "Letter to the Reverend Presbyters," 295.

³⁰² "Letter of John Daniel Clerk (4 April 1744)," quoted in SIP, 298–299.

As a result of grants such as the one made by Aikenhead, the Reformed were able to prepare for the ministry a number of young men, among them several second- and third-generation Scots. Several such ministers worked or started their careers in Königsberg.³⁰³ William (Wilhelm) Crichton snr and his son William (Wilhelm) Crichton jnr became court preachers.³⁰⁴ Another minister who held that post was John Thomson, born in Warsaw in 1675, and after him, his son John William (Johann Wilhelm).³⁰⁵ Similarly, several men of Scottish origin worked in Gdańsk. James (Jacob) and Peter Buchans (probably father and son) ministered to the congregation at St Peter and St Paul between 1749 and 1776. Samuel William Turner, previously a preacher at Mokry Dwór, was listed as a clergyman of the same parish in the late 1700s (1781–1806).³⁰⁶ Several ministers of the parish in Mokry Dwór were also of Scottish extraction. Gilbert Waugh (Gilbertus Wach or Wachius) preached to the congregation in 1694–98.³⁰⁷ His post

³⁰³ Fischer mistakenly lists Rev. David Harvie (Hervie) as born in Königsberg. According to *Die Matrikel*, Harvie was originally from Pillau. After studies at the Albertus-Universität, begun in 1766, he was ordained and returned to his native Pillau to preach to the local Reformed congregation, see Sembrzycki, "Die Schotten und Engländer," 242; G. Erler, ed., *Die Matrikel und die Promotionsverzeichnisse der Albertus-Universität zu Königsberg in Preussen 1544–1829*, 2 vols (Leipzig: 1910), vol. II, 501; SIG, 227.

³⁰⁴ William Crichton (1683–1749), a Reformed minister originally from Insterburg. He was enrolled at the Albertus-Universität in 1700. Crichton was a chaplain and Doctor of Divinity at Königsberg. Later, he became preacher in the Royal Orphanage (1715–18) and, from 1730, court preacher and *Consistorialrath* in Königsberg. His son William (b. 1732), born and raised in Königsberg, just like his father, studied at Königsberg (1748) and became a minister and later a chaplain and Doctor of Divinity. William (jnr) for a time was also a professor of Theology in Frankfurt. He returned to Königsberg in 1772 to succeed his father, see Sembrzycki, "Die Schotten und Engländer," 242; SIG, 227; *Die Matrikel und die Promotionsverzeichnisse*, vol. II, 220, 427.

³⁰⁵ John Thomson (1675–1732), Reformed minister, originally from Warsaw. Ordained in 1707, he became the headmaster of the local Reformed school. His son John William Thomson (1704–1761), born in Königsberg, followed his father's career. Thomson studied at the Albertus-Universität (he was enrolled in 1718). He became a minister, a preacher to the Polish Evangelical Reformed church. In 1732 he became a court preacher, see Sembrzycki, "Die Schotten und Engländer," 241–242 (Sembrzycki lists John Thomson as Jacob); SIG, 226–227; *Die Matrikel und die Promotionsverzeichnisse*, vol. II, 298.

³⁰⁶ Samuel Wilhelm Turner (1739–1806), was born in Gdańsk. In 1757 he matriculated at the Gdańsk college. He continued his studies at Halle and from 1763 at the University of Göttingen. In 1766 he became a preacher at Mokry Dwór. In 1772 he wrote a petition to the British parliament in support of freedom of religion, "Die Bittschrift an das Grossbritannische Parlament wegen Abschaffung der Glaubensunterschriften...". From 1781–1782 he was a deacon at St Peter and St Paul in Gdańsk. He was involved in translating English texts, such as works of English politician and philosopher Edward Burke. Turner died in Gdańsk in 1806, see *Ibid.*, 225.

³⁰⁷ Gilbert Waugh (Gilbertus Wach or Wachius) (1654–1720) was born of Scottish parents in Königsberg. After studies in the Albertus-Universität in Königsberg (he enrolled in

was taken some 20 years later by Alexander Davidson, who resided in the parish in 1721–25³⁰⁸ and after that by a fourth-generation Scot, John Reinhold Forster.³⁰⁹ Although Forster became Germanised, he kept in contact with Britain, learnt English and used his linguistic knowledge for translations. Rev. Samuel Orem (Aram), who ministered at Łapczyńska Wola in 1730–31, also maintained contact with his homeland.³¹⁰ One of

Mar 1670) and Franeker in the Netherlands, he was at first a prorektor of the St Peter and St Paul school in Gdańsk, and then became a preacher at Mokry Dwór in 1694. In 1698 he migrated to Hamm in Westphalia, where he took a teaching position at a local secondary school. After a short stay at Hamm, Waugh migrated to Bremen, where he died in 1720. He left a number of burial sermons, orations and other publications, see A. Klemp, *Protestanci w dobrach prywatnych w Prusach Królewskich od drugiej połowy XVII do drugiej połowy XVIII wieku* (Gdańsk: 1994), 223–224; *Die Matrikel und die Promotionsverzeichnisse*, vol. II, no. 81; “LB Burgkirche, Königsberg 20 Dec 1654,” EZAB, sig. 2142B, fol. 12; SEWP, 111.

³⁰⁸ Alexander Davidson (Davidsohn) (d. 1725) was born in Gdańsk, where in 1695 he taught at the college. It is possible that he is the Alexander Davidson who preached in Gdańsk in 1714–22, see Klemp, *Protestanci w dobrach prywatnych*, 224.

³⁰⁹ John Reinhold Forster (Johan Reinhold Förster) (1729–1798), minister, traveller and scholar, born in Tczew (Dirschau) near Gdańsk. Forster was the son of George Reinhold, a councillor of Tczew, and his wife (unnamed) Wolff; grandson of Adam, burgher of Tczew; and the great-grandson of George, a migrant from Scotland, who settled in Nowe (Neuenburg) in 1642. Forster began his education in Kwidzyń (1743–44), and Berlin (1745–48). He graduated in Theology at the University of Halle (1748–51). In 1751–53, as a candidate for ordination, he preached in Gdańsk. After being ordained in Königsberg in 1753, he became a minister in Mokry Dwór, where he developed an interest in natural history. His knowledge caught the attention of a Russian resident in Gdańsk, who invited him to St Petersburg. Soon after, Forster was commissioned by the Imperial Academy of Sciences to undertake an extensive tour of Saratow district in southern Russia (1765). After completing this assignment a year later he travelled to London, where he was engaged from 1768 as a tutor at the Nonconformist Warrington Academy. Forster's attempts to establish a reputation and form contacts within the British scientific and scholarly communities paid off when he was employed as naturalist on James Cook's second circumnavigation of the globe (1772–75). Forster was denied the opportunity to write the official account of the voyage, but his son Johann George Adam, who accompanied him on the voyage as a botanist, used his diary to publish the well-acclaimed *A Voyage round the World, in His Britannic Majesty's Sloop, Resolution* (1777). In 1780 Forster accepted a post at Halle as professor of natural history and inspector of the botanic garden. He died at Halle in 1798. Forster was married to Justina Elizabeth, née Nikolai, with whom he had six children. His son Johann George Adam (1754–1794) accompanied him on all his expeditions and made his own name as a traveller and a naturalist, see *Ibid.*; A. Birkenmajer, “Forster, Jan Jerzy Adam (1754–1794),” in PSB, vol. VII, part 1, 65–67; SEWP, 148; G. Jefcoate, “Forster, (Johann) Georg Adam (1754–1794),” in ODNB, <http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/9909> (accessed 1 November 2006); L. Paszkowski, *Poles in Australia and Oceania 1790–1940* (Sydney: 1987), 3.

³¹⁰ According to church documents, the Synod of Siczeków of 1731 suspended Orem for a year due to controversy regarding his marital status. It was alleged that during his trip to Scotland in 1723, Orem married in Edinburgh one Margaret Rodiman, whom he left behind on returning to Poland. The Synod asked Orem to send for his wife and resolve the issue, or risk a discharge, see Łukasiewicz, *Dzieje Kościołów [...] w dawnej Małej Polsce*, 377–378.

the more talented ministers of the Lesser Poland Brethren was Rev. John Malcolm, dean of Cracow District.³¹¹ At least two ministers of Scottish extraction also worked in Węgrów³¹² and a further three in the Reformed parish in Krokowo.³¹³ Thanks to the Scottish influence, some new preachers were invited to Poland-Lithuania directly from Scotland. Of that group was Alexander Burnett of Aberdeen, who led the Gdańsk congregation from 1689³¹⁴ and Nicolaus Roland, the minister of Wiatowice (a parish near Tarnów), who worked there for more than 27 years.³¹⁵

The role of the Scots of Lublin in the formation of the rules of the local parish, discussed earlier, shows that the Scots were capable of introducing their own ideas and organisation models into the Reformed Church of the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth. Although at times the local

³¹¹ John Malcolm (Malkolm) (1602–1646) was a second-generation Scot born in Barcin. He may have been the son of Henry Malcolm, lord mayor of Barcin (1620), and a Polish woman. Before 1642 he was a minister of the assembly in Góry. From 1642 to 1644 he worked as a minister in Jodłówka. In the early 1640s he was a notary of the Cracow District. In 1644 he was made dean. In 1645 he took part in the Synod of the Cracow District in Jodłówka. During its proceedings, possibly because of ill health, Malcolm asked to be relieved of his position and duty. He agreed to carry on his duties for another year. Malcolm died in Jodłówka in 1646. Łukaszewicz confuses him with Rev. Andrew Malcolm, minister of Mielęcín and Dębica, see “Acta et conclusiones Synodi Districtualis quae vice prima Jodloviae celebrata est Anno 1645, 29 Junii et sequentibus,” BUW Rkps 592, fols 66v–69; Biegańska, “Wielka emigracja Szkotów,” Table VIII (Burmistrzowie); Darowski, *Szczepanowice nad Dunajcem*, 78, 81, 81, 447; Dworzaczkowa, *Bracia czescy w Wielkopolsce*, 152, 181; Łukaszewicz, *O kościołach braci czeskich*, 293–294, 322; SPLC, nos. 2910, 3649, 4140.

³¹² They were Rev. Martin (Marcin) Gordon (early eighteenth century), son of James Gordon, mayor of Węgrów; and Rev. Forsyth (Forsyt) (1766–1773), see Wyszomirski, “Z przeszłości zboru protestanckiego,” 151, 153.

³¹³ The first was Rev. John (Jan) Musonius (snr) (1611–1665), son and grandson of the ministers of Łobżenica. Musonius was educated at Franeker in the Netherlands and worked in the parish in 1640–57. His son John (Jan) Musonius jnr (d. 1688) took over the parish in 1673–76. John Samuel Young (Jan Samuel de Joung) (1720–1762) took the post in 1747 and remained in the parish until his death, see K. Bem, “Krokowscy, von Krockow i nasi, reformowani Kaszubi,” *Jednota* 3–4 (2005): 10–14; cf. A. Groth, ed., *Dzieje Krokowej i okolic* (Gdańsk: 2002); Kriegseisen, *Evangelicy polscy i litewscy*, 84–86; Klemp, *Protestanci w dobrach prywatnych*, 221–223; “Wykaz konseniorów jednoty braci czeskich z lat 1567–1737,” APPozn, sig. 1693, fol. 2.

³¹⁴ Alexander Burnett (1654–1712) studied at Aberdeen, was ordained and became a minister in Crichton, near Edinburgh. He went to Gdańsk in 1689 and remained there until his death. Ministering during the times of the Union, Burnett was credited with unifying merchants of the so-called English and Scottish ‘nations’ under one church, see SIG, 189.

³¹⁵ “Księga zboru w Wiatowicach 1641–1716,” BUW SER 608; a note about Roland was quoted by Łukaszewicz: “Rolandus in Magna Britannia natus et educatus ad annum 16. qui primum ultra triennium Ecclesiastes fuit Schwartzoviae in Casubia. Ex Ecclesis Viatoviensi jam per annos 17. curam in Domino dessit Ecclesiae desolate numerosae in confiniis Ecclesiae”, see Łukaszewicz, *Dzieje Kościołów [...] w dawnej Małej Polsce*, 420–424.

Reformed Church tried to stamp out any divergence, this, it seems, had a minimal impact on the Scots. Later in the eighteenth century, with the changing political situation, the Poles started to realise the advantages of having Scottish Reformed in their midst. One example of that was the fund-raising delegation sent by the Lithuanian Brethren to Britain. The delegation from Kiejdany, which arrived in London in 1730, was composed of a Scot, the Rev. James (Jakub) Gordon, and an Englishman, James (Jakub) Grey, a town councillor.³¹⁶ The delegation introduced the town and the Protestant congregation in a three-page pamphlet. While this mission proves the existence of English-speaking Protestants in Kiejdany in the 1730s, the information provided by the delegates was not particularly accurate. The envoys claimed in the pamphlet that the town was inhabited by a considerable number of Protestants: "almost wholly consisting of *English* and *Scotch*, or Descendants of such who formerly settled there, and who still retain the same principles with *Great Britain* in Matters of Religion".³¹⁷ While there are obvious reasons for making such a statement, the reality was quite different. Nevertheless, it is apparent that some of the migrants retained a sense of Scottishness for a considerable period of time. Yet maintaining their identity did not stop them from actively supporting their local Protestant communities.

Although Scots tended to keep separate from particular congregations, their contribution to the Reformed Church of Poland-Lithuania, specifically throughout the seventeenth century and the first decades of the eighteenth century, was considerable. They not only bolstered their meagre numbers, but also supported their parishes through collections, donations, bequests, fundraising, and applying their professional expertise to safeguard the financial wellbeing of parishes under their charge. Scots accepted positions of authority, shared wisdom at district and provincial synods, educated their sons to become ministers and used their overseas networks to find support when it was not forthcoming from the local authorities. Above all, many remained with their Kirk through thick and thin, giving fine witness to their religious faith. A telling example of this is an observation of Rev. Daniel Ernest Jabłoński, a minister of Leszno,

³¹⁶ Łukasiewicz, *Dzieje kościołów wyznania helweckiego w Litwie*, vol. II, 246; S. Nishigawa, "Across the Continent: The Protestant network between the Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge and Kedainiai," in Z. Kiaupa, ed., *Kulturu Sankirtos: skiriama doc. dr. Inges Luksaites 60-meciui* (Vilnius: 2000), 296–308.

³¹⁷ "A Representation of the distressed Case of the British Protestants of Kieydan in Lithania (1730)," quoted in Eriksonas, "The lost colony of Scots," 181–182.

who lamented that a service conducted by a senior in 1687 was attended, apart from the other clergy, by “a nobleman and two Scots with their families”.³¹⁸

If the typical Scot arriving in Poland-Lithuania and in Ducal Prussia in the second half of the sixteenth century could be described as an impoverished peddler desperately trying to carve out some living for himself (a description perhaps exaggerated by local traders keen to discredit the newcomers), the parish records from the fourth decade of the seventeenth century show very few individuals who could fit such a description. The Scottish community that appears from the parish registers (which, unlike many other sources, do not inherently discriminate on the basis of wealth or gender) looks like a far more complex, highly organised, sophisticated group of people. Within this close-knit community one can detect a clear hierarchical structure. In almost every parish there were affluent merchants like Carmichael or Blackhall in Cracow who, perhaps because of their position and abilities, often participated in the administration of their parish. Some of them, through their business connections often confirmed by family ties, may have been part of larger syndicates. Then there were their employees, merchant factors who conducted transactions on their behalf. A third group, it seems, were the apprentices, young men and boys, peddlers delivering goods to smaller locations; and finally, a group of servants (males and females have been recorded). Judging from the surnames, it appears that often people of different strata were nevertheless somehow related to each other. Of note is also the desire of the Scots to educate their sons, visible from the frequency with which Scottish names appear in the registers of parish schools or colleges and, as shown in previous chapters, at different universities.³¹⁹

This chapter has shown the devastating, long-lasting effects of the war with Sweden on the Reformed Church of Poland-Lithuania, and in particular on the Scottish community. While the economic damage could, with time, be repaired, the confessional divisions between the Protestants—perceived as collaborators scheming with their coreligionists elsewhere against the interests of the Commonwealth—and the Roman Catholic ‘Polish nation’, became irreversible. While some Scots followed inevitably the example shown by the greater part of the Reformed nobility of

³¹⁸ Dworaczekowa, *Bracia czescy w Wielkopolsce*, 59, 188.

³¹⁹ The peddler stereotype has also been challenged by Bogucka and Murdoch, see Bogucka, “Scots in Gdańsk,” 41; Murdoch, “Scotland, Europe and the English,” 895–896.

Poland-Lithuania and converted to the Roman faith, the majority, it would seem, resisted such a trend. Some remained in their dwindling parishes, while others, following in the footsteps of the fleeing invaders, left Poland-Lithuania altogether or moved deeper into the estates of the few remaining Reformed noble families (Kiejdany, Węgrów) or into German-speaking Lutheran towns of Royal and Ducal Prussia (especially Königsberg). Of those who converted to Catholicism, some achieved the ultimate form of assimilation by joining the ranks of the local nobility.

Overall, the parish sources tell us that the Scots defined their community very heavily in terms of religion. The Kirk, as an institution, helped them to maintain a strong sense of Scottishness throughout the period—in some instances, over several generations. The friendly relations with local coreligionists, in many instances, did not mean assimilation into Polish society.

CHAPTER SEVEN

SUCCESSFUL INTEGRATION: SCOTSMEN AND THE POLISH NOBILITY

While many Scots successfully reconciled the need to integrate with the desire to retain their identity, there were also those individuals who, it seems, integrated at a faster rate.¹ Their descendants often assimilated fully, in the process losing links with the Scottish community, their customs and language, and their religion. So what does 'integration' or 'assimilation' mean? How might we measure it, in general and specifically in early modern Poland-Lithuania? According to one definition, social integration involves the intermixing of people or groups previously segregated.² Assimilation, on the other hand, has been defined as the reduction of distinctions based on ethnic origin, a process whereby immigrants are absorbed and integrated into a dominant society or culture.³

Recent research into this process reveals that migrants assimilate into different strata of the host society and thus adjust at differing rates and speeds. Successful assimilation has been linked to a greater length of stay in the host country, as well as to the educational level and/or social status of the migrants. It has been shown that ethnic networks, be they commercial like the brotherhoods, or religious like the ecclesiastical brethren, could promote initial integration, but are also often responsible for creating segmented enclaves. They have been linked to slowing down assimilation—as was demonstrated in chapter six. The process is faster among individuals who are well educated and of higher socio-economic status.⁴

¹ A paper on which this chapter is based was presented at the "Britain and Poland-Lithuania: Contact and Comparison from the Middle Ages to 1795" Conference, Jagiellonian University, Cracow, 15–18 September 2005 and later published. Cf. P. P. Bajer, "Scotsmen and the Polish nobility from the sixteenth to eighteenth century," in R. Unger, ed., *Britain and Poland-Lithuania: Contact and Comparison from the Middle Ages to 1795* (Leiden: 2008), 329–353.

² See the entry "Assimilation, Social," in E. R. A. Seligman and A. Johnson, eds., *Encyclopaedia of the Social Sciences* (New York: 1930).

³ R. D. Alba and V. Nee, *Remaking the American Mainstream: Assimilation and Contemporary Immigration* (Cambridge, Mass.: 2003), 30–31.

⁴ D. Depalo, R. Faini and A. Venturini, "The Social Assimilation of Immigrants," *IZA Discussion Paper* No. 2439. (2006), available at SSRN: <http://ssrn.com/abstract=947460>, 2–5, 7–12; Cf. J. S. Coleman, "Social capital in the creation of human capital," *American Journal of Sociology* 94 (1988), supplement: 95–120; H. J. Gans, "Symbolic ethnicity: The

One way of drawing conclusions about the successful integration of Scots in the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth is by looking at changes that occurred in particular families over several generations. The best available material comes from the genealogies of families of Scots admitted to the upper ranks of Polish society through naturalisations and ennoblements. Their histories reveal not only the process of social advancement for some of Scots in the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth, but also help extend understanding of the group's formation, evolution and eventual disappearance.

In order to discuss the entry of Scotsmen into the Polish nobility in the sixteenth to eighteenth centuries, it is essential to determine the meaning of the term 'nobility'. This is not easy, as different understandings of that social estate existed in Scotland and in Poland-Lithuania. These differences are worth a closer look because in theory in the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth foreign nobles could be naturalised, just as much as commoners could be ennobled.

There were several similarities between the Polish and the Scottish nobility. First, in both countries it was the most powerful social stratum. Its dominance was based on its considerable control of the land. In both cases, that ascendancy increased in the latter part of the sixteenth century at the expense of the church and the Crown. Second, in both dominions it was the gentry who organised themselves and their followers for warfare, both private and at the request of the state. Nobles regarded lands in their possession and their honours and privileges as a rightful reward for this obligation to provide unpaid military service. While in the early stages landed estates functioned as sources of fighting men, from the mid-sixteenth century they were used to provide revenue as lands were consolidated into the noble demesne, leading to large surpluses, generated by free labour which then could be sold. Lastly, the traditions of that group were among the most prestigious, especially the chivalric virtues of loyalty, honour and martial valour, as well as reverence for ancient ancestry based on the idea of kinship.⁵

future of ethnic groups and cultures in America," *Ethnic and Racial Studies* 2/1 (1979): 1–20; idem, "Second-generation decline: scenarios for the economic and ethnic futures of the post-1965 American immigrants," in N. Carmon, ed., *Immigration and integration in post-industrial societies: theoretical analysis and policy-related research* (New York: 1996), 65–85; "Assimilation, Social," in *Encyclopaedia of the Social Sciences*.

⁵ K. Brown, *Noble Society in Scotland: Wealth, Family and Culture from Reformation to Revolution* (Edinburgh: 2000); J. Goodare, "Nobility 1500–1700," in M. Lynch, ed., *The Oxford Companion to Scottish History* (Oxford: 2001), 457–458; M. Lynch, *Scotland: A New*

In Scotland, nobility was particularly difficult to define. Contemporaries usually thought of it as the titled peerage, which had established itself as the most affluent and influential aristocratic group around the mid-fifteenth century. This stratum consisted mainly of lords and earls; it included dukes from 1581 on, marquises from 1599 on, and viscounts from 1606 on. Apart from being born into a titled family, one could become a peer through a royal privilege. Below the peers, there was the untitled baronage or untitled nobility, younger sons and daughters, the lairds who, just like peers, were proclaimed as feudal tenants-in-chief of the crown, had a right to their own coats-of-arms and hereditary courts.⁶ In this study, both groups will be considered as belonging to the nobility.

In terms of size, the nobility of Scotland has been classified as falling into an intermediate category, that is comprising 1 to 2 per cent of the population. Most recent research reveals that at the end of the sixteenth century there were at least 1500 heads of noble houses, that is some 11,250 people, or 1.5 per cent of the total population of about 750,000.⁷ To be the tenant-in-chief—to possess a landed estate—was one of the most important prerequisites of a noble rank. Unlike in Poland, the nobility of Scotland was allowed to be actively involved in trade. This was especially true of younger sons of nobles who, due to the generally accepted law of primogeniture, under which the inheritance was given to the eldest son, were forced to create their own positions in society and often sought fortunes as merchants or soldiers.⁸ The career of William Forbes of Menie and Craigievar (d. 1627) best illustrates this natural movement among the different estates.

History (London: 1992), 247–253; R. I. Frost, “The nobility of Poland-Lithuania, 1569–1795,” in Hamish Scott, ed., *European Nobilities Vol. 2 Northern, Central and Eastern* (New York: 1995), 183–222; J. Łukowski, *The European Nobility in the Eighteenth Century* (New York: 2003); A. Kamiński, “The *Szlachta* of the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth and their government,” in I. Banac and P. Bushkovitch, eds., *The Nobility in Russia and Eastern Europe* (New Haven: 1983), 17–45; cf. J. Dewald, *The European Nobility, 1400–1800* (New York: 1996); M. L. Bush, *The European Nobility* (Manchester: 1983).

⁶ R. A. Houston and W. W. Knox, *The New Penguin History of Scotland: From the Earliest Times to the Present Day* (London: 2002): 211–213; Lynch, *Scotland*, 247–253; Goodare, “Nobility 1500–1700,” 457–458.

⁷ Brown, *Noble Society in Scotland*, 14–15.

⁸ Grosjean calls it a ‘second son’ syndrome, see A. Grosjean, “Returning to Belhelvie, 1593–1875: The impact of return migration on an Aberdeenshire parish,” in M. Harper, ed., *Emigrant Homecomings: The Return Movement of Emigrants, 1600–2000* (Manchester: 2005), 216–232; cf. J. Thirsk, “Younger sons in the seventeenth century,” *History* 54, no. 182 (1969): 358–377.

William, the second son of William Forbes, fourth Laird of Corse (d. 1596), and Elizabeth Strachan of Thornton, went to Gdańsk to make a living. In 1580 Forbes acquired *ius civile* in Gdańsk. His lucrative mercantile operations brought him much wealth. Thanks to this success gained in the Baltic trade, Forbes acquired several properties in Aberdeenshire, including lands in Menie, Craigievar and Fintray. In 1610 he acquired the rights to the barony of Craigievar.⁹ It seems, however, that despite such success stories, joining the military was the preferred career as the culture of those times taught that the country gentleman, however poor, should look upon trade with contempt. This situation often led lairds and even younger sons of peers to migrate. Such was the case of the famous Patrick Gordon of Auchleuchries, one of seven children of John “the younger brother of a younger house” of the Gordons of Haddo. The estate of Auchleuchries, which was the inheritance of Patrick’s mother, in spite of its impressive description, reportedly amounted to very little.¹⁰ It was so overwhelmed with mortgages or ‘wadsets’ that about half of its annual income of 360 Scottish pounds went into the payment of interest alone. When the estate passed to his older brother James, Patrick was sent to Poland and later went to Russia, where he joined the Tsar’s army. Years of successful military service overseas allowed Patrick to pay off all but one inconsiderable bond attached to the estate, which, after the death of the childless James, became his property.¹¹

Forbes’ and Gordon’s examples illustrate that sometimes a career in the army or trade led to enrichment and either regaining or obtaining property. Since in Scotland noble status was so attached to the possession of the landed estates that generated their income, this in turn helped such migrants to regain their status as landed nobility. Representatives of the Scottish titled families named earlier faced a similar plight: David Carstairs (of Unthank),¹²

⁹ Grosjean, “Returning to Belhelvie,” 219–220; A. Tayler and H. Tayler, eds., *The House of Forbes* (Bruceton Mills, WV: 1978), 316–318; SSNE, no. 382; SEWP, 194.

¹⁰ According to Gordon’s deed of 1682, the estate consisted of: “The touns and lands of Auchleuchries, Easter and Wester, with the pendicles thereof called Muirtak, the Mile of Auchleuchries, multuris, sequels, sucke, and kaveships of the samine [same], in the barronie of Ardenred, parochies of Crude, shireffdome of Aberdeine, and Kingdom of Scotland”, see “Legal deed of General Patrick Leopold Gordon of Auchleuchries (Moscow, 11 January 1682),” quoted in: J. Robertson, ed., *Passages from the Diary of General Patrick Gordon of Auchleuchries, A.D. 1635–A.D. 1699* (New York: 1968), 215, Appendix no. 57.

¹¹ Robertson, *Passages*, xix–xx.

¹² David was the son of David ‘Gabo’ Carstairs and Margaret Clephane Martine; grandson of David; great-grandson of David; great-great grandson of Andrew, 4th son of Andrew Carstairs of Unthank, see C. Forrest, *Living in St Andrews: A History of the Carstairs Family*

John Cheyne (of Baybasle),¹³ John Cheyne (of Arde, Petfichie and Ranieston),¹⁴ John Drummond (of Melfort),¹⁵ Alexander Gibson (of Durie),¹⁶ Alexander

from the 15th to the End of the 19th Century (St Andrews: 1996), 72; Z. Guldón, *Żydzi i Szkoci w Polsce w XVI–XVII wieku: studia i materiały* (Kielce: 1990), 33.

¹³ John was the son of William Cheyne of Baybasle and Elizabeth Troup of Begishill. His grandparents were George of Bethelny and Catherine Leslie. This George was a second son of Alexander Cheyne 8th of Straloch and Katherine Meldrum (of Fyvie). John received a birth brief recorded in the Propinquity Books of Aberdeen issued on 3 June 1646. He acquired burgh status in Zakroczym (Mazovia), see A. Y. Cheyne, *The Cheyne Family in Scotland* (Eastbourne: 1931), 59; MSC, 325; SIG 243.

¹⁴ John was the third son of Thomas Cheyne of Arde and Petfichie, 2nd of Ranieston and Catherine Fraser (daughter of Michael Fraser of Mukalls). Thomas the son of Patrick Cheyne 1st of Ranieston and Catherine Gilbert of Balnacraig, was believed to be a staunch Papist. He was probably the Thomas Cheyne referred to in 1595 as having travelled throughout Italy in connection with the Jesuit and Spanish conspiracy, plotted by the Earls of Huntly and Erroll. In 1624 he became an apostate and was excommunicated by the presbytery. His repentance, acknowledgement of former errors and the oath he took to conform to Presbyterianism saved him from confiscation of his property. His repentance must have been false as he was mentioned again as an apostate in 1640. It is highly possible that his son John was also a Roman Catholic, see Cheyne, *The Cheyne Family*, 136–140; MSC, 329; SIG, 244.

¹⁵ In Polish sources, John and his descendants are called Melfort. According to family tradition, John was the descendant of John Drummond, 1st Earl of Melfort, 1st Duke of Melfort (1649–1714), who followed King James II into exile. It has been suggested that he was a grandson of the Earl by his fourth son John Viscount of Forth, 2nd Duke of Melfort (de jure 2nd Earl of Melfort) (1682–1754) and Marie Gabrielle d'Audibert, Countess of Lussan. Their third son John (b. 31 October 1711) was believed to be the same as John Drummond Chamberlain at the court of King Stanisław Leszczyński (1752). This John Drummond later served in the Polish army as a colonel (1770), and possibly had two sons who followed his career to become army officers: Major Fryderyk (1763–1797) and Captain Felix, see A. Koryn, "Melfort (de Melfort) Fryderyk h. Drummond (1763–1797)," in PSB, vol. 20, 405–406; E. Corp, "Drummond, John, styled first earl of Melfort and Jacobite first duke of Melfort (1649–1714)," in ODNB, <http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/8077>, (accessed 17 January 2007); M. Glozier, "The earl of Melfort, the court Catholic party and the foundation of the Order of the Thistle, 1687," *Scottish Historical Review* 79 (2000): 233–238.

¹⁶ Alexander Gibson, also known as Baron von Gibson (d. 1811), merchant, entrepreneur. Gibson was most likely the son of Herr Archibald (1698–1790), merchant of Gdańsk, and Renata Concordia Clerk; the grandson of Alexander (d. 1729) and Elizabeth Foulis; and the great-grandson of Sir Alexander Gibson of Pentland and Addistone and Helen Fleming. He was the brother of Helena (1737–1790), wife of Otto Ernst Graff von Keyserling. As the only heir to his father's estate, Gibson further advanced his business. In 1776 he began negotiations to purchase the Przebendowski estates (the Neustädter) for the sum of 150,000 thaler (c. £23,000), for the benefit of his two nephews: the young Otto Alexander and Archibald Nikolaus Graff von Keyserling. During the negotiations, Gibson acquired permission to settle in Prussia, and in 1777 Friedrich II King of Prussia granted him the title of *Freiherr* (baron). The negotiations were concluded in 1782. Gibson proved to be a talented businessman, taking great care of his estate. He was credited with increasing the crop and livestock production by introducing new agrarian methods (fertilising, crop rotation, breeding and rearing of sheep). Likewise, he established progressive practices intended to improve living conditions of his labourers, including protection from fire, improving hygiene and education. According to Biegańska, his actions demonstrated an element of

Gordon from the Earls of Sutherland,¹⁷ and Sir John Skene of Currihill¹⁸ or his nephews Robert (jnr) and David Skene (of Potterton).¹⁹ Such families as Demster and Guthrie represented the lesser nobility.²⁰ While some noblemen returned home on inheriting the family property from their older brothers (as was the case with Henry Gordon of Huntly for example), others, like William Ferguson, George Gordon and Patrick Middleton (of Caldham), became founders of noble families in their adopted land.²¹ Still, for others, belonging to the laird class could have been advantageous when they applied for citizen rights in the Commonwealth's towns and cities. The birth briefs required for citizenship or naturalisation were possibly easier to obtain and

liberalism towards the rights of peasants on his estate. According to his will, the bulk of his fortune, amounting to over £70,000, was given to his nephew from Scotland, whom Gibson took as an apprentice. Two sons of his cousin William (son of John Gibson of Durie), that is John (b. 1763) and Alexander (d. 1863) migrated to Gdańsk at the end of the eighteenth century. Much information about Gibsons can be found in the registers of St Peter and St Paul church in Gdańsk, see A. Biegańska, "Wielka emigracja Szkotów w Polsce druga połowa XVI—koniec XVII wieku," (PhD Thesis, Uniwersytet Śląski, Katowice, 1974), 44–45; SIG, 270–274; "LB 1650–1750," APGD, sig. 356/4, fols 376, 381, 383, 422, 435; "SB St Peter and St Paul, Gdańsk, 1654–1804," EZAB, sig. 5462, fol. 7.

¹⁷ Biegańska, "Wielka emigracja," 141.

¹⁸ Sir John Skene of Curriehill (c. 1543–1617), jurist and legal historian, the sixth son of James Skene of Bandodale and Janet Lumsden and a younger brother of Robert Skene of Belhelvie. In about 1569 he travelled to Poland. He visited Cracow where, he met many of his countrymen. This surprised him so much that he mentioned them in his famous Scottish legal dictionary *De Verborum Significatione* (1597). It is possible that he was either visiting or travelling in the company of his nephews (see next footnote), sons of Robert of Belhelvie, see W. Forbes Skene, ed., *Memorials of the Family Skene of Skene: From the Family Papers with Other Illustrative Documents*, (Edinburgh: 1887), 106–111. For his full biography please refer to A. Murray, "Skene, Sir John, of Curriehill (c. 1540–1617)," in ODNB, <http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/25669> (accessed 28 September 2006); cf.

¹⁹ Robert (jnr) and David Skene were the sons of Robert Skene of Belhelvie (including Potterton), burgess of Aberdeen, and his wife (unknown) Eadie. David, the third son of Robert (snr), migrated to Poland in the late sixteenth century. He became burgess of Poznań in 1586. David sojourned there until 1593 when he was recorded back at Belhelvie. In the same year, his older brother Robert [jnr] emigrated to Poland at the age of 43, possibly to continue the family's connection there. He most probably died in Poland shortly afterwards. David's second son David (jnr) followed in his father's footsteps and likewise migrated to Poland. He was recorded in Lublin and Zamość. In Gdańsk, he married Margaret Chalmers (daughter of Robert Chalmers of Gdańsk). Their children were George of Zamość (b. 1644), Alexander and Catherine (d. 1646), who returned to Scotland, see ASK I MS 134, fol. 24v; Grosjean, "Returning to Belhelvie," 218–219; Skene, *Memorials of the Family*, 124–127; SEWP, 204; SSNE, nos. 1034, 5609.

²⁰ Thomas Demster was listed in 1633 as the son of the late James Demster, *einer vom adell* (one of the nobility), while Robert Guthrie was the son of the 'noble' William Guthrie of Minus (1662), see SEWP, 178, 179.

²¹ While Gordon and many other Scots of noble pedigree obtained nobility status in Russia, a large number of Scots were admitted to the nobility of Sweden. According to Grosjean, between 1611 and 1697 alone, some 87 Scots were admitted to its ranks, see A. Grosjean, *An Unofficial Alliance: Scotland and Sweden, 1569–1654* (Leiden: 2003), 147–149.

much more impressive. Such documents, testaments to their antecedents in the land of their origin, clearly show pride in their ancestry, list three or four generations on both paternal and maternal side, coat-of-arms, and are intricately illuminated.²² However, as will be discussed later, there are questions regarding the authenticity of some of those documents.

In Poland-Lithuania, unlike in England, France or Germany, apart from dozens of families who held the title of Prince—families of Lithuanian or Russian origin, direct descendants of grand dukes of Lithuania—there was only one class of nobility: *szlachta*. Although the word ‘nobility’ is generally used as the counterpart of *szlachta*—as etymologically analogous and close in meaning—*szlachta* has no precise equivalent in English. *Szlachta*, often referred to as the ‘knightly class’ or ‘kighthood’, originated from the descendants of *ród* (clan or tribe) members. The Polish equivalent of the Scottish clan system had died out long before the early modern period. The Polish *szlachta*, unlike their Scottish counterparts, did not have to possess a landed estate in order to be recognised as nobility. The inclusion of the unpropertied nobility—tenant- and lease-holding nobles (*szlachta czynszowa*), noble small-holders (*szlachta zagrodowa*), landless and serfless nobles (*hołota*) and town nobles (*szlachta brukowa*)—in the estate, made it particularly numerous by general European standards.²³ While in France and England the nobility represented 1 per cent and 2 per cent of the total population respectively, in the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth by the mid-sixteenth century some 25,000 noble families, or at least 500,000 persons, represented approximately 7 per cent of the total population of 7.5 million. By the late seventeenth century this had risen to 9 per cent and it rose still higher in the eighteenth.²⁴

²² Among such documents are birth briefs of: William and Robert Farquhar, *de Dillab infra parochiam de Monymusk* (1687), see SEWP, 179; James Lindsay of Eddele (branch of the Lindsays of Fesdo), see S. Kutrzeba and J. Ptaśnik, “Dzieje handlu i kupiectwa krakowskiego,” *Rocznik Krakowski* 14 (1911): 115; Robert Christie, *Nobilis de civitate Edenburgensi in Scotia* (1702), see *Ibid.*; Archibald Rait (of the Rait of Halgrewin), see SEWP, 183; Thomas Cumming (1727), see A. Cameron and H. Polaczek, “Diploma of Nobility of Thomas Cumming 1727,” *Juridical Review* (1938): 68–73.

²³ Zajączkowski, *Szlachta polska: kultura i struktura* (Warszawa: 1993), 30–35; U. Augustyniak, *Historia Polski 1572–1795* (Warszawa: 2008), 256, 258–267; cf. Frost, “The nobility of Poland-Lithuania,” 196.

²⁴ Frost, “The nobility of Poland-Lithuania,” 192; M. L. Bush, *Rich Noble, Poor Noble* (Manchester: 1988), 7. This estimate has recently been questioned by Rostworowski, who argued that the *szlachta* was not so numerous. According to his calculations, by the late eighteenth century nobles constituted 6–6.5 per cent of the total population, see E. Rostworowski, “Ilu było w Rzeczypospolitej obywateli szlachty?,” *Kwartalnik Historyczny*, 94 (1987): 31.

Polish noblemen had a right to their own coats-of-arms and shared all the privileges of the estate. For example, since 1374 they had been largely exempt from taxation. Another privilege called *Neminem Captivabimus* (1433) protected a nobleman's person and his land from arrest and confiscation unless a sentence had been passed against him in a court of law. The gentry held the most prestigious and important offices in civil and military administration, and had a direct influence on government and politics through the *Sejm*. In contrast to their Scottish counterparts, they were banned from trade by the Constitutions of 1633 and 1677 under penalty of losing their social status.²⁵ Moreover, in Polish-Lithuania there was no law of primogeniture. The laws of succession were based on routine division of property among sons and unmarried daughters.²⁶

What created a sense of community among the *szlachta* was recognition of obligation to defend the realm, a determination to protect privileges of the estate, and a sense of belonging to the same estate. For many, it was also the common language, Polish, and, especially since the middle of the seventeenth century, a desire to defend the Catholic faith.²⁷

Another difference between the Polish and the Scottish nobility was the relatively minor significance of aristocratic titles in Poland.²⁸ With the exception of a handful of most influential families, some of whom took full advantage of foreign honours, the titles were also acceptable for foreign nobles. The Letter Patent given to Henry Gordon in 1658, in which

²⁵ VL III, 382, no. 45; VL V, 227, no. 27.

²⁶ Augustyniak, *Historia Polski 1572–1795*, 321–322; cf. Frost, "The nobility of Poland-Lithuania," 197.

²⁷ F. Sysyn, "Ukrainian-Polish relations in the seventeenth century. The role of national consciousness and national conflict in the Khmelnytsky movement," in P. Potichnyj, ed., *Poland and Ukraine. Past and Present* (Edmonton: 1980), 58–82; cf. Frost, "The nobility of Poland-Lithuania," 190–191; D. Althoen, "Nazione Polonus and the *Naród Szlachecki*. Two myths of national identity and noble solidarity," in *Zeitschrift für Ostmitteleuropaforschung* 52 (2003): 475–508.

²⁸ This peculiarity was well described by Bernard O'Connor (1698): "All gentry of Poland are equal by birth, and therefore they do not value titles of honour, but think that a noble Pole or gentleman of Poland the greatest they can have. Neither the King nor the Republic bestow the title of Prince, which belongs only to the sons of the royal family; for some are made Princes of the Empire and as such enjoy the title of Prince. They have no precedence upon that account. Nor have they any Dukes, Marquises, Counts, Viscounts, or Barons, but a few have foreign titles which the rest generally despise; for they do not value any borrowed character or external denomination, but say that it is intrinsic worth and service done to their country that deserves preferment... Those great privileges made the Polish gentry very powerful," see B. Connor [O'Connor], *The history of Poland in several letters to persons of quality, giving an account of the antient and present state of that kingdom, historical, geographical, physical, political and ecclesiastical*... (London: 1698), 25; cf. Frost, "The nobility of Poland-Lithuania," 204.

Gordon was styled a marquis and a blood relative of the Stuarts, appears to corroborate this observation. It also implies that Gordon was being economical with the truth about his lineage—although he was the son of the Marquis of Huntly, according to the Scottish law of primogeniture he was not qualified to use the title.²⁹ Still, as O'Connor observed, all nobles in Poland-Lithuania, at least in theory, were equal. What ultimately ranked the nobility were huge disparities in wealth, office and control over men, from pre-eminent magnates at one end of the spectrum to landless nobility at the other.

The monarch did retain the power to grant titles to foreigners; however, that right was limited. Only two such grants were given to migrants from the British Isles. The title of baron was conferred on Trevor Corry, British Consul in Gdańsk, by Stanisław August in 1773 (Fig. 7.1).³⁰ King Stanisław Leszczyński bestowed a title of count in 1771 on an Irishman, John O'Rourke, chamberlain at the Polish Court in France.³¹ Friedrich II King of Prussia granted the title of *Freiherr* (baron) to Alexander Gibson.³²

There was still another considerable disparity. In the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth, there was no stable institution like the office of Lord Lyon in Scotland or the King of Arms in England, which would conduct systematic heraldic visitations, keep the pedigree registers, look after the genealogical records and safeguard heraldic laws. This led to two main problems: persons usurping a right to noble status and to the use of arms, and people using someone else's arms without permission. This was further complicated by the fact that, unlike in Scotland and England, coats-of-arms were not the property of an individual. In Poland-Lithuania, as a general rule, a heraldic clan had one coat-of-arms that was shared by all its members. As a result, sometimes hundreds of families shared one coat-of-arms.

²⁹ VL IV, 263, no. 101.

³⁰ "The Letters Patent granting the title of baron and naturalisation to Trevor Corry (Warsaw, 20 October 1773)", Collection of Tomasz Niewodniczański, Bitburg. Document no. 438, sygn. D 30; cf. W. Bukowiecki, ed., *Katalog dokumentów pergaminowych ze zbiorów Tomasa Niewodniczańskiego w Bitburgu* (Kraków: 2004), 224; Z. Wdowiszewski, "Tytuły polskie nadawane cudzoziemcom," in *Materiały do biografii, genealogii i heraldyki polskiej*, vol. 3 (Paris-Buenos Aires: 1966), 24 (listed as Frevort, Corry); A. Wajs, ed., *Materiały genealogiczne, nobilitacje, indygenaty w zbiorach Archiwum Głównego Akt Dawnych w Warszawie* (Warszawa: 1995), 31 (listed as Corry, Frevot); S. Uruski, *Rodzina: Herbarz szlachty polskiej*, 15 vols (Warszawa: 1904–1938), vol. IV, 61 (listed as Frevort v. Frevot, Corry). I am grateful to Dr Niewodniczański who kindly made available photos of this not-so-well-known letter patent.

³¹ S. Leitgeber, *Nowy almanach błękitny* (Poznań-Warszawa: 1993), 110.

³² Biegańska, "Wielka emigracja," 44; SIG, 58, 269–272.



Source: Private collection of Tomasz Niewodniczański. Document no. 438, sygn. D 30.
Fig. 7.1. Pages from the Letters Patent granting the title of Baron and naturalisation to Trevor Corry, issued in Warsaw on 20 October 1773.

The major difference between the *szlachta* of Poland-Lithuania and the nobility of Scotland was the situation of each within the social structure. Poland-Lithuania had a closed social estate system with a populous nobility, where the movement from one estate to another one was largely restricted. In contrast, Scotland's nobility was much smaller in terms of size, and social mobility was primarily connected to financial status and ownership of land. As will be discussed in more detail later, it seems that Scottish migrants, as well as court officials in Poland-Lithuania, were not always aware of the different meanings of nobility in the two realms. This worked in favour of Scots seeking entry to the ranks of *szlachta*.

*The Scottish Quest for Indygenat (Naturalisation as a Nobleman)
and Nobilitacja (Ennoblement)*

While the Scottish nobility, even after the Union, remained a homogeneous social group—few married English heiresses or became Anglicised, even when they lived abroad—the *szlachta* integrated the nobilities of the various national groups in the Commonwealth: Poles, Lithuanians, Ruthenians, Germans, Armenians, Tatars and so on. A large influx of foreign nobles was accepted into its ranks during subsequent unions and incorporations of new territories to the kingdom. For example, when it acquired the territories of Łębork and Bytów in the early seventeenth century, the Polish Crown granted noble status *en masse* to the freeholders of the region. This, combined with the government's acceptance of minimal criteria for admission to the noble estate, failure to keep records of families entitled to the rights of nobility, and the court's failure to exercise its 'denobling' rights, allowed the creation of a very populous estate indeed. A significant feature of this nobility was the relatively small number of formal ennoblements in the early modern period. Due to the pressures from *szlachta* itself, the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries saw a steady growth of restrictions imposed upon the Crown's ennobling powers.³³

Formal entry into *szlachta*'s ranks could be achieved in one of two ways: first, through *nobilitacja* (ennoblement), a warrant issued by the monarch to a person from a lower class, often a foreigner, by which the ennobled person had the right to bear arms and was entitled to all the privileges

³³ Klec-Pilewski, *Studies and Contributions*, 26.

of the nobles; and second, by *indygenat* (naturalisation), granted only to foreigners of noble origin.³⁴

In 1578, the *Sejm* passed an Act called *Plebeiorum Nobilitatio*, which included a provision depriving the sovereign of his power to make new grants of ennoblement.³⁵ The only exception to this rule was ennoblement on the battlefield for outstanding bravery. All other cases from then on required consultation with the lower house of the *Sejm* and approval from the *Senat* (Senate). The Parliament of 1633 passed a law that put a definite end to the adoption and granting of old coats-of-arms.³⁶ From this time, each new nobleman had to acquire new arms created specifically for him. This new coat-of-arms was to be borne by his descendants. By 1699 this restriction had become even more severe as the *Sejm* revived an institution of partial ennoblement *skartabelat* (Latin: *praeciso scartabelatus*). This meant that a newly ennobled person could not attain all privileges of the nobility straight away. Three generations had to follow the grant before the ennobled family was entitled to the full range of privileges, such as holding an office, representing the country during foreign delegations, or serving as a commander of a castle or a fortress. Only people of outstanding service to the state were to be exempt from this law.³⁷ Another restriction came into force in 1775, when the Parliament obliged the newly ennobled to purchase an estate under penalty of nullifying the grant.³⁸ Despite such drastic restrictions, however, the number of ennoblements grew rapidly until the end of the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth in 1794. One possible reason for that growth was the annulment (in 1775) of all laws banning noblemen from participating in trade.³⁹ Approximately 2140 such grants were registered, almost half of them issued by the last

³⁴ There were also other, less known ways of joining the nobility. For example, after 10 years of service, professors of the Cracow University were granted nobility status for life, and after 20 years of service the status became hereditary. Klec-Pilewski, *Studies and Contributions*, 26. Cf. Frost, "The nobility of Poland-Lithuania," 193–195.

³⁵ VL II, 187, no. 35.

³⁶ VL III, 382, no. 41.

³⁷ The phrase from the Constitution reads "...którzy tak zdrowiem, iako y substancją swoją zaszczycałi, y zaszczycać będą całość tey oyczyzny" (...only those who devoted and will devote in the future their health and wealth to the Fatherland). Such cases were called *non praeciso scartabelatus* (full ennoblement without *skartabelat*), see VL VI, 16–17, nos. 22–23.

³⁸ VL VIII, 113.

³⁹ *Ibid.*

Polish monarch, King Stanisław August.⁴⁰ Among the ennobled were 17 Scots.⁴¹

The second official way to become a member of the Polish nobility—available only to foreign men of noble origin—was through *indigenat* (Latin: *indigenatus*), the act of naturalisation. The procedure was quite difficult and many foreigners voiced their unhappiness on the matter.⁴² Before 1573, applicants for such grants had only to take an oath of allegiance and prove their noble descent. From 1573 onwards, the terms established by the Parliament for such grants became more demanding. First, a candidate had to demonstrate his merits; second, he had to prove his noble status to the Crown or Lithuanian Chancellery; third, he had to make a personal oath of allegiance to the king and the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth. This had to be done at the joint sitting of the Parliament. Next, the candidate had to purchase an estate before the subsequent gathering of the Parliament (although this requirement was waived for military men).

Sometimes the candidate was forced to comply with additional conditions: for example, he had to move his permanent residence to Poland-Lithuania within a defined time and, from the second half of the seventeenth century, it was desirable for the candidate to be a Roman Catholic.⁴³ A grant with such provisos was given to William (Wilhelm) Mier, major-general of the Crown Army, who received an *indigenatus* in 1726. According to the grant, Mier was given six months to convert.⁴⁴ In contrast, the genealogies of several other noble families of Scottish origin reveal that, despite the laws, several Scottish *dissidentes in religione* were naturalised and maintained their creed, among them George (Jerzy) Gordon, Patrick (Patrycjusz) Middleton and Peter Fergusson-Tepper.⁴⁵ In

⁴⁰ Z. Wdowiszewski, "Regesty nobilitacji w Polsce (1404–1794)," in *Materiały do biografii, genealogii i heraldyki polskiej*, vol. IX (Buenos Aires: 1987).

⁴¹ For the complete list of ennobled Englishmen, Irishmen and men of probable British origin; see Appendix XIV below.

⁴² In 1784, Prince Charles de Ligne from Belgium, who was trying to obtain Polish noble status, supposedly said: "It is easier to become a duke in Germany, than to be counted among Polish nobles," quoted in Kulikowski, *Heraldyka szlachecka*, 27.

⁴³ VL VIII, 164; cf. Z. Wdowiszewski, "Regesty przywilejów indygenatu w Polsce (1519–1793)," in *Materiały do biografii, genealogii i heraldyki polskiej*, vol. V (Buenos Aires: 1971), 12.

⁴⁴ J. A. Gierowski, "Mier, Wilhelm h. własnego (zm. 1758)," in PSB, vol. XX, 804–806; cf. Wdowiszewski, "Regesty przywilejów indygenatu," 48.

⁴⁵ Konarski, *Szlachta kalwińska*, 90, 191; Szenic, *Cmentarz*, 153, 244–245; J. Baranowski et al., *Zakon Maltański w Polsce* (Warszawa: 2000), 140, 142, 146–147, 237; Wdowiszewski, "Regesty przywilejów indygenatu," 41, 54, 64.

1789, the latter was admitted to the exclusive charitable organisation the Roman Catholic Order of St John of Jerusalem (also known as the Order of Malta) as a Knight of Honour and Devotion.⁴⁶

The naturalisations were granted less frequently than ennoblements. Between 1519 and 1795, approximately 450 foreigners of noble descent became members of the Polish gentry. Thirty-seven Scots were given such grants—8 per cent of the total.⁴⁷ Six men, one of English and five of Irish descent, were likewise granted *indygenat*.⁴⁸ The large number of naturalisations may suggest that, among the migrants, there was a sizeable group of men who originated from the laird class, that is, men able to prove their noble descent. Evidence exists that may undermine this otherwise logical assumption. First, there are doubts about the authenticity of certain documents provided by Scotsmen to prove their noble descent. Second, there was the question of foreign noblemen receiving naturalisation when their immediate ancestors or they themselves had been involved in mercantile activity after their arrival in Poland-Lithuania. Finally, there is evidence suggesting wrongful classification, for example, grants of naturalisations rather than ennoblement and vice-versa.

Many documents used to prove noble descent lodged at the Chancellery perished during the Second World War. The very few that survived show that among the naturalised Scots were some who provided bona fide proof of belonging to foreign nobility and others who supported their claims by presenting fraudulent evidence. The case of Peter Ferguson-Tepper is one example of an applicant providing genuine evidence in support of a petition for naturalisation. The parchment documents submitted to the Chancellery and constituting the royal warrant allowing him to use the surname and arms of Tepper conjointly with those of Ferguson, issued in 1779 by Thomas Browne, Garter Principal King of Arms and Ralph Bigland, Clarenceux King of Arms in London,⁴⁹ are also recorded in the College of Arms.⁵⁰ By contrast, the letter patent certifying the ancient noble descent

⁴⁶ Baranowski, *Zakon Maltański*, 237.

⁴⁷ Carl Petersen, who received letters patent in 1764, was mentioned by Steuart as Patterson, and listed among naturalised Scots, was a native of Schleswig.

⁴⁸ See Appendix XIV below.

⁴⁹ "The Letters Patent granting arms and change of name to Peter Ferguson Tepper, issued by Thomas Browne, Garter Principal King of Arms and Ralph Bigland Clarenceux King of Arms in 1786 (16 June 1779)," AGAD, No. 3323.

⁵⁰ "The grant of arms to Peter Ferguson Tepper (16 June 1779)," The College of Arms, Grants 14, fols 165–166; "The royal warrant allowing Peter Ferguson to use the surname and arms of Tepper conjointly with those of Ferguson (3 June 1779)," The College of Arms,

of George Guthrie issued at Elgin on 10 September 1672 seems to be false. It appears that the court officials were deceived by the forgery as, on the surface, the warrant bears a distinct similarity to the one produced by Ferguson-Tepper, and presumably by other petitioners from Scotland. The document provides Guthrie's detailed and very impressive genealogy, a suggestive display of coat-of-arms and names of signatories. According to the warrant, George was the son of James Guthrie [*sic*] and Isabel Leslie, and grandson of Alexander Guthrie, Lord of the manor of Guthrie [*sic*], and Margaret Irving, and of John Leslie Count of Roth and Dorothy Murrey. On Guthrie's paternal side of the family, the genealogy covered four generations. At the top, the document is decorated with the coat-of-arms of King Charles II, while another eight heraldic achievements, disposed in two vertical columns, four on either side, adorn its flanks. On the dexter side (from top to bottom) it displays arms of Guthrie, Leslie, Innes and Irving, on the sinister side arms of: Leslie, Stewart, Cumming and Murrey. Finally, William, Earl of Moray, was listed as the main signatory of the document in the presence of two other persons, Alexander Cumming of Culter and John Skene of Skene.⁵¹

The court officials, impressed perhaps by the document's formal qualities, and unaware of the fine details of Scottish and English law on who was entitled to prepare such letters patent, failed to notice that such a warrant should have been issued by the Sovereign under the Great Seal or by the Lord Lyon King of Arms, but in this case it was issued by neither, and the Earl of Moray had no business to decorate the letter with the arms of King Charles II. Sir Thomas Innes, who investigated the document in 1951, found even more grave points for criticism. He established, for example, that William, Earl of Moray, who was listed as the main signatory of the document, did not exist. The Earl of Moray in 1672 was rather Alexander, son of James.⁵² Finally, no reference to George Guthrie or his brief was found in the surviving records of Elgin Town Council for 1672.⁵³

I.32, fol. 240. I am grateful to Robert Yorke, Archivist at the College of Arms for his kind assistance with my queries and providing me with the used here reference.

⁵¹ "Original Charter certifying the ancient noble descent of George Guthrie (Elgin, 10 September 1672)," private collection of the de Guttry family. I am grateful to Richard Guttry, who made available information about this document and other papers pertaining to the Polish Guthrie (de Guttry, Gutry, Guttri, Guttry) family. Cf. S. Konarski, "Family of Guttry holding the arms of Guttry," unpublished manuscript, (Paris: 1959), 1.

⁵² "Innes of Learney, Thomas, Sir (Lord Lyon King of Arms), to Cristiano de Guttry (Edinburgh, 5 February 1951)," Private collection of the de Guttry family.

⁵³ I am most indebted to Graeme Wilson, local heritage officer of the Moray Council who kindly searched for me all of the 1672 Council Minutes.

More research is required to establish if such falsification was common and to establish the immediate ancestry of naturalised Scots.⁵⁴ It is open to question what happened to those who undoubtedly were of foreign noble origin yet who engaged in or whose forefathers engaged in commerce, and thus according to Polish class structure in the pre-1775 period, faced loss of noble status. Such was the situation of Peter Ferguson, whose direct ancestors would have been considered commoners in Poland-Lithuania.⁵⁵ It remains unclear how it was possible for him to petition for admission to

⁵⁴ A suspicious warrant presented as a proof of belonging to foreign nobility was also supplied by James Lindsay. The document was supposedly issued by Robert Carnegie, 3rd Earl of Southesk, Sheriff of Forfarshire (b. bef. 1649, d. 1688), see "The Letters Patent confirming noble status of James Lindsay, issued by Robert Carnegie 3rd Earl of Southesk in 1680 (6 May 1680)," APKr. DD. 156. It appears that concocted genealogies and forged documents were tabled by Scots petitioning to secure their noble right in Sweden. There is also evidence to suggest that both city and regal authorities in Scotland were quite aware of such procedures and even supplied false documentation of noble birth, see Murdoch, "Children of the diaspora," 71.

⁵⁵ Peter Ferguson, later Ferguson-Tepper (1732–1794), banker, entrepreneur, son of William Ferguson of Eaverun, burgher of Poznań, and Catherine Concordia Tepper. Adopted by his widowed and heirless uncle Peter (II) Tepper in 1768, he changed his name to Ferguson-Tepper. He moved to Warsaw, where he became an employee and later an accountant and a shareholder of Tepper's commercial companies. Along with his uncle, Ferguson-Tepper obtained citizenship in Warsaw in 1776 (in the records he was simply listed as "Peter Tepper the Younger").

Although the great wealth inherited from his uncle helped him to establish his position in banking circles, Ferguson-Tepper was an able businessman in his own right. His bank not only had numerous branches around the kingdom, but also had a considerable presence in financial markets of Amsterdam and Berlin. Ferguson-Tepper also maintained contact with bankers in St Petersburg, Vienna and other foreign locations. His banking services included the provision of credit, money exchange, cashing domestic and foreign cheques, and an equivalent of modern investment services and private banking—accepting and managing national and foreign funds. The bank financed industrial endeavours, particularly those made under the auspices of the King and supported by the government. Ferguson-Tepper became a co-founder of *Kompania Manufaktur Wełnianych* (Wool Manufacture Company) (1766), and *Fabryka Krajowa Płócienna* (National Cotton Cloth Factory) in Łowicz (1785–94). Expert financial transactions helped Ferguson-Tepper increase his assets and buy several properties in Warsaw. He acquired, for instance, the palace at 3 Miodowa Street, the palace 'Under Four Winds' at Długa Street, houses at Daniłowiczowska, Nowy Świat and Piękna Streets, and a warehouse at Solec.

In 1782 Ferguson-Tepper acquired several landed estates, among them a substantial property in Volhynia, and several smaller estates near Warsaw, among them Falenty, Raszyn, Gołków, Sękocin and Janki. Ferguson-Tepper also held a number of active investments and capital lent at interest. At the height of his prosperity, he granted numerous and substantial loans to the Crown Treasury and to the King. At one stage Stanisław August Poniatowski reportedly owed him 11.5 million zł. Ferguson-Tepper's assets were estimated at 60–65 million zł. He was also credited with establishing one of the first modern department stores in Warsaw. Ferguson-Tepper's talents were also recognised by the Polish branch of the Sovereign Military Order of Malta (hereafter SMOM). In 1776 he became the donate and treasurer of the Order, an office he held until 1792. His services were recognised in 1789 when he was invested as a Knight of Order and Devotion.

Polish nobility on the grounds that he was a foreign nobleman, when in fact he was a commoner, or why he was admitted to its ranks through naturalisation rather than through ennoblement. His case was not the only one. Of similar background were the Taylor brothers, naturalised in 1775, and John Robert Watson, naturalised in 1791. Perhaps it proves that the Constitutions of 1633 and 1677, prohibiting noblemen from trade under the penalty of losing their social status, were not being enforced, at least not by the second half of the eighteenth century and in the case of foreigners.

The cases of Guthrie and Ferguson show that the documents presented to support applications for naturalisations, as well as warrants produced by the Chancellery, deserve a much closer scrutiny too. Despite the fact that a full set of papers produced in the process exists only for these two cases, the court registers contain brief information on several other documents presented to support applications. The descriptions of papers produced by Gardiner and Gordon in 1673, Bennet in 1676, Mier in 1726, Watson of Priestfield in 1791, and Forsyths in 1793 show that the petitioners used birth briefs produced by civic authorities rather than documents issued by the Sovereign under the Great Seal, by the Lord Lyon or the King of Arms.⁵⁶ Thus, the birth briefs demonstrating the supposed foreign

The deterioration in the geopolitical situation of Poland-Lithuania at the end of the eighteenth century caused financial turmoil, which in turn brought about the eventual downfall of Ferguson-Tepper's business. Unable to meet the demands of his shareholders—they requested an immediate payment of about 18 million zł—he declared bankruptcy in 1793. The panicked shareholders plundered Ferguson-Tepper's department store and his bank. Wounded during an attack on his house by an angry crowd, Ferguson-Tepper died soon after, on 26 April 1794. He was buried in his family tomb at the Evangelical Reformed cemetery in Warsaw.

Ferguson-Tepper married Maria Filipina Valentin d'Hauterive (1739–1792) in 1762. The couple had 10 children, see “LB 17 Apr 1732,” APPoz sig. 1268, fols 176–176a; “Księga przyjęć do prawa miejskiego Starej Warszawy,” AGAD, Stara Warszawa sig. 748, fol. 151; “The birth-brief issued to Peter Ferguson Tepper by the council of the city of Edinburgh on 7 July 1786,” AGAD no. 2145; AGAD MK 404, fols 112–113, 113v–115, KK 45/46, fols 17–17v, KK 100, fols 33–37; Baranowski, *Zakon Maltański w Polsce*, 140, 142, 146, 147, 237 (listed as “Piotr Tepper” and “Piotr Karol Tepper-Fergusson”); K. Konarski and S. Konarski, *Warszawa w pierwszym jej stołecznym okresie*, (Warszawa: 1970), 235–236; T. Stegner, *Ewangelicy warszawscy 1815–1918* (Warszawa: 1993), 12–13; J. and E. Szulc, *Cmentarz Ewangelicko-Reformowany w Warszawie: zmarli i ich rodziny* (Warszawa: 1989), 244–245; E. Szulc, *Cmentarze Ewangelickie w Warszawie* (Warszawa: 1989), 211; idem, *Cmentarz ewangelicko-augsburski w Warszawie: zmarli i ich rodziny* (Warszawa: 1989), 562–563; W. Rogowski, “Fergusson-Tepper's Falenty: The episode of free banking in Poland in the 18th century,” paper presented to the Monetary Policy in the Environment of Structural Changes Conference, Falenty n/Warsaw, 24–25 October 2002, 1–14; K. W. Wójcicki, *Pamiętniki dziecka Warszawy i inne wspomnienia warszawskie* (Warszawa: 1974), 470–471.

⁵⁶ The documents state that they presented genealogies. In the case of Forsyths and Watson the City Council of Edinburgh issued briefs. James Hunter Blair witnessed Forsyths' brief, see AARP, nos. 1070, 1088, 1036, 1399, 1847, 1848, and 2511.

noble status were not different from documents certifying lineage presented by Scots trying to acquire civic rights. The impressive documents adorned with the coat-of-arms of the ruling monarch and the forbears of petitioners, like the one presented by Patrick Forbes in Gdańsk in 1669, must have swayed court officials into believing in the authenticity of such documents.⁵⁷

Another aspect of documentation associated with the ennoblement/naturalisation process that has not been examined before is the issue of the coat-of-arms appearing on the grants. I have been able to collect several examples. Several observations can be made. First, it appears that the coats-of-arms were copied by the court notaries directly from the documents supplied by petitioners. The shapes of the heraldic shields, styles of helmets and mantling unquestionably show a Scottish/English influence. The best example of this style is the coat-of-arms granted to the Gordons in 1768. It contains an English-style helm and mantling, and even a wreath—instead of, as was traditional in Polish heraldry, a crest coronet. Second, it appears that the men were granted arms not consistent with the Scottish/British heraldic law. Assuming that arms like these were copied directly from documents used to support petitions for naturalisation, this casts further doubt on the authenticity of such evidence.

The Acts of the Scottish Parliament of 1592 and 1672 pronounced that arms were individual but may be passed to descendants upon the armiger's death. Thus, the Acts clearly stated that while an armiger was alive, his descendants and relatives might display those arms by distinguishing them with cadency marks. Such marks were supposed to be used to differentiate the arms of an armiger from those of his first son, second daughter, and so on. The coats-of-arms that appear on the letters patent of the Scots admitted to the Polish nobility, in most cases depict the plain arms, which, according to Scottish heraldic law, were to be used only by the clan chiefs (under same law, every cadet was to obtain a officially differenced coat-of-arms that distinguished him from the chief). Apart from the arms granted to Ferguson and Gordon in 1768, all other heraldic achievements awarded to the cadets were not properly differentiated. This reinforces the earlier observation that a majority of documents presented

⁵⁷ Patrick was a son of Robert Forbes of Mowney and Margareta Farquhar. His brief, decorated with the coat-of-arms of King Charles II, on the sides with four arms: Forbes of Forbes, Farquhar of Norham, Skene of Skene and Forbes of Tolquhoun, was witnessed by Duncan Forbes of Camphill and John Forbes, see "The birth brieve issued to Patrick Forbes by the City Council of Aberdeen (7 June 1669)," APGd., sig. 300R/Uug, no. 01058.

at the court came from authorities other than the Lord Lyon's Office or the College of Arms.

The Acts of the Scottish Parliament regulating the use of coats-of-arms were either unknown to, or disregarded by Scots admitted to the civic rights in the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth, or perhaps even not fully adhered to in Scotland. Heraldic achievements displayed on a variety of artefacts belonging to prominent merchant burghers in Poland-Lithuania, more often than not, bore plain arms. This can be seen, for example, on the epitaphs from the cemetery at Wielkanoc of affluent Scots from Cracow: George Ross,⁵⁸ Susanna Chambers,⁵⁹ Catherine Paterson née Kin⁶⁰ and Alexander Symmers (Sommer).⁶¹ Plain coats-of-arms were displayed on the tombstones of Archibald Campbell in Węgrów,⁶² Robert Gordon in Ilża⁶³ and the epitaph of George Forbes from Chełmno.⁶⁴ The coat-of-arms displayed on the cartouche of the Williamson (Wilmson) family of Elbląg shows that a similar practice was adopted by some English immigrants.⁶⁵

The figures of the total number of ennoblements and naturalisations and the number of ennobled and naturalised Scots are by no means definitive. As there were no official court heralds to keep such records, there was no official roll of nobility in Poland-Lithuania. As a result, the grants were recorded in a number of inventories, which were not always detailed or accurate.⁶⁶ Only in the twentieth century did historians such

⁵⁸ Ross arms: Three lions rampant (2 and 1).

⁵⁹ Chambers arms: Per fess, in chief issuant a demi-lion rampant, in base a fleur-de-lis.

⁶⁰ Patterson arms: In three nests (2 and 1) as many pelicans in their piety, surmounted of a chief, charged with three mullets.

⁶¹ Symmers arms: An oak tree in bend sinister surmounted of a bend, charged with three mullets (plain arms display three cross crosslets).

⁶² Campbell arms: Quarterly, 1st and 4th, Gyronny of eight; 2nd and 3rd, a lymphad sails furled oars in action.

⁶³ Gordon arms: Arms: Three boars' heads (2 and 1).

⁶⁴ Forbes arms: Gules, three bears' heads erased (2 and 1), Sable.

⁶⁵ Williamson arms: Argent on a chevron [azure] between three trefoils slipped [sable] as many crescents [or]. Crest: on a reef, a demi-lion rampant, between two wings, see D. Milewska, "Kartusze trumienne patrycjuszy elbląskich od XVII do I połowy XIX wieku," in *Rocznik Elbląski* 5 (1972), 184.

⁶⁶ Records of grants were kept by court officials in a number of inventories. The most important collections included: *Volumina Legum* (printed volumes of laws and constitutions decreed by the *Sejm*), *Księgi Kanclerskie* or *Matricularum Regni Poloniae Summaria* (volumes of acts registered by the Crown or the Lithuanian Chancellery), *Metryka Koronna* (register of issued documents and dealings with public law carried out for a variety of recipients by the Crown Chancellery from 1447 to 1794), *Metryka Litewska* (equivalent to *Metryka Koronna*, but kept by the Chancellery of the Grand Duchy of Lithuania from 1569 to 1794), and *Sigillata* (synopsis of documents issued by the Crown or the Lithuanian Chancellery).

as Wdowiszewski and Trelińska attempted to create a more complete roll of such enactments by combining data from a variety of primary sources.⁶⁷ Even these inventories are not complete, as many valuable documents perished during the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth's troublesome history or have thus far been unavailable to researchers and are just now coming into light.⁶⁸

Considering all these variables, and on the basis of a wide variety of secondary and primary sources, a number of men of Scottish, English and Irish origin of indisputable noble status have been identified.⁶⁹ The majority received acts of naturalisation—of 44 grants, 37 (84 per cent) were given to Scots, two (4.5 per cent) to Englishmen and five (11.5 per cent) to Irishmen. A smaller number were ennobled—of 19 grants, 17 were given to Scots and two to Englishmen. An additional 20 or so families of Scottish or Irish origin were noted as noble families in a variety of primary sources, but at the moment it is impossible to establish when or on what grounds they received noble status, or whether such instances were merely caused by usurpations.⁷⁰

The civic books of Cracow, for example, give the names of several men of probable Scottish origin who were listed as noblemen, but whose names do not appear among the naturalised or ennobled.⁷¹ The presence of families of Scottish origin who proved their noble status to the heraldic authorities after 1795 may suggest the existence of bona fide documents used to support their petitions.⁷² The case of the naturalisation of James

⁶⁷ AARP; Wdowiszewski, "Regesty nobilitacji"; idem, "Regesty przywilejów indygenatu"; idem, "Tytuły polskie."

⁶⁸ For example, a list of previously unknown nobility, based on the civic documents from Cracow, has been compiled by Urban. W. Urban, "Nieznana szlachta na podstawie akt grodzkich Archiwum Państwowego w Krakowie," *Rocznik Polskiego Towarzystwa Heraldycznego XIV/nowej serii III* (1997), 153–166.

⁶⁹ As contribution to the subject, a list of 22 grants given to men of unknown origin who could have come from the British Isles, has also been compiled. While some names on that list are unquestionably British, for example John (ennobled 1790); other names, such as Rohland (possibly Roland), Poleman and Phillipson may be of German, French or British origin. Since at the moment their origins cannot be confirmed beyond doubt, their names have been omitted in this survey. See Appendix XIV.

⁷⁰ For the full list of those families see Appendix XV.

⁷¹ James Fyffe (Fayff) in 1655; John Young (Junga) in 1668; John Friedrich Smith (Smidt) in 1680; Alexander Smith in 1680; John Taylor (Tayler) in 1690, see Urban, "Nieznana szlachta," 155, 162, 164.

⁷² In 1772, 1793 and 1795 the territory of Poland-Lithuania was partitioned between Austria, Prussia and Russia. Thus, by 1795 the Commonwealth ceased to exist as a separate country and its divided territories fell under the jurisdiction of the three Partitioners. The list of Polish nobility of British extraction could be expanded further to include families of

Jeffereys, which has only recently become known due to the discovery of the original parchment kept by Jeffereys' descendants, and never officially recorded in Polish sources, may provide a further proof that more of such unrecorded grants existed elsewhere.

Following an examination of the numbers of grants of ennoblement and naturalisations of men of British origins, some further generalisations can be made. First, there was a predominance of Scots among the ennobled and naturalised. This number of Scots would rise further if some of those now listed as of unknown British origin were proven to have been of Scottish descent.⁷³ The same is true of the ennoblements. The disproportionately high number of Scots can be explained by the fact that there were large numbers of Scottish immigrants and a sizeable contingent of Scottish troops in Poland-Lithuania. Among the Scots, there were nearly twice as many naturalisations as ennoblements, which suggests that among the grant recipients there were a substantial number of men who regarded themselves as of noble Scottish origin. This is significant, as it confirms the earlier observations about the social make-up of the group of migrants who intended to improve their status, and shows that the grant receivers had the means to prove their pedigree and fulfil other strenuous conditions required to obtain noble status in that way.

Further examination of the data reveals that of the total 54 ennobled or naturalised Scots, 31 (57 per cent) received grants during the second half of the eighteenth century from the last Polish monarch, Stanisław August. All the other grants, 23 (33 per cent), were issued during the sixteenth and the seventeenth centuries. These figures show that some families of Scottish origin reached the highest social position during the time when the number of Scots in Poland-Lithuania significantly declined (Fig. 7.2). This was possibly due to a number of related factors. First, the families consisted

certain British origin, who continually appear in the secondary sources as noble families, but whose status of nobility cannot be verified as they do not appear in any lists of ennoblements, naturalisations or even registrations. Because of these reasons, it was decided not to include these families in the survey.

⁷³ As noted earlier, there are contradictory opinions about the origin of some of the men included in the grants. There is much confusion, for example, about the origin of the Butlers naturalised in 1627, who are often counted among the Scots. Biegańska, acknowledging the problem of distinguishing between Scottish and Irish branches of the Butler family, presented documents which show that while Theodore (Teodor), Gotard Wilhelm and Bartholomew (Bartłomiej) Butler were described as Scots, other Butlers, such as James (Jakub), who was naturalised, and his family circle were consistently described as Irish, see A. Biegańska, "Żołnierze szkoccy w dawnej Rzeczypospolitej," *Studia i Materiały do Historii Wojsk* 27 (1984): 89–90.

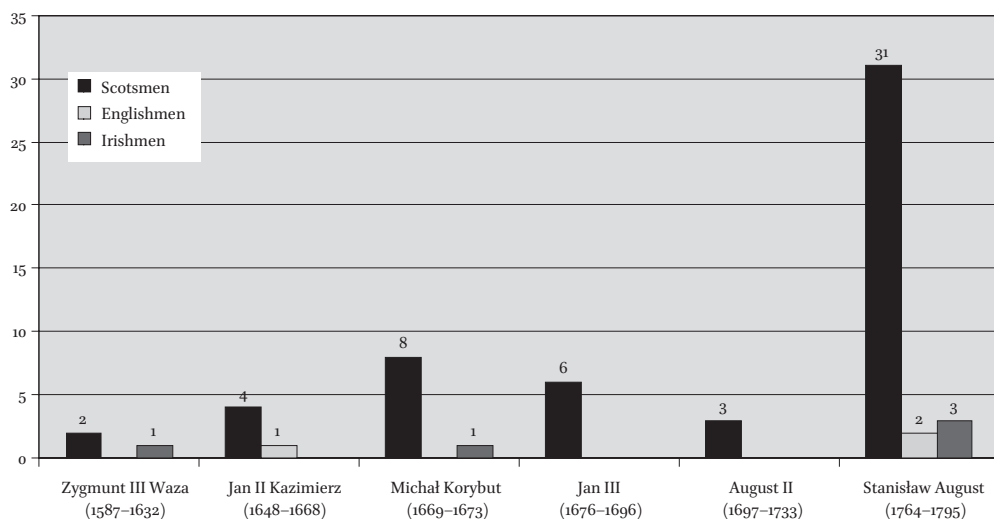


Fig. 7.2. Ennoblement, naturalisation grants to Scotsmen, Englishmen and Irishmen in the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth 1564–1795.

of descendants, rather than first-generation migrants. Its members were therefore likely to be more integrated into the host community. A number of descendants also chose to abandon trading, which until the late eighteenth century automatically precluded them from being naturalised or ennobled. The career they were choosing instead, becoming officers in the Polish or the Lithuanian army, appears to have been one of the better ways of joining the ranks of the nobility. The annulment of laws banning noblemen from participating in trade (1775) would allow easier access to the nobility to several outstanding Scottish bankers and traders.⁷⁴

The figures are noticeably distorted by the large number of ennoblements and naturalisations in the reign of Stanisław August (Fig. 7.2). This was a period in which the concept of nobility was undergoing a major reappraisal in the Commonwealth. The monarch's attempt to widen support for his party resulted in large numbers of ennoblements of army officers and burghers—civil servants (90 individuals), clergy (33), medical doctors (28), bankers (19), manufacturers (6), lawyers (4), architects (4) and other entrepreneurs. Among them there were numerous foreigners.⁷⁵

⁷⁴ VL VIII, 113.

⁷⁵ AARP, 17–18; M. Markiewicz, *Historia Polski 1492–1795* (Warszawa: 2006), 678–679; Wdowiszewski, "Regesty nobilitacji," XII–XIII.

Religious and Professional Life of the Scoto-Polish Nobility

The data also show that the grantees were involved in different professions, if we include the grants given during the reign of Stanisław August, and that the overwhelming majority chose to follow a military career. Out of the 54 Scots identified who received either naturalisation or ennoblement, a staggering 76 per cent (41 men) were army officers.⁷⁶ Others included six bankers (11 per cent), two Catholic clergymen (3.7 per cent) and two counsellors/doctors (3.7 per cent)—all of these men received grants after 1764. The occupations of three remaining Scots are unknown.⁷⁷ This clearly shows that military service was the best route to social advancement among the Polish Scots. This was possibly because a large percentage of the Scottish military men were regarded by the Polish court as being of noble origin in the first place, and because the officers would be affluent enough to finance associated costs.

A military career was potentially very profitable. The income earned from commanding a company was comparable to revenue raised from a good land holding, and that from a regiment to earnings from an estate.⁷⁸ Such income could have been even higher if profits from booty and other ventures were added. Patrick Gordon wrote in his diary that during times of warfare, for a weekly pension of 60 guldens and four florins, he guaranteed the safety of peasant refugees and their goods on an island in the Vistula River. Gordon also confessed to running an extortion scheme, whereby cattle belonging to nobles from neighbouring estates would be driven off by his associates, and his aid in 'recovering' missing herds would then be sought and duly rewarded by the owners.⁷⁹

The religious background of the naturalised and ennobled Scots at the time of the grant is the most difficult detail to establish. Of all 54 men, the religion of only 32 is known.⁸⁰ Some 59 per cent of those, that

⁷⁶ Similarly, a military career was the most common among men ennobled or naturalised English- and Irishmen. See Appendix XIV.

⁷⁷ Men who held religious positions were the Catholic clergy and all retained their function of Canon at the moment of the grant.

⁷⁸ J. Jedlicki, *Klejnot i bariery społeczne: przeobrażenia szlachectwa polskiego w schyłkowym okresie feudalizmu* (Warszawa: 1968), 64. Cf. AARP, 17–18; Markiewicz, *Historia Polski*, 678–679.

⁷⁹ Gordon, "Diary 1635–1659," fol. 66v.

⁸⁰ See Appendix XV.

is 20 men, were Protestants⁸¹ and the others were Roman Catholics.⁸² On only two occasions do the documents show that the naturalisation or ennoblement would become legal only after conversion to Catholicism (Kazimierz Bazalski and William Mier).⁸³ Thus, the figures confirm that religious toleration in the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth was by and large respected, and that social advancement was not hindered by religious affiliation.

Some Protestants in all probability received their grants thanks to support extended to them by the local coreligionist nobility. The best example of such endorsement is the Radziwiłłs. In 1673–1676 this family may have had sponsored at least four grants given to Scots whose names appear in the parish books in Kiejdany.⁸⁴ Krzysztof Radziwiłł (1585–1640), particularly fond of foreign officers, sponsored two other men from the British Isles who served under his command: the Irishman Captain James Butler (naturalised 1627) and the Englishman Colonel John William Donoway (naturalised 1654).⁸⁵ These two officers not only served in the Radziwiłłs' private army, but also resided on their estate. Their elevation to the nobility may have been part of the Radziwiłłs' efforts to champion the Protestant cause and strengthen their faction. The case of John Donoway, most likely a Protestant himself, provides perhaps the strongest evidence of the magnates' direct involvement in the process. In a letter to the deputies of the Troki district, Krzysztof Radziwiłł gave a direct instruction to support Donoway's petition for naturalisation at the 1640 deliberations of the *Sejm*.

⁸¹ Protestants include: George Bennet (nat. 1673); John Maitland (nat. 1673); James Gardiner (Kordymier) (nat. 1673); Peter Ferguson-Tepper (nat. 1790); Peter Gotard, John Charles, Philip Thomas and Francis Martin Forbes (Fribes) (nat. 1790); George Gordon (nat. 1676); George Guthrie (nat. 1673); James, George, Robert and William Low (nat. 1775); Patrick Middleton (nat. 1768); William Mier (nat. 1726), who converted to Catholicism in about 1726; Robert John and Joseph Taylor (nat. 1775), who converted to Catholicism in about 1726; and John Robert Watson (nat. 1791).

⁸² Catholics: Joseph and Fr. John Kanty Forsyth (nat. 1793); Henry Gordon (nat. 1658); Joseph, Joseph, John, and Fabian Gordon (nat. 1768 and 1783); John James Gordon (nat. 1699); Fr. Thomas and Anthony Haliburton-Stuart (enn. 1793); John and Alexander Lindsay (enn. 1764).

⁸³ VL IV, 411, no. 96; VL VI 232, no. 24.

⁸⁴ Major George Bennet, Captain John Maitland, Major James Gardiner and Captain George Gordon all worked for the magnate family, see "Metryka Zboru Kieydańskiego 1641–1795," LVIA, Fond 606, Ap. 1, bb. 144–150, 324, 336—F. 1218, Ap. 1, b. 390a, *passim*.

⁸⁵ U. Augustyniak, *W służbie hetmana i Rzeczypospolitej. Klientela wojskowa Krzysztofa Radziwiłła* (Warszawa: 2004), 61–2, 363.

Military service brought rewards in the shape of land grants, many of which were made during the reign of Stefan Batory, Zygmunt III Waza and Władysław IV. Andrew Concreor, Henry King (Kin) and Thomas Buck, for example, all officers, were granted estates in Livonia.⁸⁶ In 1619, Peter Learmonth, another Scottish officer in the Polish service, was granted an estate by King Zygmunt III. The grant, in which he is described as *nobilis* (noble, nobleman), refers to Learmonth's honourable service:

He showed himself a brave and active soldier, not only against the Duke of Sudermania [Duke of Södermanland, later King Karl IX of Sweden], but also during the whole of the Russian war... and again in the reign of our son, Wladislaus Sigismund [Władysław IV], he fought very bravely, and was an example to others.⁸⁷

Indeed, Learmonth commanded a 200-man infantry unit against the Muscovites at Smoleńsk and Viazma (1617–18). In 1621, as a colonel, and according to commissions for raising troops, he commanded a unit of “Scottish vagabonds and unappropriated men” in the Chocim campaign, where he was wounded.⁸⁸

Having acquired property and fortune, men such as Learmonth, it seems, were seen by the nobles as equals. In his diary, General Gordon reminisced about his times as a junior officer in Poland and attempts by a local nobleman, Arciszewski, to marry him off to his daughter, even though he was not officially recognised as a nobleman in Poland-Lithuania.⁸⁹ The role of such Scotsmen (some of whom may have been of noble background) among Polish ranks should not be overlooked and will be discussed in more detail later.

Usurpations of Noble Status

It seems that not all Scots earned the honours in an official way. Some, lured in all probability by the extensive privileges of the Polish nobility, tried to enter the ranks of this estate illegally. John (Ioannes, Jan) Bederman of Łuck, the son of a Scottish skin trader and town citizen,

⁸⁶ Biegańska, *Żołnierze szkodcy*, 104, 106–107.

⁸⁷ SEWP, 131.

⁸⁸ Ibid.; SIP, xx–xxi; R. Brzeziński, “British mercenaries in the Baltic 1560–1683,” *Military Illustrated: Past and Present* 4 (1986–87): 22; R. I. Frost, “Scottish Soldiers: Poland-Lithuania and the Thirty Years' War,” in S. Murdoch, ed., *Scotland and the Thirty Years' War* (Leiden: 2001), 199, 204, 210; SSNE, no. 5222.

⁸⁹ Gordon, “Diary 1635–1659,” fol. 78.

reportedly usurped noble status (c. 1635).⁹⁰ His two brothers, Paul and Alexander, who served in the army also apparently usurped noble status.⁹¹ Other possible Scots accused of the same offence included Joachim Fox, the son of Stanisław, a councillor of Cracow, and two of his three sons: John, Archdeacon of Cracow, professor at the University in Cracow and later secretary to the king (d. 1636), and an officer of infantry, whose first name is unknown, who took part in the capture of Smoleńsk in 1609–11.⁹²

Walerian Nekanda Trepka, who investigated possible usurpers as a first step to litigation against them,⁹³ also listed other Scots: Marshall (Marszel), citizen of Olkusz and owner of Solca;⁹⁴ unknown Wilam (probably William or Williams), burgess and cloth merchant of Cracow, owner of Lipnica estate 1630–34, and another unknown Wilam, burgess of Cracow and owner of Sławice estate, whom Nekanda Trepka characterised as *pieniężny* ('in the money').⁹⁵ Some Scots must have managed to enter illegally the ranks of the nobility and fuse with that estate. Konarski lists a number of names that appear in the documents of the Protestant nobility and bear witness to their Scottish origin, but which do not appear in any official rolls of grants of ennoblements or naturalisations: Arnot (Arnet, Arnett, Arnott),⁹⁶

⁹⁰ W. Nekanda Trepka, *Liber Generationis Plebeiorum (Liber Chamorum)* (circa 1650, reprint Wrocław: 1995), 71.

⁹¹ Paul was, according to Nekanda Trepka, a member of a bandit group near Cracow in 1634. He was caught, imprisoned and sentenced to death by quartering, but the sentence was not carried out, see *Ibid.*, 71.

⁹² Although the registers compiled by Wdowiszewski do not include Fox (Latin: Foxius), authors, such as Ostrowski and Uruski listed them among the nobles. Martin (Marcin) Fox, doctor, astrologer, professor and later rector at the University of Cracow, ennobled by the Emperor Charles V on 11 March 1568, was apparently a member of that family. According to Uruski, the Fox family received *indygenat* in 1606, but this claim is not supported by any published sources. It is possible that John and Martin Fox were ennobled for their long service at the University of Cracow. Historians are also divided over the origins of the family. They ascribe to them either Scottish or German ancestry, see K. Niesiecki, *Herbarz Polski*, 2nd edn, ed. J. N. Bobrowicz, Leipzig (1839–1845), (reprinted Warszawa: 1979), vol. IV, 45–46; S. Uruski, *Rodzina: Herbarz szlachty polskiej*, 15 vols (Warszawa: 1904–1938), vol. IV, 49; J. Ostrowski, *Księga herbowa rodów polskich* (Warszawa: 1897–1906), 79, plate no. 739; A. Boniecki, *Herbarz Polski*, 16 vols (Warszawa: 1901–1913), vol. V, 305, 306 (Fox, Foxius); S. Konarski, *Szlachta kawińska w Polsce* (Warszawa: 1936), 78.

⁹³ Nekanda Trepka used litigation as a means of earning money. According to Polish law, a person accused of pretending to be a nobleman had to defend himself in court. If proven guilty, he faced a loss of his property, which was awarded to the plaintiff.

⁹⁴ Nekanda Trepka, *Liber Generationis*, 258.

⁹⁵ *Ibid.*, 459.

⁹⁶ First recorded in Poland in about 1665. They intermarried with other noble Calvinist families, such as the Kurnatowski, Livingstone, Rey and Ross families, see Konarski, *Szlachta kawińska*, 8.

Gibson (Gibsone)⁹⁷ and Inglis (de Ingliss Ingles, English).⁹⁸ Similar names, which do not appear in any earlier ennoblement or naturalisation grants, but can be found in the records of the nineteenth-century nobility registrations, include Cochrane (Czochron),⁹⁹ Davidson (Dawidson),¹⁰⁰ Leslie (Lesli),¹⁰¹ Lewis,¹⁰² Turner (Tarnier)¹⁰³ and Young of Lenie. Many of these families belonged to the Reformed Church and could trace their origin to the estates of the Radziwiłł family in Lithuania. This reinforces the earlier observation about the importance of Radziwiłłs in backing their courtiers and families living on their estates. The role of their patronage and specifically in promoting individuals into the nobility requires more intensive research.

One of the most influential Scottish families in the Commonwealth, whose name does not appear in any known ennoblement or naturalisation grant, was perhaps the Young family of Lenie. The first recorded member of this Scottish Catholic family was Daniel, reportedly a courtier of Mary Stuart who took part in the Babington Plot in 1586. He migrated to Gdańsk, where he married Judyta von Wasselrode, from a prominent patrician family. Of his three sons, the eldest, George, returned to his

⁹⁷ Members of the Gibson family intermarried with many Polish nobles families. Of that family, Zygmunt (d. 1806) was chamberlain of the king, see Konarski, *Szlachta kalwińska*, 81; Boniecki, *Herbarz polski*, annex, 37.

⁹⁸ One member of that family was William (Wilhelm), in 1657 a major in the Royal Army. Members of this family are known to have lived in Lithuania, in Nowogródek district, see Konarski, *Szlachta kalwińska*, 114–115.

⁹⁹ Registered as nobility in the Polish Kingdom in 1844, see Boniecki, *Herbarz polski*, vol. IV, 15–16; Ostrowski, *Księga herbowa*, 51, plate no. 456; E. Sęczyś, *Szlachta wylegitymowana w Królestwie Polskim w latach 1836–1861* (Warszawa: 2000), 112; *Spis szlachty Królestwa Polskiego* (Warszawa: 1851–54), 37; Uruski, *Rodzina*, vol. III, 33

¹⁰⁰ According to Boniecki and Uruski, they were registered as nobility in the Russian Empire in Wilno province in 1846. There is no mention of this registration in the inventory compiled by Dumin and Górczyński, see Boniecki, *Herbarz polski*, vol. IV, 115; S. Dumin and S. Górczyński, *Spis szlachty wylegitymowanej w guberniach grodzieńskiej, mińskiej, mohylewskiej, smoleńskiej i witebskiej* (Warszawa: 1992); Uruski, *Rodzina*, vol. III, 80; Cf. SEWP, 196, 229, plate 1.

¹⁰¹ Registered as nobility in the Russian Empire in the Grodno province and in the Smoleńsk province in the nineteenth century, see Dumin and Górczyński, *Spis szlachty*, 54; cf. SEWP, 196–197, 229, plate 4.

¹⁰² Registered as nobility in the Russian Empire in Mohylew province in the nineteenth century, see Dumin and Górczyński, *Spis szlachty*, 56; P. E. Damier, *Wappen-Buch Sämmtlicher zur Estländischen Adelmatrikel Gehöriger Familien* (Revel, 1837); cf. Boniecki, *Herbarz polski*, vol. XV (no record of this name); SEWP, 224.

¹⁰³ Registered as nobility in the Russian Empire in Grodno province in the nineteenth century, see Dumin and Górczyński, *Spis szlachty*, 105; cf. SEWP, 196, 229, plate 3.

native land.¹⁰⁴ The second, Fr. Adrian George Young, became an influential Jesuit. However, the most famous of Daniel's offspring was his third son, Abraham (d. c. 1632), a lieutenant of the Scottish infantry regiment and a bodyguard of Zygmunt III the King of Poland. Abraham accompanied the King on his trip to Sweden in 1598 and took part in the Polish campaign in Livonia in 1600–02. For his outstanding service, in 1603 Zygmunt III gave him full judicial power to inquire into the organisation of Scots in the realm and later, on 20 March 1604, made him the chief of all Scottish merchants living in Poland-Lithuania. Abraham had two known sons, John, and James who was a lieutenant.¹⁰⁵ It is possible that the former is identical to the John Jouna listed as *nobilis* in 1668 in the municipal documents of Cracow.¹⁰⁶ Daniel's descendants registered as nobility in the nineteenth century: in the Kingdom of Poland in 1851–54 (with the surname Jouna), in the Russian Empire in Grodno province in 1839–1851 (with the surname Jung), and in the Austrian Empire in 1871 (with the surname Younga a Lenie).¹⁰⁷

The existence of a number of such families, which informally joined the ranks of the nobility of the Commonwealth, indicates that the official process of the Letters Patent of the Crown had little part to play, and that the restrictions were ineffective.¹⁰⁸

¹⁰⁴ T. Żychliński, ed., *Złota księga szlachty polskiej*, 31 vols (Poznań: 1879–1908), vol. XVIII, 82.

¹⁰⁵ Boniecki, *Herbarz polski*, vol. IX, 89, 90 (Jouna); Uruski, *Rodzina*, vol. VI, 115–117; Żychliński, *Złota księga*, vol. XVIII, 83–85; SIP, 5–7.

¹⁰⁶ Urban, "Nieznana szlachta," 157 (Teut. 94, s.127–128).

¹⁰⁷ Sęczyński, *Szlachta wylegitymowana*, 263; S. Korwin Kruczkowski, *Poczet Polaków wyniesionych do godności szlacheckiej przez monarchów austriackich 1773–1918* (Lwów: 1935), 55; Dumin and Górzyński, *Spis szlachty*, 39.

¹⁰⁸ The most important publications in which such families are mentioned include: Boniecki, *Herbarz polski*; J. S. Dunin Borkowski, *Almanach błękitny: genealogia żyjących rodów polskich* (Lwów: 1909); J. K. Dachnowski, *Herbarz szlachty Prus Królewskich z XVII wieku*, ed. Z. Pentek (Kórnik: 1995); Dumin and Górzyński, *Spis szlachty*; *Dworzaczek Files v. 1.2.0 for Windows: Historical and genealogical sources on the nobility of Greater Poland in 15th-20th c.*, CD-ROM (Poznań-Kórnik: 1997); A. Heymowski, "Herbarz szlachty Inflant polskich z 1778 roku," in *Materiały do biografii, genealogii i heraldyki polskiej*, v. 2 (Buenos Aires and Paris: 1964); Konarski, *Szlachta kalwińska w Polsce*; Leitgeber, *Nowy almanach błękitny*; S. Łoza, *Rodziny polskie pochodzenia cudzoziemskiego osiadłe w Warszawie i okolicach*, 3 vols (Warszawa: 1932–1935); Niesiecki, *Herbarz polski*; M. Pawliszczew, *Herbarz rodzin szlacheckich Królestwa Polskiego najwyżej zatwierdzony* (Warszawa: 1853); Sęczyński, *Szlachta wylegitymowana*; *Spis szlachty Królestwa Polskiego*; Urban, "Nieznana szlachta," 153–166; R. Sękowski, *Herbarz szlachty śląskiej. Informator genealogiczno-heraldyczny*, 5 vols (Katowice: 2003); Uruski, *Rodzina*; VL; Wąjs, *Materiały genealogiczne*; Wdowiszewski, "Regesty przywilejów indygenatu"; idem, "Regesty nobilitacji"; Żychliński, *Złota księga*.

*Scottish Noble Families in the Commonwealth:
Kinship and Blood Relations*

The genealogies of noble families confirm that during the first two or three generations the Scots living in Poland-Lithuania married almost exclusively within their own ethnic group.¹⁰⁹ This is revealed, for example, in the genealogy of Robert John and Joseph Taylor, brothers who were naturalised in 1775.¹¹⁰ Their father, Captain Robert Taylor (c. 1691–c.1754) was married to Elizabeth Forsyth, daughter of Robert and Elizabeth Gordon de Birkenburn; and their paternal grandmother, Elizabeth Forbes (b. 4 August 1671; d. Cracow 15 June 1723), daughter of William of Echt and Marianne Elder, residents of Zamość, was a second-generation Scot.¹¹¹ Taylor's grandfather John (Ian, Yan) (b. 1649; d. Cracow 4 June 1716), burgess and merchant of Cracow and later possibly a nobleman, was, however, a first-generation migrant. The inscription on his epitaph clearly states that Taylor was born in Scotland and settled later in Cracow. Although the inscription does not say when he migrated, knowing the ages of other Scottish migrants, it is possible to conclude that he arrived in Poland in about 1663–65, that is, when he was 14–16 years old.¹¹² His name first appears on a list of communicants of several Calvinist parishes of Lesser Poland of 1677–86 and 1689–1716. It is unclear how he made his fortune, or if he was somehow related to his contemporary, John Taylor of Zamość. The inscription on his epitaph links him, however, entirely to Cracow and mentions that he was a *przyjaciół domu Forbes* (friend of the Forbes' house), a prominent family of Zamość and Cracow.

We know that John Taylor obtained civic rights in Cracow in January 1683. He was listed as *mercator germanus* who produced a birth brief

¹⁰⁹ Analogous preference was detected among the Scottish expatriates in Sweden, see A. Grosjean, "Scots and the Swedish State: Diplomacy, Military Service and Ennoblement 1611–1660," (PhD Thesis, University of Aberdeen, Aberdeen, 1998), 141.

¹¹⁰ E. Taylor, *Historia rodziny Taylorów w Polsce* (Poznań: 1933). I am very grateful to Mr Jacek Taylor, who made available a copy of this book containing, in addition, handwritten notes and corrections made by its author.

¹¹¹ "Epitaph of Elizabeth née Forbes (d. 1723), wife of John Taylor, then John Henry Lehmann," (1637), sandstone, 198 x 87 cm, the *Lapidarium*, Evangelical-Reformed church, Żychlin near Konin.

¹¹² "Epitaph of John Taylor (1716)," black marble, approx. 190 x 90 cm, the *Lapidarium*, Evangelical-Reformed church, Żychlin near Konin. The inscription on this gravestone contradicts a theory proposed by Edward Taylor who, unaware of the existence of this source, believed that John was a son of John Taylor of Zamość and a grandson of Robert. Taylor, *Historia rodziny*, 2–8.

germanico idiomate scripta, paid 230 zł and promised to deliver two guns and two stone (approx. 14 kg) of gunpowder. It is uncertain why he was listed as German and if indeed his brief was written in German. Perhaps the civic scribe mistook English or Scot, for German. By that time, however, Taylor must have amassed considerable wealth, which allowed him to cover expenses associated with the process of admission into civic rights. The commercial activity he was probably involved in, trading in ammunition and supplying it to the Polish Army, could have brought him suitable financial rewards. His name appears on the papers of Reformed parishes near Cracow: in Koszyce (1678), Chmielnik (1689), Wielkanoc (1692) and Wiatowice (1710). He was often listed as *Senior Communitatis Cracoviensis* and clearly played an important role in the Scottish community there.¹¹³ It is also uncertain when and how, if at all, he obtained noble status. The inscription on his epitaph calls him *nobilis*. Similarly, the inscription on his wife's epitaph calls him *nobilis* and *inclitum cive et mercator cracoviense*. This phrase appears next to his name in a number of other documents. A signature of John Taylor of 1690, discovered in the municipal documents of Cracow, also suggests that he belonged to the noble estate.¹¹⁴ His coat-of-arms displayed below the inscription on his gravestone is also of some importance.¹¹⁵ The heraldic achievement depicted there looks like a coat-of-arms restricted to the use of the nobility—it is adorned with a crown coronet. The same coat-of-arms was given later to his grandsons, Robert John and Joseph, at their naturalisation in 1775.

The Taylors were related to the Forsyths, Forbes, Turners and to the Polish branch of the Gordons of Birkenburn.¹¹⁶ This provides evidence of consanguinity within the Scottish expatriate community. A close examination of blood relations reveals that a network of contacts that stretched from Aberdeen through Gdańsk to Cracow and Zamość was used to transact business, promote relatives to important positions and to maintain blood ties. The two of John Taylor and Elizabeth Forbes' six children who survived past adolescence—Julianna Elizabeth and Robert—also

¹¹³ Taylor, *Historia rodziny*, 6.

¹¹⁴ Urban, "Nieznana szlachta," 164.

¹¹⁵ His coat-of-arms can be described as follows: [Gules], on a chevron [Or] an Eye of Providence [Proper] with pupil [Azure], accompanied by rose [Argent], barbed and seeded [Proper] in base. The crest, recorded on his gravestone, is not listed in the Letters Patent of 1775. It can be described as follows: Issuant from the crest coronet Or, a plume of three ostrich feathers. Note that the colours, in brackets, come from the arms depicted in the Letters Patent.

¹¹⁶ Taylor, *Historia rodziny*, 1–14.

married Scots. In 1716, Julianna Elizabeth married George Turner, a merchant in Cracow, who took over the Taylor family business, while her brother Robert adopted a military career. Robert was baptised in 1694, his godparents Arthur Forbes, general postmaster of the Crown, and Anna Constantia Forbes, possibly a relative of his mother. In 1741 he was listed as an auditor of the infantry regiment. In 1747 he was promoted to captain, and in 1749 he was a quartermaster of the infantry regiment under Aleksander Prince Lubomirski.

Robert Taylor was married Elizabeth Forsyth, sister of the major of infantry John Forsyth who served in the Crown Army for 47 years. His sons, captain of infantry, later Lieutenant-Colonel Joseph Forsyth, and Fr. John Forsyth, vicar of Kampinos, were naturalised in the same year as Robert and Elizabeth Taylor's sons, Robert John and Joseph. The parents of Elizabeth Taylor née Forsyth and John Forsyth were Robert Forsyth and Elizabeth Gordon of Birkenburn. Robert Forsyth, born in Aberdeen in 1668, reportedly descended from a noble family, and moved to Poland-Lithuania at the end of the seventeenth century. His wife was born in Poland-Lithuania to a family that had lived there for at least the two generations. Elizabeth's grandfather Alexander served in the private army of the Radziwiłł family.¹¹⁷ The family tree appears to have so many connections and branches that even a skilled genealogist would find them perplexing.

A similarly wide circle of blood relations existed among the descendants of George Gordon, naturalised in 1676.¹¹⁸ His descendants were most probably related to other Scots of equal social standing: the Fergusons, the Rosses of Ankerville, the Livingstones, and other branches of the Gordon family. This feature of Scottish families was not true only of families living in the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth. The letters of Patrick Gordon of Auchleuchries and his family circle reveal a similar consanguinity among Scots in Russia.¹¹⁹ The same was true of the Scots in Sweden.¹²⁰

The genealogies of noble families indicate that once a Scottish immigrant achieved noble status he quickly embraced Polish language and culture by marrying a class equal of native origin. Robert John and Joseph Taylor, who received naturalisation in 1775, are prime examples of that process. While their parents and grandparents maintained close ties

¹¹⁷ Ibid., 11–12.

¹¹⁸ Wdowiszewski, "Regesty przywilejów indygenatu," 41.

¹¹⁹ P. Dukes, "Patrick Gordon and his family circle: Some unpublished letters," *Scottish Slavonic Review* X (1988): 19–49.

¹²⁰ Grosjean, "Scots and the Swedish State," 141.

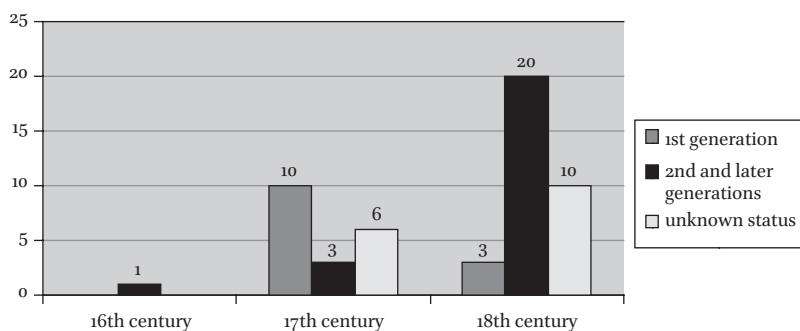


Fig. 7.3. Ennoblements, naturalisations and grants of title by generation.

with Scottish compatriots, Robert John married Anna Zofia Unrug, and Joseph married Zofia Moraczewska, both native noblewomen.¹²¹ A similar trend was recorded among their descendants. In the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth, once they were admitted to the ranks of the nobility, they could marry other nobles regardless of their ethnic or religious background. In contrast, in Russia, nobles of foreign origin could not marry local noblewomen until they themselves accepted the Orthodox faith.¹²² Some Scottish noblemen who served in the army married women from families in their professional circle, often daughters of other officers. Robert John Taylor's wife, Anna Zofia Unrug, was the daughter of Baltazar Władysław Unrug, standard-bearer of the Saxon infantry regiment.¹²³ Robert John's sister Elizabeth was married to Józef Ebelswicz, officer of Captain Bystrzanowski's dragoon company. Ebelswicz and the Taylor brothers served at the time of Ebelswicz's marriage in the same unit. The process of marrying natives is evident assimilation.¹²⁴

The marital trends displayed by the Scots admitted to the ranks of Polish nobility deserve closer inspection. Of the 54 Scots ennobled or naturalised in Poland between the sixteenth and the eighteenth centuries, only 23 are known to have married. Another two are known to have belonged to the Catholic clergy, and a third died a bachelor. The marital status of the remaining Scots is unknown.¹²⁵ The following analysis should be treated, therefore, as an indicator of trends rather than a definitive

¹²¹ Taylor, *Historia rodziny*, 17, 119–120.

¹²² Fedosov, "The First Russian Bruces," 63.

¹²³ Taylor, *Historia rodziny*, 17.

¹²⁴ *Ibid.*, 13–14, 16, 119–120.

¹²⁵ See Appendix XV.

depiction, as the source material is defective. The spouses of Scotsmen and their descendants are not always listed and often their nationality is impossible to ascertain. Nevertheless, some interesting observations can be made.

It seems that the Scots ennobled or naturalised during the seventeenth century married fellow Scots or their descendants. The data collected from the second half of the seventeenth century shows that marriages occurred not just primarily between Scottish men and Scottish women, but also between Protestants. While the groom was more likely a first-generation migrant, this was not the case for the brides. Examination of the ancestry of the Scottish brides reveals that their parents tended to be Scots already living in Poland-Lithuania. Such was the case of Sophia, daughter of John (Johan) Arnot of Kiejdany, who in 1652 married George Bennet (Georgius Bennett *Scotus*).¹²⁶ It appears that just as in this instance, the bride was often of non-noble rank. Some of these Scottish women, like Sophia née Plummert (possibly Plumber or Plummer), were married more than once, and usually to other Scotsmen in the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth.¹²⁷ In the eighteenth century, the majority of Scots married local noblewomen. Such marriages involved sons or descendants of Scots were already Catholics or had recently converted.

The data reveal characteristics similar to that recorded among the Scottish expatriate community of noble rank in Sweden.¹²⁸ It demonstrates that it was most common for Scots who migrated to Poland-Lithuania, and who were admitted to the nobility, to marry their compatriots. On the other hand, ennobled or naturalised sons and daughters of Scottish expatriates more often chose Polish spouses who usually were of noble status. This was also true of their offspring. The changes in matrimonial patterns reflect the gradual replacement of a largely Scottish circle with a Polish one. The higher rate of integration that took place during the second half of the eighteenth century, which can also be observed among the Scots belonging to other social strata, confirms the gradual decline of the former community, which identified itself by its Scottish origins.

Not much is known about Scottish noblewomen in Poland-Lithuania. Either the names of women in general were omitted from vital records altogether, or women were known only by their Christian names. In times

¹²⁶ "LC 11 February 1652," LVIA Fond 606, Ap. 1, bb. 144–150, fol. 63v.

¹²⁷ Sophia married Captain Fergusson and, after his death, George Gordon, see "Marriage record of 22 January 1662," LVIA Fond 606, Ap. 1, bb. 144–150, fol. 67.

¹²⁸ Grosjean, "Scots and the Swedish State," 140–142.

of arranged marriages, to enable Scottish noblemen to marry their social equals, it is probable that there were Scottish noblewomen among the migrants. But not all Scottish noblewomen arrived in the Commonwealth to become brides of their compatriots. The most famous Scottish noblewoman in Poland-Lithuania, Catherine, daughter of George Gordon, 2nd Marquis of Huntly, and twin sister of Colonel Henry, arrived as a maid of honour at the court of Ludwika Maria Gonzaga, Queen of Poland. In 1659 she married Count Jan Andrzej Morsztyn, the grand treasurer of Poland, a diplomat and one of the most important Polish poets of the seventeenth century.¹²⁹ Thus Catherine married into one of the most prominent noble families of Poland. One of her great-grandsons, Stanisław August Poniatowski (1732–1798), was elected king of Poland.¹³⁰

Genealogical data, like that available for the Forsyth or Taylor families, shows that while in the seventeenth century the naturalised or ennobled men were more often than not first-generation migrants, the eighteenth century grants went to men who were second- or third- generation Polish-Scots (Fig. 7.3). For example, Ferguson, naturalised in 1790, was second generation; Mier, naturalised in 1727, was third generation; the Taylors, naturalised in 1775, were third generation; and the Lindsays, ennobled in 1764, were, at least second- or third- generation immigrants.

Military Service and the Nobility

There is sufficient evidence to demonstrate that military service facilitated integration. A career in the Commonwealth's army helped a number of Scots not only to gain substantial fortunes and landed estates, marry social equals and join the ranks of nobility, but also to acquire positions of authority and prestige. Not surprisingly the genealogies of noble families of Scottish origin reveal that a military career was predominant not only among the recipients of noble status, but also among their descendants. The Taylor family tree shows that Robert John, lieutenant of Dragoons (1759),

¹²⁹ J. M. Bulloch, *The Gordons in Poland: 'Marquises of Huntly' with a line in Saxony* (Peterhead: 1932), xiv, 107.

¹³⁰ Patrick Gordon met Morsztyn (Morstein) at the court of Jerzy Sebastian Lubomirski in 1659. In his diary, Gordon acknowledged that Morsztyn and Catherine Gordon were engaged, see Gordon, "Diary 1635–1659," fol. 240v; Bulloch, *The Gordons in Poland*, 29–34; A. Przyboś, "Henryk Gordon de Huntley," in PSB, vol. VII, 302; S. F. Medeksza, *Stefana Franciszka z Prószyca Medekszy sekretarza Jana Kazimierza, Sędziego Ziemskiego Kowieńskiego księga pamiątnicza wydarzeń zaszłych na Litwie 1654–1668* (Kraków: 1875), 173.

colonel of the 7th Infantry Regiment (1777), and finally major-general of the Crown Army (1788), naturalised in 1775 with his brother Joseph, captain of a Dragoon regiment, had among his descendants several army officers.¹³¹ Robert's son Charles (c. 1769–1828) was a lieutenant and adjutant in his father's 7th Infantry Regiment.¹³² The practice of serving under one's father or relative was characteristic of the family relations among Scots, and not only in Poland-Lithuania. Patrick Gordon used his position as a general to help the advancement of his third son Theodore, ensign in his regiment, later a colonel (1709).¹³³ Charles Taylor's son and Robert John's grandson, Robert (1807–1861), was a lieutenant of Cavalry.¹³⁴

It seems that no other noble family of Scottish origin had so many military men among its members as the Gordons, descendants of George Gordon, captain (1662–70), major of Dragoons (1673), naturalised in 1676. While not much is known about his sons, five out of six of his known grandsons led army careers. Among them was John James Gordon (d. 1713), a companion-in-arms to the lieutenant of the hussars unit. As a hussar, John James took part in the relief of Vienna in 1683. Later, he held the elevated rank of *koniuszy* (equerry) in King John Sobieski's court. Of the other four, three, George (II), James and Marcian were captains, and Joseph served as major in the Crown Army. In the following generations, there were other army officers who served and distinguished themselves in Poland-Lithuania and found employment in the Saxon Army.¹³⁵

Scottish officers of noble birth, possibly because of their social status and good education, were often also used in mediation and various missions. Jan III Sobieski sent John Low, the royal servitor, to Denmark to purchase military equipment and reclaim Polish vessels in order to turn them into battleships.¹³⁶

With their wide connections in influential circles, among high-ranking officers, office bearers, court officials and nobility in general, some officers of Scottish noble descent were also used as spies. As they had status and networks, they were used not only by the Polish-Lithuanian

¹³¹ They were sons of Robert Taylor who, in 1747, was listed as a captain of the Crown Army, see Taylor, *Historia rodziny*, 9–13, 15–39, 119–120.

¹³² *Ibid.*, 43–70.

¹³³ Robertson, *Passages*, xxii.

¹³⁴ Taylor, *Historia rodziny*, 86–89.

¹³⁵ Bulloch, *Gordons in Poland*, 26–29.

¹³⁶ Biegańska, "Żołnierze szkoccy," 96.

Commonwealth, but also, in a much greater capacity, by Sweden.¹³⁷ One of the best spies working for Poland-Lithuania at the Swedish court was Andrew Keith the Elder (d. 1602), Baron of Dingwall.¹³⁸ Although it is very difficult to reconstruct his biography, it is clear that he was among the Scottish officers in Sweden in about 1568. In 1574 he became commandant of Vadstena castle and was granted the title of baron. Keith was a strong supporter of the house of Vasa. Biegańska has uncovered documents that suggest Keith was used by Zygmunt III as a spy for the Poles during this period. It would appear that he was the head of an intelligence team comprising another 10 well-educated and highly placed individuals.¹³⁹ In 1597, Keith had also attempted to levy recruits in Scotland for use in Zygmunt's campaign against Duke Karl, but the attempt failed due to lack of finances. Zygmunt III also sent him on a diplomatic mission to Christian IV King of Denmark, to retrieve the Scottish vessel *Złota Gołębica* (Golden Dove), to purchase appropriate arms and to turn it into a galleon.¹⁴⁰

Among the noblemen of Scottish origin for whose military careers helped obtain positions of authority were John James Gordon, captain of hussars in the Polish army who held an office of deputy cup-bearer of Żytomierz;¹⁴¹ Constantine Boswell (Konstanty Bazalski a Bozuel), appointed to the office of esquire carver of Livonia;¹⁴² Colonel-General William (Wilhelm) Mier, commissioned as governor of Cracow and castellan of Słońsk.¹⁴³ Mier's son

¹³⁷ One of such spies was John Fairbairne (alias Johan/Jean Bairnsfather). In 1623 he was sent to London from Gdańsk by the Swedish government with instructions to infiltrate Sir Robert Stewart's pro-Polish circle, which at that time was attempting to raise an anti-Swedish army in Britain, see S. Murdoch, *Network North: Scottish Kin, Commercial and Covert Associations in Northern Europe, 1603–1746* (Leiden: 2006), 264–266, 276–277; SSNE, no. 6285.

¹³⁸ SSNE, no. 1534; cf. A. Biegańska, "The learned Scots in Poland," *Canadian Slavonic Papers* 43, no. 1 (2001): 25.

¹³⁹ Biegańska, "The learned Scots in Poland," 25.

¹⁴⁰ Two other Keiths were also in the Polish service. In 1621 Captain William Keith was asked to raise a levy among Scottish vagabonds and unpropertied men living in Poland-Lithuania. For his service he was granted a hermitage in Lublin. Andrew, William's brother, was a captain of dragoons and took part in a campaign against Gustav Adolph in Prussia, see Biegańska, "Wielka emigracja," 230–231; idem, "Żołnierze szkoccy," 91.

¹⁴¹ Boniecki, *Herbarz polski*, vol. VI, 239.

¹⁴² Ibid., vol. I, 134, annex 89; Uruski, *Rodzina*, vol. I, 112; Wajs, *Materiały genealogiczne*, 18; Wdowiszewski, "Regesty nobilitacji," 84.

¹⁴³ A. Gąsiorowski et al., eds., *Urządnicy kujawscy i dobrzyńscy XIV–XVIII wieku, tom. VI Kujawy i Ziemia Dobrzyńska, Zeszyt 2* (Kórnik: 1990), 99, no. 1829; idem, *Urządnicy województwa krakowskiego XVI–XVIII wieku, tom. IV, Małopolska, Zeszyt 2* (Kórnik: 1990), nos. 629, 841; J. A. Gierowski, "Mier Wilhelm, hr. własnego (zm. 1758)," in PSB, vol. XX, 804–806; Konarski, *Szlachta kalwińska*, 193; Uruski, *Rodzina*, vol. XI, 17.

John (Jan), was the *starost* of Hermanów, Wilków and Tyszowiec and castellan of Livonia.¹⁴⁴ Lieutenant-Colonel Archibald Glover became esquire carver of Livonia¹⁴⁵ and rotamaster Nikodem Middleton was nominated for sentinel of Kowno.¹⁴⁶

Scoto-Polish Nobility at the End of the Eighteenth Century

An examination of the Scottish and Scoto-Polish nobles serving in the Polish-Lithuanian army, and ennobled or naturalised families, is useful in explaining some general features of the ways the Scots settled in the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth between the sixteenth and the eighteenth centuries. The available data show that, of 63 men who received grants between the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, the descendants of only 17 managed to register their noble lineage during the nineteenth century in provinces that were formally part of the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth.¹⁴⁷ The figures show that only about one-third of all grantees were able to settle permanently in Poland-Lithuania, establish their families and retain noble status into the nineteenth century. The reasons for this varied. It is clear that some grantees, such as Colonel Henry Gordon of Huntly and James Jeffereys (Dziafry), did not assimilate and returned to their native land, while others migrated to other European states.¹⁴⁸ Gordon of Coldwell's family established, for example, a branch in Prussia, known as Gordon von Laskovitz.¹⁴⁹ Some Scots may have ended

¹⁴⁴ "Genealogy of Jan Mier (XVII–XVIII w.)," AGAD, MLit. dz. XI, Genealogie nr 53, fols 156, 157; Konarski, *Szlachta kalwińska*, 193; K. Mikulski and A. Rachuba, eds., *Urzędnicy inflanccy XVI–XVIII wieku, tom. IX Inflanty* (Kórnik: 1994), 127, no. 1246; E. Rostworowski, "Mier Jan, hr. własnego (zm. 1790)," in PSB, vol. XX, 802–803; Uruski, *Rodzina*, vol. XI, 17.

¹⁴⁵ AGAD, Dok. Pap. 3471; Boniecki, *Herbarz polski*, vol. VI, 89–90; Mikulski and Rachuba, *Urzędnicy inflanccy*, 162, no. 1722; Niesiecki, *Herbarz polski*, vol. IV, 142–143; Wajs, *Materiały genealogiczne*, 46; Uruski, *Rodzina*, vol. IV, 186.

¹⁴⁶ A. Rachuba, ed., *Deputaci Trybunału Głównego Wielkiego Księstwa Litewskiego 1697–1794* (Warszawa: 2004), 368.

¹⁴⁷ The partitions of the PLC between 1772 and 1795 divided its territory between Austria, Prussia and Russia. Each of those states had its own systems and laws concerning the nobility which, eventually, seriously affected the status of the Polish-Lithuanian nobility. Each made attempts to win over the more influential families by conferring titles, and through a process of registration to take away privileges of the landless and poor nobility.

¹⁴⁸ A. Heymowski, "Udostojnienie herbu Jakuba Dziafry (Jamesa Jeffereys'a) przy pasowaniu na rycerza złotego w 1676 r.," in A. Ciechanowiecki et al., eds., *Materiały do biografii, genealogii i heraldyki polskiej* (Warszawa: 2005), vol. X, 241–243.

¹⁴⁹ J. M. Bulloch, *The Gordons of Coldwells, Ellon, now Respresented by the Family of Von Gordon of Laskowitz* (West Prussia, Peterhead: 1914).

up in Russia among other veterans of military service from Denmark and Sweden.¹⁵⁰ For example, during the siege of Bielaya garrison in 1613, some 32 Scots who were in the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth's service, capitulated to the Muscovites and enlisted in the Tsar's army.¹⁵¹ Many officers bearing names such as Ogilvie (Ogilvy) (ennobled 1790)¹⁵² and Ramsay (Ramza) (ennobled 1676),¹⁵³ are known to have served and gained high rank in the Tsar's army.¹⁵⁴ Among those who successfully integrated, some, such as John (Jan Kanty) Forsyth, Thomas Haliburton-Stuart and James O'Byrne (de Obyrn), failed to establish families simply because they chose to live a celibate life among the Catholic clergy. There were also those, such as Peter Macpharlan (naturalised in 1768), who left no male descendants,¹⁵⁵ and those whose male line, such as Mier¹⁵⁶ and Watson,¹⁵⁷ became extinct by the second or third generation.

¹⁵⁰ I. G. Anderson, *Scotsmen in the Service of the Czars* (Edinburgh: 1990), 44.

¹⁵¹ D. Fedosov, *The Caledonian Connection: Scotland–Russia Ties, the Middle Ages to the Early Twentieth Century* (Aberdeen: 1996), 16.

¹⁵² VL IX, 198, no. 226; VL X, 339, no. 42.

¹⁵³ VL V, 219, no. 83.

¹⁵⁴ Anderson, *Scotsmen in the Service of the Czars*, 54.

¹⁵⁵ Boniecki, *Herbarz Polski*, vol. XI, 183; vol. XIV, 271; vol. XVI, 234. Uruski, *Rodzina*, vol. X, 207.

¹⁵⁶ This family became extinct in its male line in 1885, with the death of Count Charles (Karol) Mier: Konarski, *Szlachta kalwińska*, 193; Uruski, *Rodzina*, vol. XI, 17; Żychliński, *Złota księga*, vol. XXI, 139–142.

¹⁵⁷ Watson family became extinct in its male line in 1852, with the death of Edward Robert Watson: Łoza, *Rodziny polskie*, vol. II, 99–104.

CONCLUSION

SCOTTISH MIGRATION TO THE POLISH-LITHUANIAN COMMONWEALTH FROM THE SIXTEENTH TO EIGHTEENTH CENTURIES REDEFINED

The Scottish migration to the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth has until recently received only peripheral attention in the English-language academic works on migration from Britain. The scholarship has also been patchy. In a number of works, the migrants have been characterised as itinerant poor peddlers, isolated, forgotten young males, scraping an existence in this exotic, hostile and distant location. Yet, one also encounters articles that focus on the achievements of certain individuals, Scots who distinguished themselves in Poland-Lithuania. In attempting to make sense of these conflicting views and to expand our knowledge of the scale and significance of the Scottish migration to the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth between the sixteenth and eighteenth centuries, for this study extensive research in state, municipal, school, church and private records concerning Scots in Poland-Lithuania has been undertaken.

A number of factors existed in Scotland to prompt migration. An unkind climate, lack of markets, shortage of dry and fertile land, ignorance and lack of interest in agricultural technology, poor transport and communication, lack of ready cash, limited investment in industry, and reluctance to learn from abroad, all had a great impact on the Scottish economy and thus on living conditions. Lack of suitable land, strict rules of inheritance and restrictions on who might become a burgher and join a guild meant that many young Scots—younger sons of lesser nobility or small traders, as well as young apprentices—had no optimistic perspectives for their future. These factors led many young Scots in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries to seek their fortune elsewhere. Records show unprecedentedly high levels of population movement from the countryside to urban centres. The growing population of cities created pressures on limited resources. Lack of opportunities created by overpopulation led subsequently to the large-scale migration of Scots to continental Europe and Ulster.¹ The evidence suggests that the migration of Scots

¹ I. E. Whyte, "Population mobility in early modern Scotland," in R. A. Houston and I. D. Whyte, eds, *Scottish Society 1500–1800* (Cambridge: 1989), 41.

to Poland-Lithuania was not fortuitous, but rather was part of a larger Scottish mercantile expansion that started in earnest at the end of the sixteenth century and continued well into the second half of the seventeenth century.

Lured by the prospect of economic opportunity, enterprising younger sons of traders, craftsmen and lower gentry from the eastern coast of Scotland began to migrate to the most commercially significant locations of Scandinavia and the Baltic Sea region. With the tacit support of the Scottish court, which was most likely well aware of the benefits to the kingdom's economy of permitting large-scale migration—it helped to solve the problem of surplus population while allowing able men to gain valuable mercantile expertise—the Scots established thriving communities in places such as Bergen and Stavanger in Norway, and Göteborg and Stockholm in Sweden. The expansion that began in the fifteenth century, and culminated in the first half of the seventeenth century coincided with the increased Scottish migration to Poland-Lithuania and Prussia.

Immigrants who worked their way across the Low Countries, the German coastal provinces and Scandinavia discovered the abundance opportunities for profit in Poland-Lithuania. This seems to have been corroborated by accounts of travellers from Scotland who marvelled at the favourable economic conditions and the profusion of provisions in Poland, which were so scarce at home. They commented on the great quantity of food and resources and the general cheapness of merchandise. The observations of travellers such as Fynes Moryson and Lewes Roberts point to the stagnant structure of Polish commerce and the potential for profit, especially in the countryside.²

Other incentives, such as the existence of a multiethnic society and the relatively easy passage for would-be migrants to this distant location, should also be considered. The freedom of religion certainly offered the immigrants a unique opportunity to practise their faith virtually without fear of being persecuted or ostracised. The patronage of magnate families of religious dissidents was also an incentive for migration.

Establishing that this migration was part of a much larger movement contradicted previously held notions that it took place because strong

² F. Moryson, *An itinerary vvritten by Fynes Moryson Gent. First in the Latine tongue, and then translated by him into English: containing his ten yeeeres trauell through the tyvelue dominions of Germany, Bohmerland, Sweitzerland, Netherland, Denmarke, Poland, Italy, Turkey, France, England, Scotland, and Ireland...* (London: 1617), vol. IV, 70; cf. L. Roberts, *The merchants mappe of commerce wherein, the universall manner and matter of trade, is compendiously handled...* (London: 1638), 176.

competition from the already existing large trading classes in Northern and Western Europe restricted opportunities for advancement there from the mid sixteenth century onwards. Seen as part of a much larger framework, this movement of people highlighted the importance of commercial activity as a motive for migration.

Previous estimates of the size of the Scottish migration, by contemporaries and by historians, were not based on detailed archival work, and were largely impressionistic. It is true, however, that the seventeenth-century sources give general indications about the scale and the timing of the migration. The investigation of this issue undertaken for this study differed from that of earlier studies in several ways. First, it used—to a greater extent than before—Polish and English-language archival and printed sources. Second, it relied on the investigation and comparison of state papers—tax records, rolls of admission to burgher estate or nobility, and registers of birth brief—with parish records. Finally, it set out to revisit some well-known documents and to look at them from a new, much broader perspective. The comparative approach has yielded significant results. A multifaceted study of the demographic situation in the Commonwealth in the 1640s, based on the records of number of key Reformed parishes and on the 1651 Polish Subsidy to Charles II, has allowed a much better understanding of the numerical strength of Scottish communities in particular parishes at that time.

Although it is impossible to establish the exact number of Scottish immigrants in the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth at any given moment, the study permitted a more precise estimate of the total number of Scottish migrants and their descendants. The research concluded that at its peak, in the 1640s, the community consisted of no more than several thousand, perhaps as many as 5000–7000 individuals. Thus the migration was much smaller in scale than contemporary estimates of 30,000–40,000, sometimes repeated in subsequent scholarship. Nevertheless, this is a significant number, in particular when it is considered that a great proportion of it came from the north-east of Scotland, in particular from Aberdeenshire. It is also important when viewed in the context of Scottish migration to Ulster (in the 1630s the Scottish population of Ulster was estimated at 14,000) and elsewhere in the seventeenth century.³

³ M. Perceval-Maxwell, *The Scottish Migration to Ulster in the Reign of James I* (London-New York: 1973), 184–228, 312–314; cf. R. Gillespie, “After the Flight: The Plantation of Ulster,” *History Ireland*, vol. 15, no. 4 (July–August 2007), *The Flight of the Earls*, 44.

Another aspect of the Scottish migration to the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth that has been often ignored or misrepresented is the socio-economic composition of the migration and the reaction of host communities to the activities of the newcomers. The Scots migrating to Poland-Lithuania between the sixteenth and eighteenth centuries were a diverse group of people whose composition, it seems, changed over time. If the peddlers dominated in the pre-1590 period, by the early seventeenth century many of the immigrants were able to move up the social ladder. Gradually, they were able to establish their own businesses in which they employed new immigrants from Scotland, more often than not their own kin. Apart from providing employment for their countrymen, the more successful migrants were responsible for creating merchant networks throughout the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth and beyond its borders. In the last decades of the sixteenth century these merchants formed the nucleus of the community by taking over national guilds, the brotherhoods that gathered together individuals of a specific ethnic identity and religious creed—Scottish Protestants—and with a common interest in trading.

The changing interests of their members, specifically the more affluent Scots, transformed the brotherhoods over time. Even if in the early seventeenth century a brotherhood could be characterised as an ethnically based merchant guild—an organisation that encompassed secular and ecclesiastical spheres of activity, over the next decades the organisation evolved into religious brethren—groups regulating the conduct of a community of faith. This process was illustrated using the example of the so-called Scottish Brotherhood of Lublin. A new look at the archival sources and the previously misinterpreted ‘Green Book’ revealed that by the 1680s the ‘Scottish Nation’ of Lublin was no more than an ethnic-based religious fraternity involved in the life of the local Reformed parish.

The research has shown that the more industrious merchants were able to work their way up into the local structures, obtain civic rights and/or membership of local guilds. Young apprentices working for them typically turned to peddling to become part of a much more complex mercantile hierarchy. The examples from the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth confirmed Murdoch’s observation that young men, peddlers and factors, tended to work for merchants who, in turn, often worked for larger syndicates. The Scottish peddlers tended to operate from private houses, take their goods directly to their clients and carry on their business on credit or in exchange for other commodities. Such operations created few expenses, which allowed them to sell the same goods as their competitors,

the native merchants, at a cheaper rate.⁴ Undercutting of prices led to tensions between the Scots and local shopkeepers. As a result, Scots were the subject of regulations in many towns of the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth. Academics have over emphasised the hostility between the migrants from Scotland and the host community by overlooking the fact that the same decrees targeted all foreigners involved in a similar type of commercial activity, not just the Scots, and also that often the decrees were not enforced.

The register of the 1651 Polish Subsidy, though incomplete, provided further evidence that not all Scots were poor, as some of the previous studies would imply. In fact, large financial disparities divided the Scottish community. Although more than half of the Scots could be classified as petty merchants, small traders or paupers, one-third of the group comprised wealthy individuals whose assets were valued at above 1000 zł.

The register and other sources show great mobility on the part of Scottish merchants. Some conducted business beyond own municipality or province, extending their trade to other parts of Europe: Hungary, Muscovy, Saxony, and Bavaria. The documents also reveal the types of goods imported by Scots: haberdashery, iron goods and textiles. Among the exported items agricultural products dominated, especially cereals and forestry goods. The wills of Scots reveal that in addition to the revenues gathered through trading, a large number of Scots were involved in money lending. In some instances this activity accounted for more than 35 percent of revenue raised by a particular individual.⁵ The value of merchandise carried by Scots was usually twice the value of cash at hand. Likewise, the value of investments was greater than the value of their other assets. Money acquired by Scots was not only quickly reinvested, but also a large proportion of it ended in the hands of charitable organisations both in Scotland and in the Commonwealth.

The economic benefits of the migration for their homeland are difficult to assess properly. Similarly, it is hard to assess the full impact of Scottish trading on the development of commerce in Poland-Lithuania. Judging from the reaction of the native merchants to Scots, it is safe to assume that the introduction of free-market competition must have had

⁴ S. Murdoch, "Scotland, Europe and the English 'Missing Link'," *History Compass* 5 issue 3 (2007): 895.

⁵ A. Biegańska, "Wielka emigracja Szkotów w Polsce druga połowa XVI—koniec XVII wieku," (PhD Thesis, Uniwersytet Śląski, Katowice, 1974), 193–194, fn 887.

considerable influence on the old system of commerce.⁶ Consequently, it is not surprising to find that the most industrious of the Scots managed to capture the attention of the court and in recognition of their commercial ingenuity and success were elevated to the ranks of royal purveyors, an honour reserved only for the most talented and trustworthy merchants of the Commonwealth.

The current research has shown that apart from men partaking in commercial activities, among the migrants there were mercenaries, craftsmen, clergymen, scholars and students. Although collectively their numbers were not very high, they too played an important part in the expatriate community. Of prime importance was their role in social networking, especially since many of them maintained close links with their homeland.

The number of genuine refugees among the immigrants is difficult to establish, as the information available relates primarily to more prominent individuals, such as mentioned members of the clergy. It is equally impossible to establish how many Scottish mercenaries served under Polish-Lithuanian command. While the list of the officers can be accurately reconstructed, it is unclear whether all men serving under them were Scots, whether all attempts to recruit them were successful, or how many were re-hired for different campaigns. It is quite clear, however, that they were highly regarded by Polish commanders and that in the past their numbers have been exaggerated.

Documents such as birth briefs, registers of admission to civic rights, rolls of testimonials and parish records indicate that immigrants came from diverse regions of Scotland; however, more than one-third of them appear to have originated from Aberdeen and Aberdeenshire. The evidence shows that the majority came from larger municipal centres such as Aberdeen or Edinburgh, or the parishes near those cities. Of note is the absence in the records of migrants from the north and north-west shires, namely Caithness, Sutherland, Ross and Cromarty, Invernesshire, Nairnshire, Morayshire, Banffshire, Argyll and Bute, and Western and Orkney Islands. Yet it is likely that Highlanders were also involved in this migration. Evidence suggests that after migrating from the rural areas to the port towns of the Lowlands, some of them subsequently moved overseas.

⁶ A similar observation was made by Bogucka, see M. Bogucka, "Obcy kupcy osiedli w Gdańsku w pierwszej połowie XVII w.," *Zapiski Historyczne* 37, no. 2 (1972): 70.

The documents show that wealthier, more settled Scots played a very important role in the migration. They not only provided employment for smaller traders and factors, more often than not, their countrymen, but were also responsible for creating merchant networks. While in the last decades of the sixteenth century the group worked hand in hand with their poorer compatriots in establishing the brotherhoods, by the 1620s when they had managed to be accepted into the local structures, obtain civic rights and/or membership of local guilds, such arrangement was no longer in their interest. Just like the locals, the more affluent Scottish merchants eventually turned against their potential competition—among them the new, poor Scottish migrants. It appears that this social conflict had an impact on determining the boundaries of the group and on the evolution of the brotherhoods.

The research has provided fresh evidence to support the notion that throughout the period Protestantism (Presbyterianism and Episcopalianism) was the dominant confession of the Scottish immigrants and that Catholics, who fled their homeland to avoid persecutions, formed a far less significant part of the movement. Wherever the Protestants decided to congregate, they attempted to separate themselves from the larger Reformed community by having their own preachers, communions, prayer meetings and conventicles. Their actions were not that much different from the conduct of other ethnic groups residing in sixteenth- and early seventeenth-century Poland-Lithuania. The French Huguenots in Gdańsk, for example, established their own chapel (1688), and later became parishioners of St Elizabeth's church, in which they held their own services. Likewise, from 1687 they had their own church in Königsberg known as the Französisch-Reformierte Kirche.⁷ The Scottish Protestants, just as any other ethnic group, gravitated towards those few parishes where larger groups of their compatriots already resided. Apart from being places of worship, such churches, like those located in Gdańsk

⁷ M. Komasyński, "Działalność kupców francuskich w Gdańsku w XVII–XVIII wieku," *Roczniki dziejów społecznych i gospodarczych* 16 (1954): 239–280; Z. Szultka, "W sprawie obecności uchodźców religijnych z Francji w Gdańsku w XVII–XVIII wieku," *Rocznik Gdański* 47 (1987): 251–260; cf. K. Bem, "Huguenots in 18th century Poland. Refuge in a Catholic country of limited tolerance" (paper presented to the 3rd International Huguenot Conference, Huguenot Society of South Africa, Stellenbosch and Franschoek, 25–27 September 2002). I am grateful to the author, who kindly send me the paper in the pre-print version.

or near Cracow, acted as community centres where personal, social and commercial networks were shaped and maintained.⁸

Detailed investigation of the church records enabled a much better understanding of the size of different Scottish congregations. This, in turn, prompted speculation about the whereabouts of the dozen or so Scottish brotherhoods that reportedly operated in Poland-Lithuania at the beginning of the eighteenth century. The analysis concluded that apart from the most numerous Scottish communities in Gdańsk, Elbląg, Cracow, Kiejdany and Lublin, Scottish brotherhoods, because of their very close ties with the Kirk, may also have existed in several other locations with slightly smaller numbers of Scots: Poznań, Wilno, Zamość, Tarnów and Bełżyce.

The survey also challenges the notion that Scottish communities, and specifically those in Lithuania, were somehow cut off from their countrymen elsewhere. Although the Scots were found in greater numbers only in a couple of parishes, it would be wrong to adopt Eriksonas' notion, evident in the title of his article, and later endorsed by Žirgulis, that a majority of them resided in Kiejdany, an isolated Scottish 'colony' lost in a remote and distant world. The evidence shows that Murdoch was closer to the truth in suggesting that the Scots of Kiejdany were primarily lost to modern scholarship. Given the nature of their commercial activity, kinship and habitual solidarity with members of their own nation, the Scots of Kiejdany were in close contact with their compatriots in other parts of the Commonwealth and, to a degree, with the communities they had left behind.⁹

The parish records confirmed that Scotsmen, because of the type of professional activities they were involved in, were indeed very mobile. The appearances of Scots from Cracow or Lublin in church records of Gdańsk or Wilno, not only reinforced the notion that family ties were

⁸ This observation seems to be confirmed by the findings of Ganga. Ganga examined the role of the Catholic Mission and the ethnic church in the construction and reinforcement of feelings of Italianness for Italian immigrants living in Nottingham, England, in the second half of the twentieth century, see D. Ganga, "Religion and identity: Families of Italian origin in the Nottingham area, UK," *Migration Letters* 2, no. 2 (2005): 144–152.

⁹ L. Eriksonas, "The lost colony of Scots: unravelling overseas connections in a Lithuanian town," in A. I. Macinnes, T. Riis and F. G. Pedersen, eds., *Ships Guns and Bibles in the North Sea and the Baltic States, c. 1350–c. 1700* (East Linton: 2000), 173–187; R. Žirgulis, "The Scottish community in Kėdainiai c. 1630–c. 1750," in A. Grosjean and S. Murdoch, eds., *Scottish Communities Abroad in the Early Modern Period* (Leiden: 2005), 225–247; S. Murdoch, "The Scottish Community in Kėdainiai (Kiejdany) in its Scandinavian and Baltic Context," Paper presented to the Colloquium Balticum Conference, Kėdainiai, June 2001, 18.

certainly important to Scots, but also show the fallacy of portraying the Scottish communities in the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth as isolated 'colonies'. More than anything else, the church records and other documents reveal that the communities were not only in touch with each other through a variety of kinship, commercial, confessional and social networks, and that the links extended all the way back to Scotland.

The parish records also provided much detail about the position of women migrants. Although not as numerous as men, Scottish women were always part of the group. Large imbalances between the sexes were especially evident at the early stages of the Scottish migration to Poland-Lithuania, but this changed in the early seventeenth century. The analysis of the lists of communicants allowed us to establish that the ratio of resident parishioners to visitors was as high as 1:2. The existence of infrequent visitors, predominantly single men, created a false impression of a very large imbalance between the sexes. The new evidence has shown that many of the Scots were married and that their spouses were Scottish migrants or second-generation Scots. By the 1630s, women of Scottish descent comprised perhaps as much as 30 per cent of the Scottish expatriate community. With the change in patterns of migration from sojourns to more permanent residence, many women arrived in the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth directly from Scotland with the purpose of marrying. Kinship proved to be the most important link upon which the Scots would rely when building their social structures and the records show that many women migrants were from the same areas of Scotland as their bridegrooms. Married or widowed, women proved to be an indispensable part of their community, working to form, define and maintain the ethnic identity of the group.

Clinging to language, customs, religion and maintaining organised or informal links with compatriots helped the Scots to retain their ethnic identity, in some cases for several generations. When assimilation into Polish society occurred, the offspring of the immigrants seemed to be well aware of their origins and often acquired command of the language of their forefathers. Many also retained their confessional alliance to the Reformed faith. Throughout the period, they paid particular attention to looking after their ministers, schools and hospitals. The financial support given to the Reformed educational institutions, as well as the number of young Scots enrolled in them, suggests the level of emphasis placed on learning. It also shows that the immigrants held deeply to ideals of the Scottish Protestantism, which, adopting the humanitarian ideas of George Buchanan and Andrew Melville, strove to make schooling more accessible,

effective and practical. Believing that education develops the intelligence and the character of the individual, allowing one to render the best possible service to one's community, the Kirk aimed to set up schools in all of its parishes to bring the education within the reach of all.¹⁰ The significant ongoing spiritual and financial contributions of Scottish Protestants give much weight to argument that their presence was important in the religious history of the Reformed Church of Poland-Lithuania.

While some enterprising individuals also contributed in other areas, most notably in commerce, the economic benefits of the immigration for their adopted homeland are difficult to assess properly and will require further research. The impact of their trading on the development of commerce in Scotland also remains uncertain.

The close examination of the fate of Scots admitted to the upper ranks of Polish-Lithuanian society gives a more complete understanding of the number of naturalisations and ennoblements during the period 1593–1795. By undertaking this study, a more comprehensive image of the migration as a whole has emerged. Most importantly, the elevation to the ranks of nobility has been linked to successful assimilation.

The most common rationale behind ennoblements and naturalisations was to reward services to the Crown, most notably services of the military kind. With the military developments in the seventeenth century, the never-ending military campaigns on the Commonwealth's borders and the increased need for infantry, the court and the *Sejm* alike were looking to entice able organisers and tacticians into their service. It seems that at times, military service went almost hand in hand with naturalisation or ennoblement. The possibilities of enrichment through salaries, grants of land in lieu of salary, or grants of naturalisations/ennoblements, not to mention booty or other, more questionable ways of gaining wealth, must have acted as a formidable enticement to migrate. The large proportion of grants to Scots who made their names on battlefield is testimony to that state of affairs. This was especially true of immigrants of the laird class, as shown by the number of naturalisations, but also men of lower status who were prepared to embrace a mercenary career.

In the eighteenth century, one can also trace individuals who were rewarded for services of a different kind, such as financiers and entrepreneurs who had shown support to the court. The rate of military men among those promoted to noble status was constant throughout the

¹⁰ I. G. Anderson, *Scotsmen in the Service of the Czars* (Edinburgh: 1990), 17.

period under investigation, but other characteristics tend to vary. While first-generation Scots tended to receive the majority of grants in the seventeenth, the names of second- and third- generation Scots tend to appear in the eighteenth-century letters patent. One or two individuals entered the nobility as a result of service to powerful noble families. The probable sponsorship of the Scottish Presbyterians by the champions of the Protestant cause, the Radziwiłł family, may be a prime example. This situation in the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth allowed for social advancement from a wide range of social ranks and positions. Those already regarded as of noble background often achieved advancement through naturalisation.

The proportionally larger number of such grants, in comparison to pure ennoblements, may suggest that among the migrants there was a larger group of younger sons of lairds, forced to migrate because of the primogeniture rules in Scotland. On the other hand, the example of the naturalisation of George Guthrie and the flawed documentation was used to obtain the grant may indicate an alternative, but not mutually exclusive, explanation. The discrepancy may have been a result of misunderstanding of noble status in both countries, problems with translations, or even fraud. Although the ultimate prize in social advancement for individuals of non-noble origins was ennoblement, it appears that a number of Scots managed to enter the ranks of Polish nobility in an informal way. This in turn indicates tacit approval of the court and the noble estate of the practice of acquisition nobility status through formally illegal ways, through assumption, acquiring of landed property or marriage. It is also clear that such a practice occurred more often at the frontiers of the Commonwealth, in less populous areas, and often with the support of magnates or other influential families. The practice seems also to have promoted a greater rate of integration.

The pattern of admission to noble rank in the Commonwealth is comparable only with the situation in Sweden, where the state was intent on building up the nobility and bringing in foreign investors to aid in her territorial expansion, and thus was keen to promote Scots. During the period 1611–97, some 85 Scots were ennobled there.¹¹ Likewise, the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth, as Patrick Gordon hinted, could be seen as a destination favoured by Scots seeking social improvement.¹² The variety

¹¹ A. Grosjean, "Scots and the Swedish State: Diplomacy, Military Service and Ennoblement 1611–1660," (PhD Thesis, University of Aberdeen, Aberdeen, 1998), 109–145.

¹² Gordon, "Diary 1659–1667," fols 129v–130.

of opportunities for such improvement should be seen as one of the pull factors in the migration.

As to the causes of the disappearance of Scots as an ethnic group in Poland-Lithuania, there was no single reason. There may have been a combination of causes: assimilation, remigration, ageing of the community and the changing political and economic situation in the eighteenth-century Commonwealth. Of all the reasons, one singular event seems to stand out—the Swedish Deluge (1655–1660). The documents revealed that many of the Scots, for example those who resided in Gdańsk or Cracow, sided with the invaders. As a result, a number of them were forced to depart with the enemy once hostilities were over. It is also clear that conversion to Roman Catholicism, acceptance of civic rights, admission to the nobility, intermarriage or settlement in more remote parts of the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth helped to speed up the assimilation process. The case study of Scots ennobled or naturalised as Polish nobility has shown that by the end of the eighteenth century Scots ceased to exist as a separate ethnic group and that many became unaware of their origins altogether.

The expatriate Scottish community in Poland-Lithuania was as diverse as the society back in Scotland, and it was subject to gradual change over time. Its continuous presence as a separate ethnic group in the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth over the period of some 200 years attests to the fact that this geographically and culturally distant location offered them far better opportunities than those found in their homeland. Dispelling many of the myths attributed to the situation of the Scottish migrants in Poland-Lithuania has allowed a reinterpretation of the character and the role of the migration in the history of both nations.

APPENDIX I

LIST OF SCOTTISH AND ENGLISH CONTRIBUTORS TO THE 1651 POLISH SUBSIDY

Source

“Exactio decimae partis substantiarum a mercatoribus cateris/q/ue nationis Scothiae et Anglicanae hominibus in Regno Poloniae degentibus iuxta ordinationem constitutionis comitalis die mensis Decembris 1650 pro subsidio serenissimi magnae Britanniae regis laudatae. Expedita Radomii sub tempus tribunalis die 13 mensis Martii anno 1651.”

AGAD sig. ASK I 134, fols 1–39.

Notes

- (Andrys) First names or surnames shown in brackets indicate the original spelling as per source document. The names without brackets represent an attempt to establish their modern spelling.
- Scott ? (Szot) Since it is impossible to establish if the name *Szot*, *Skot* or *Scotus* indicate the original surname or nationality (for example, it is known that David *Scotus* of Kcynia is the same as David Urquhard), in such cases modern spelling has been shown, followed by a question mark.
- Zareiski [sic] If the identification of some surnames has proven too difficult, original spelling has been shown, for example: Zareiski.
- G&S Z. Guldon and L. Stępkowski, “Szkoci i Anglicy w Koronie w połowie XVII wieku,” *Kieleckie Studia Historyczne* (1977): 31–61.
- P&G A.B. Pernal and R.P. Gasse, “The 1651 Polish Subsidy to the exiled Charles II,” *Oxford Slavonic Papers*, vol. xxxii (1999): 1–50.
- pow. powiat (An administrative district. An equivalent to a county.)
- zi. ziemia (A district.)

Place	Surname	First name	Amount	G&S	P&G	Total
LESSER POLAND (MAŁOPOLSKA)						
KRAKÓW PALATINATE (WOJEWÓDZTWO KRAKOWSKIE)						
Cracow (Kraków)	Blackhall (Blakal)	Robert (Albertus)	2038 zł 24 gr ¹	361	2	
	Carmichael (Karmichell)	James (Iacobus)	1800 zł	360	1	

¹ The amount of tax paid by Blackhall has been recorded in the register as 2037 zł 15 gr. Pernal and Gasse noted an error in the computation done by the tax collectors, a deficit of

Table (*cont.*)

<i>Place</i>	<i>Surname</i>	<i>First name</i>	<i>Amount</i>	<i>G&S</i>	<i>P&G</i>	<i>Total</i>
	Carmichael (Karmichel)	James (Iacobo)	960 zł ² (they paid together)	370	1	
	Blackhall (Bladzkal)	Robert (Alberto)		370	2	
	Corbet or Corbett (Korbet)	James (Iacobus)	50 zł	367	8	
	Cruikshank (Kruckszang)	George (Georgius)	600 zł	363	4	
	Cruikshank (Krukessian)	James (Georgio)	240 zł ³ (they paid together)	371	4	
	Fraser (Frazer)	Andrew (Andrea)		371	3	
	Dixon	Alexander (Alexandro)	840 zł	369	9	
	Frailer (Frede) ⁴	Abraham (Abrahamus)	60 zł	364	5	
	Fraser (Frasser)	Andrew (Andreas)	870 zł	362	3	

1 zł 5 gr 7 d. According to them, Blackhall should have paid a tithe amounting to 2038 zł 20 gr 7 d. Another document dated 1 March 1651 shows that in fact Blackhall deposited 679 and 1/2 Imperial Thalers and 9 Polish grosz, that should convert at the exchange rate used at that time in Cracow—1 thaler was calculated at 3 zł—to 2038 zł 24 gr. This sum has been shown above rather than the erroneous one recorded by tax collectors in the register, see A. B. Pernal and R.P. Gasse, “The 1651 Polish Subsidy to the exiled Charles II, vol. xxxii (1999):20; PRSP, 81.

² Guldon and Stępkowski list Iacobus Karmichell (#360) and Jakub Karmichel (#370), both of Cracow, as two separate identities, while Pernal and Gasse list them as the same person (#1). Similarly Guldon and Stępkowski list Albertus Blakal (#361) and Wojciech Bladzkal (#370), both of Kraków, as two separate identities, while Pernal and Gasse list them as the same person (#2). There is no explanation given about the decision to merge those two individuals into the same identity, see Z. Guldon and L. Stępkowski, “Szkoci i Anglicy w Koronie w połowie XVII wieku,” 52, 58; Pernal and Gasse, “The 1651 Polish subsidy,” 33–35.

³ Guldon and Stępkowski list Georgius Kruckszang (#363) and Jakub Krukessian (#371), both of Cracow, as two separate identities, while Pernal and Gasse list them as the same individual (#4). Similarly Guldon and Stępkowski list Andrzej Frazer (#362) and Andreas Frasser (#371), both of Cracow, as two separate identities, while Pernal and Gasse list them as the same person (#2). There is no explanation given about the reason for merging those two individuals into the same person, see Guldon and Stępkowski, “Szkoci i Anglicy w Koronie,” 52, 58; Pernal and Gasse, “The 1651 Polish subsidy,” 33–35.

⁴ Pernal and Gasse believe that the modern reading of that name is ‘Froode’, see Pernal and Gasse, “The 1651 Polish subsidy,” 21.

Table (*cont.*)

<i>Place</i>	<i>Surname</i>	<i>First name</i>	<i>Amount</i>	<i>G&S</i>	<i>P&G</i>	<i>Total</i>
	Hewison née unknown (Huysen) ⁵	Anna	exempt from tax	368	10	
	Hewison (Huysen)	William (Wilhelm)	exempt from tax	—	11	
	Hunter (Huntter)	Casper (Gaspar)	9 zł	365	6	
	Torrie (Thore)	William (Wilhelmus)	300 zł	366	7	
	Wall (Walls)	Peter (Piotr)	5 zł ⁶	372	338	7772 zł 24 gr
Mstów ⁷	Alwyn (Jliuin)	William (Wilhelm)	90 zł	—	13	
	Veitch (Wiecz)	John (Ian)	500 zł	—	12	590 zł
			TOTAL:			8362 zł 24 gr
SANDOMIERZ PALATINATE (WOJEWÓDZTWO SANDOMIERSKIE)						
Chmielnik, pow. wiślicki	French (Fremtz)	Samuel	45 zł	347	82	
	Hilton (Hiton)	Albert (Woyciech)	40 zł	345	80	
	Murray (Moray)	John (Ian)	50 zł	344	79	
	Ross	John (Jan)	30 zł	346	81	165 zł
Iłża, pow. radomski	Scrymgeour (Scringier)	John (Ian)	exempt from tax	348	76	—

⁵ Guldon and Stępkowski list him as 'Huyten', while Pernal and Gasse list him as 'Huysen', see Guldon and Stępkowski, "Szkoci i Anglicy w Koronie," 58; Pernal and Gasse, "The 1651 Polish subsidy," 21.

⁶ Guldon and Stępkowski list Piotr Wattasz of Serock (#251) and the above mentioned Petro Walls, whom they list under Cracow (#372), as two separate identities, while Pernal and Gasse list him as the same person (#338). There is no explanation given about the reason for merging those two individuals into the same person, see Guldon and Stępkowski, "Szkoci i Anglicy w Koronie," 52, 58; Pernal and Gasse, "The 1651 Polish subsidy," 33–35.

⁷ Guldon and Stępkowski make no reference to Mstów or the tithe paid by Alwyn and Veitch, see Guldon and Stępkowski, "Szkoci i Anglicy w Koronie," 57–58.

Table (*cont.*)

<i>Place</i>	<i>Surname</i>	<i>First name</i>	<i>Amount</i>	<i>G&S</i>	<i>P&G</i>	<i>Total</i>
Kunów, pow. sandomierski	Jaffray or Jeffereys (Dzafra)	Alexander (Aleksander)	20 zł	352	72	
	Samson	Richard (Rychar, Ryszard)	20 zł	350	70	
	Wellwood or Wellward (Walwod)	David (Dewid)	1000 zł	349	69	
	Wellwood or Wellward (Walwod)	George (Jerzy)	20 zł	351	71	1060 zł
Pińczów, pow. wiślicki	Gerry or Gerrie (Gery) ⁸	William (Wilhelm)	181 zł	443	213	
	Guthrie (Gultrie)	Laurence (Lorens)	exempt from tax	352	78	
	Johnstone (Ionston)	James (Jacob)	600 zł	351	77	781 zł
Radom, pow. radomski	Russel (Rusel)	John (Ian)	exempt from tax	353	85	0 zł
Skrzynno, pow. radomski	Cuthbert (Kutbernth)	Alexander	50 zł	354	73	
	Gifford (Gifert)	Agnes (Agneszka)	20 zł	355	74	70 zł
Szydłowiec, pow. radomski	Russel	Alexander	exempt from tax	357	84	
	Sibbald (Szybaldt)	James (Iakub)	exempt from tax	356	83	0 zł

⁸ William Gerry of Pińczów paid the tithe in Lwów, see AGAD ASK I, MS 134, fol. 21.

Table (*cont.*)

<i>Place</i>	<i>Surname</i>	<i>First name</i>	<i>Amount</i>	<i>G&S</i>	<i>P&G</i>	<i>Total</i>
Tarnów, pow. pilźnieński	Bertram (Bartran)	Thomas (Tomasz)	511 zł 6 gr	449	219	
	Dixon, version of Dickson	Alexander (Aleksander)	600 zł	359	353	
	Ellis (Eles)	John (Jan)	amount unknown	421	186	
	Findlay (Fendle)	James (Jakub)	50 zł	439	207	
	unknown no. of Scots		1251 zł	358	—	2412 zł 6 gr
			TOTAL:			4488 zł 6 gr
LUBLIN PALATINATE (WOJEWÓDZTWO LUBELSKIE)						
Lublin	Adamson	Henry (Endrych)	exempt from tax	394	242	
	Andrews (Andris)	William (org. Wilhelm)	1200 zł (they paid together)	388	354	
	Barclay (Barkle)	Alexander		388	227	
	Argyll (Argiel)	Thomas (Tomas)	50 zł	378	231	
	Auchinleck (Autinlect)	John (Jan)	360 zł	385	246	
	Barclay (Barkle)	Alexander	2600 zł	374	227	
	Baxter	John (Ian)	100 zł	381	234	
	Brockie (Brokie)	William (Wilhelm)	exempt from tax	389	237	
	Brown (Brun)	William (Wilhelm)	450 zł	376	229	
	Burnet (Bornet) ⁹	John (Jan)	14 zł 25 gr	429	197	
	Chiesley (Kieczle)	John (Jan)	100 zł	379	232	
	Crawford (Krafil) ¹⁰	Gideon (orig. Gidion)	102 zł 25 gr	427	195	

⁹ John Burnet paid the tithe in Lwów, see AGAD ASK I, MS 134, fol. 20.¹⁰ Gideon Crawford paid the tithe in Lwów, see Ibid.

Table (*cont.*)

<i>Place</i>	<i>Surname</i>	<i>First name</i>	<i>Amount</i>	<i>G&S</i>	<i>P&G</i>	<i>Total</i>
	Donaldson (Donalson)	Thomas (Tomasz)	50 zł 15 gr	382	235	
	Egarr (Egier)	James (Jakub)	50 zł	380	233	
	Femister (Fimester)	John (Jan)	150 zł	384	245	
	Hall ¹¹	Alexander	30 zł	426	194	
	Hunter	Andrew (Andrzej)	exempt from tax	393	241	
	Innes	Alexander (Aleksander)	400 zł	377	230	
	Innes	Andrew (Andrzej)	exempt from tax	398	249	
	Keith (Kieth)	James (Iacobo)	300 zł	387	352	
	Kerr (Kar) ¹²	Bartholomew (Bartłomiej)	656 zł	430	198	
	Lorimer or Lorymer (Loryman) ¹³	John (Ian)	122 zł 15 gr	444	214	
	Melvin (Maluin)	Richard (Rychard, Ryszard)	exempt from tax	397	248	
	Messer ¹⁴	John (Jan)	150 zł	431	199	
	Murray (Morey) ¹⁵	Thomas (Tomasz)	200 zł	425	193	
	Reid (Rett)	Wilhem (William)	30 zł	383	236	
	Robertson	Bartholomew (Bartłomiej)	exempt from tax	390	238	
	Robertson	John (Jan)	exempt from tax	392	240	
	Robertson ¹⁶	William (Wilhelm)	30 zł	428	196	

¹¹ Alexander Hall paid the tithe in Lwów, see Ibid.

¹² Bartholomew Karr paid the tithe in Lwów, see Ibid.

¹³ John Lorimer paid the tithe in Lwów, see Ibid., fol. 21.

¹⁴ John Messer paid the tithe in Lwów, see Ibid., fol. 20.

¹⁵ Thomas Murray paid the tithe in Lwów, see Ibid.

¹⁶ William Robertson paid the tithe in Lwów, see Ibid.

Table (cont.)

<i>Place</i>	<i>Surname</i>	<i>First name</i>	<i>Amount</i>	<i>G&S</i>	<i>P&G</i>	<i>Total</i>
	Skene (Skin)	David (Dawid)	20 zł	386	247	
	Smart (Szmert)	Albert (Woyciech)	300 zł	373	226	
	Spens	John (Jan)	exempt from tax	396	244	
	Thomson (Tamson)	John (Jan)	exempt from tax	391	239	
	Todd (Tod)	Cornelius	exempt from tax	395	243	
	Young (Iung)	John (Jan)	301 zł	301	228	
			TOTAL			7767 zł 20 gr
CHEŁM PALATINATE (ZIEMIA CHEŁMSKA)						
Zamość	Aidy (Edy)	Alexander (Aleksander)	amount unknown	414	179	
	Auchterloni (Ouchterlani)	Caspar (Kasper)	amount unknown	400	165	
	Birnie (Berny)	James (Iakub)	amount unknown	399	164	
	Birnie (Berny)	William (Wilhelm)	amount unknown	418	183	
	Bruce (Brys)	George (Ierzy)	amount unknown	412	177	
	Burnet (Burneta)	Andrew (Andrzej)	amount unknown	413	178	
	Davison (Diuissou)	Andrew (Andrys)	amount unknown	406	171	
	Davison (Diuissou)	George (Jerzy)	amount unknown	407	172	
	Dunbar (Dabar)	Peter (Piotr)	amount unknown	417	182	
	Evan (Auant)	Henry (Hendrych)	amount unknown	419	184	
	Femister (Flimester)	William (Wilhelm)	amount unknown	411	176	
	Gordon (Gordan)	George (Ierzy)	amount unknown	408	173	
	Gregor (Gregier)	John (Ian)	amount unknown	403	168	

Table (cont.)

<i>Place</i>	<i>Surname</i>	<i>First name</i>	<i>Amount</i>	<i>G&S</i>	<i>P&G</i>	<i>Total</i>
	Guthrie (Gutry)	Alexander (Aleksander)	amount unknown	409	174	
	Innes	Reynold (Reinold)	amount unknown	401	166	
	Meldrum (Maldron)	John (Ian)	amount unknown	405	170	
	Messer	John (Jan)	amount unknown	420	185	
	Milvain (Meluiant) ¹⁷	David (Dawid)	amount unknown	410	175	
	Ridler (Rydler)	William (Wilhelm)	amount unknown	402	167	
	Tweeddale (Teuidel)	Albert (Woyciech)	amount unknown	416	181	
	Weir (Wuier)	Adam	amount unknown	415	180	
	Weir (Wuier)	James (Iakub)	amount unknown	404	169	8053 zł 2 gr 9 d
			TOTAL:			8053 zł 2 gr 9 d
BEŁSK PALATINATE (WOJEWÓDZTWO BEŁSKIE)						
Sokal, pow. bełski	Kinnaird (Kinert) ¹⁸	George (Georgio)	100 zł	422	225	100 zł
			TOTAL:			100 zł
RUŚ PALATINATE (WOJEWÓDZTWO RUSKIE)						
Brody, woj. sandomierskie ¹⁹	Chalmer (Chalmer, Kalmer)	Caspar (Kasper)	60 zł	445	215	

¹⁷ Pernal and Gasse believe that the modern spelling of the name should read ‘Milvain’, see Pernal and Gasse, “The 1651 Polish subsidy,” 44.

¹⁸ Pernal and Gasse believe that the modern spelling of the name should read ‘Kinnear’, see Ibid.

¹⁹ Both Chalmer and More paid their tithes in Lwów, see AGAD ASK I, MS 134, fol. 21.

Table (*cont.*)

<i>Place</i>	<i>Surname</i>	<i>First name</i>	<i>Amount</i>	<i>G&S</i>	<i>P&G</i>	<i>Total</i>
	Mair or Merr or Moir or More or Moor or Muir (Morr) ²⁰	John Peter (Jan Piotr)	100 zł	454	224	160 zł
Jarosław	Porteous (Portius) ²¹	Andrew (Andrys, Andrzej)	198 zł 23 gr	441	209	
	Porteous (Portiuss) ²²	James (Jakub, Iakub)	150 zł	—	210	348 zł 23 gr
Krosno, zi. sanocka	Burnet née unknown ²³	Agnes (Iagnieszka)	exempt from tax	424	191	
	Maxwell née unknown ²⁴	Anne	exempt from tax	424	192	
	Porteous (Portiuss)	Robert	9000 zł	423	190	9000 zł
Lwów	Chapman (Cepman)	Albert (Woyciech)	144 zł	447	217	
	Farrie (Farry)	Robert	4 zł 5 gr	448	218	
	Forbes (Forbess)	David (Dawid)	2 zł	438	206	
	Forbes (Forber)	William (Wilhelm)	236 zł (they paid together)	451	221	
	Fraser (Fresser)	James (Iakub)		450	220	
	Harry (Chary)	John (Ian)		452	222	386 zł 5 gr

²⁰ Pernal and Gasse believe that the modern spelling of the name should read 'Moor', see Pernal and Gasse, "The 1651 Polish subsidy," 44.

²¹ Andrew Porteous paid the tithe in Lwówv AGAD ASK I, MS 134, fol. 21.

²² Guldón and Stepkowski make no reference to James Porteous of Jarosław who paid the tithe in Lwów, see Guldón and Stepkowski, "Szkoci i Anglicy w Koronie," 60; cf. Ibid.

²³ Wife of the late unnamed Burnet, see AGAD ASK I, MS 134, fol. 20.

²⁴ Wife of the late unnamed Maxwell, see Ibid.

Table (*cont.*)

<i>Place</i>	<i>Surname</i>	<i>First name</i>	<i>Amount</i>	<i>G&S</i>	<i>P&G</i>	<i>Total</i>
Przeworsk, zi. przemyska	Abercrombie (Aberkrame)	James (Jakub)	amount unknown	456	188	
	Chalmer (Czamer)	Caspar (Gaspar)	amount unknown	457	189	
	Cochrane (Kochran)	Alexander (Aleksander)	amount unknown	455	187	756 zł 24 gr
			TOTAL:			10,651 zł 22 gr
WOŁYŃ PALATINATE (WOJEWÓDZTWO WOŁYŃSKIE)						
Ostróg, woj. wołyńskie ²⁵	Harry (Heraig)	Tomasz (Thomas)	30 zł	432	200	
	Martin (Merten)	William (Wilhelm)	270 zł	435	203	
	Riddell (Riddell) ²⁶	William (Wilhelm)	60 zł	434	202	
	Sand (Sante)	Peter	108 zł 7 gr	437	205	
	Thomson (Tomson)	John (Jan)	128 zł 21 gr 9 d	453	223	
	Thomson (Tomson)	James (Iakub)	10 zł	446	216	
	Tweeddale (Tewendell)	David (Dawid)	486 zł 7 gr 9 d	433	201	
	Yule (Iull)	John (Ian)	21 zł 22 gr	436	204	1114 zł 28 gr
			TOTAL:			1114 zł 28 gr
		MAŁOPOLSKA	GRAND TOTAL:			40,538 zł 12 gr 9 d

²⁵ All of the Scots of Ostróg paid their taxes in Lwów, see *Ibid.*, fol. 21.

²⁶ Pernal and Gasse believe that the modern spelling of the name should read 'Riddell', see Pernal and Gasse, "The 1651 Polish subsidy," 44.

Table (*cont.*)

<i>Place</i>	<i>Surname</i>	<i>First name</i>	<i>Amount</i>	<i>G&S</i>	<i>P&G</i>	<i>Total</i>
GREATER POLAND (WIELKOPOLSKA)						
POZNAŃ PALATINATE (WOJEWÓDZTWO POZNAŃSKIE)						
Czaplinek, pow. walecki	Alexander	Caspar (Gasparus)	30 zł	89	363	
	Jack (Dzeck)	George (Georgius)	103 zł	88	362	133 zł
Człopa, pow. poznański	Bruce (Brusso) ²⁷	Peter (Petrus)	25 zł	95	360	
	Clark or Clarke (Klarke)	Adam (Adamus)	15 zł	90	355	
	Findlay (Findler)	Walter (Waldt)	10 zł	96	361	
	Meldrum (Moldrom)	William (Wilhelmus)	150 zł	93	358	
	Morton (Mordon) ²⁸	James (Iacob)	30 zł	91	356	
	Sheach (Shach)	James (Jakub)	10 zł	92	357	
	Sheach (Shacz)	William (Wilhelm)	50 zł	94	359	290 zł
Gostyń, pow. kościański	Cooper (Kuper)	William (Wilhelm)	10 zł	149	50	
	Steward (Stward)	Francis (Franciszek)	100 zł	98	59	
	Thurkin or Turcan (Torkan)	Andrew (Andrzej)	250 zł	97	58	360 zł

²⁷ Pernal and Gasse believe that the modern spelling of the name should read 'Bryson', see *Ibid.*, 42.

²⁸ Guldón and Stępkowski list him as 'Moldrom', and Pernal and Gasse as 'Mordon', see Guldón and Stępkowski, "Szkoci i Anglicy w Koronie," 45; Pernal and Gasse, "The 1651 Polish subsidy," 35.

Table (*cont.*)

<i>Place</i>	<i>Surname</i>	<i>First name</i>	<i>Amount</i>	<i>G&S</i>	<i>P&G</i>	<i>Total</i>
Grodzisk Wielkopolski, pow. kościański	Bruce (Brys)	Albert (Woyciech)	10 zł	141	42	
	Young (Junga)	Andrew (Andrzej)	300 zł	99	60	310 zł
Jastrowie, pow. poznański	Duncan (Ducken) ²⁹	John (Ioannes)	161 zł	100	364	
	Forbes	Balthasar (Balcer)	1000 zł	102	473	
	Smith	George (Georgius)	2 zł	101	365	1163 zł
Leszno, pow. wschowski	Heath (Chize)	John (Ian)	100 zł	106	56	
	Neish (Nicz)	James (Iakub)	300 zł	103	53	
	Orem (Orent)	James (Jakub)	15 zł	131	32	
	Simson	Peter	150 zł	107	57	
	Wann or Wand (Wont)	David (Dawid)	100 zł	104	54	
	Yates (Jetisz)	Peter	100 zł	105	55	765 zł
Lwówek, pow. poznański	Wilson or Wallson (Wolson)	Thomas (Tomasz)	3 zł	128	29	3 zł
Miedzichód, pow. poznański	Millar or Miller (Meller)	James (Jakub)	10 zł	147	48	10 zł
Ostroróg, pow. poznański	Haig (Hega)	John (Jan)	30 zł	130	31	30 zł

²⁹ Pernal and Gasse believe that the modern spelling of the name should read 'Dikin', see Pernal and Gasse, "The 1651 Polish subsidy," 42.

Table (*cont.*)

<i>Place</i>	<i>Surname</i>	<i>First name</i>	<i>Amount</i>	<i>G&S</i>	<i>P&G</i>	<i>Total</i>
Piła, pow. poznański	Geddie (Gedy)	Tomasz (Thomas)	80 zł	108	366	
	Maxwell (Maxuell)	William (Wilhelm)	10 zł	111	369	
	Sands or Shanks (Sanx)	John (Jan)	125 zł	110	368	
	Tweedie (Twedy)	Walter (Wolter)	2 zł	109	367	217 zł
Pniewy, pow. poznański	Watson	John (Ian)	5 zł	150	51	5 zł
Połusznno, pow. poznański	unnamed	unnamed	15 zł	112	370	15 zł
Poznań, pow. poznański	Blackadder (Bleketur) ³⁰	Urban (Vrban)	90 zł	125	26	
	Brown (Brun)	Albert (Woyciech)	400 zł	139	40	
	Bursie (Borser)	David (Dawid)	10 zł	126	27	
	Clark (Klark)	James (Jakub)	44 zł 15 gr	151	52	
	Elliston (Aliston) ³¹	William (Wilhelm)	30 zł	134	35	
	Farquhar (Farqhar)	Albert (Woyciech <i>alias</i> Rodbert)	600 zł	113	14	
	Farquhar	Henry (Henryc)	150 zł	121	22	
	Fergusson	James (Jakub)	400 zł	116	17	

³⁰ Guldon and Stępkowski list him as 'Beketur', Pernal and Gasse as 'Bleketur', see Guldon and Stępkowski, "Szkoci i Anglicy w Koronie," 47; Pernal and Gasse, "The 1651 Polish subsidy," 21.

³¹ Guldon and Stępkowski list him as 'Histon', Pernal and Gasse as 'Aliston'v Guldon and Stępkowski, "Szkoci i Anglicy w Koronie," 47; Pernal and Gasse, "The 1651 Polish subsidy," 22.

Table (cont.)

<i>Place</i>	<i>Surname</i>	<i>First name</i>	<i>Amount</i>	<i>G&S</i>	<i>P&G</i>	<i>Total</i>
	Hadon	James (Jakub)	5 zł	145	46	
	Hepburne (Hebron)	Edward	150 zł	123	24	
	Hewison (Huysen)	William (Wilhelm)	10 zł	120	21	
	Hewitt or Howitt (Hoyt)	James (Jakub)	500 zł	124	25	
	Horn	David (Dawid)	3 zł	143	44	
	Jamieson (Jamiesson)	Thomas (Tomasz)	18 zł	119	20	
	Lawson (Lauson)	John (Jan)	3 zł	148	49	
	Lindsay (Lindzay)	James (Jakub)	400 zł	115	16	
	MacCabe (Makabey)	David (Dawid)	500 zł	118	19	
	MacIlroy (Makaroi)	James (Jakub)	20 zł	135	36	
	Potter (Petter)	James (Jakub)	90 zł	132	33	
	Potter (Petter)	Albert (Woyciech)	100 zł	133	34	
	Primrose (Prymvos)	Albert (Woyciech)	30 zł	144	45	
	Primrose (Prymvos)	James (Jakub)	65 zł	142	43	
	Smart (Schmart)	Albert (Woyciech)	600 zł	117	18	
	Watson	Andrew (Andrzej)	150 zł	122	23	
	Watson	James (Jakub)	450 zł	114	15	
	Watt (Wott)	William (Wilhelm)	108 zł	127	28	4926 zł 15 gr ³²

³² The tax collectors made a mistake in their computations. The sum of money paid by Henry Farquhar, Andrew Watson, Edward Hepburn and James Hewitt in Poznań, that is, 150 zł + 150 zł + 150 zł + 500 zł is shown erroneously as 1000 zł instead of 950 zł, see Pernal and Gasse make no reference to this error.

Table (*cont.*)

<i>Place</i>	<i>Surname</i>	<i>First name</i>	<i>Amount</i>	<i>G&S</i>	<i>P&G</i>	<i>Total</i>
Rogoźno, pow. poznański	Morrison (Mierusin)	John (Ian)	20 zł	152	61	20 zł
Szamotuły	Anderson	James (Jakub)	150 zł	129	30	
	Egarr (Ega)	Albert (Woyciech)	45 zł	140	41	195 zł
Tuczno	<i>unknown no. of Scots</i>		40 zł	—	—	40 zł
Walcz, pow. walecki	Andirston or Anderson (Andersutyn)	Albert	34 zł	156	374	
	Findlay (Findley)	John (Hans)	300 zł	153	371	
	Frizell (Fryzel) ³³	Thomas	21 zł	155	373	
	Polson (Polsen)	John (Ioan)	3 zł	160	377	
	Reyburn or Ryburn (Royber) ³⁴	James (Jakub)	50 zł 24 gr.	154	372	
	Rowan (Reuen) ³⁵	Albert	3 zł	159	376	
	Warnoch or Warnock (Warnak)	John (Ioan)	4 zł	157	375	
	<i>unknown no. of Scots</i>		181 zł 15 gr			597 zł 9 gr
			POZNAŃ TOTAL:			9079 zł 24 gr

³³ Pernal and Gasse believe that the modern spelling of the name should read 'Frissell', see Pernal and Gasse, "The 1651 Polish subsidy," 36.

³⁴ Pernal and Gasse believe that the modern spelling of the name should read 'Ryburn', see Ibid.

³⁵ Pernal and Gasse believe that the modern spelling of the name should read 'Raven', see Ibid.

Table (*cont.*)

<i>Place</i>	<i>Surname</i>	<i>First name</i>	<i>Amount</i>	<i>G&S</i>	<i>P&G</i>	<i>Total</i>
KALISKIE						
Chodecz, pow. kaliski	Coutts (Koc)	James (Jakub)	3 zł	137	38	3 zł
Kcynia, pow. kcyński	Urquhard (Scotus) ³⁶	David (Dawid)	30 zł	167	476	30 zł
Klecko, pow. gnieźnieński	Potter (Petter)	George (Jerzy)	10 zł	136	37	10 zł
Kleczew, pow. koniński	Abernethy (Webernaty)	William (Willim)	320 zł (they paid together)	168	88	
	Davidson	Killian (Kilian)		168	89	
	Gibb (Geb)	Albert (Woyciech)	315 zł	169	90	635 zł
Konin, pow. koniński	Arroll (Arial)	John (Jon)	25 zł	163	93	
	Foster (Fioster)	Daniel	25 zł	164	94	
	Millar or Miller (Meller)	James (Iakub)	110 zł	161	91	
	Thomson (Tonsen)	Albert (Woyciech)	40 zł	162	92	200 zł

³⁶ David *Scotus* of Kcynia, as he is listed in the register, was most probably the same as David Urquhard (also known as: Urchard, Orchard, *Scotus*, *Szot*), son of John of Cromarty and Isabella Leslie. David migrated to Poland as a juvenile. Based on a birth brief issued in Cromarty (19 May 1663), he was admitted to the citizenship in Kcynia around 1663–65. In 1672 and 1685 he was recorded as *burmistrz* (mayor) of Kcynia. Pernal and Gasse list him as 'Scotus', M. Górny, "List pochodzenia Dawida Urquharda z 1663 roku. Źródło do dziejów osadnictwa szkockiego w Polsce," *Genealogia: Studia i materiały historyczne* I (1991): 81–84; Pernal and Gasse, "The 1651 Polish subsidy," 39.

Table (*cont.*)

<i>Place</i>	<i>Surname</i>	<i>First name</i>	<i>Amount</i>	<i>G&S</i>	<i>P&G</i>	<i>Total</i>
Krotoszyn, pow. pyzdrski	Craig (Kreg)	David (Dawid)	140 zł	165	98	
	Lindsay (Lendze)	Alexander	130 zł	166	99	270 zł
Łobżenica, pow. nakielski	Bone (Bon)	John (Joannes)	amount unknown		62	
	Brittan (Brotone)	Robert	amount unknown		67	
	Christie (Christn)	Alexander	amount unknown		64	
	Fender (Fendar)	Robert	amount unknown		63	
	Gibb (Ginb)	Robert	amount unknown		65	
	Martin	Alexander	amount unknown		68	
	Paisley (Peisloy)	Andrew (Andris)	amount unknown		66	503 zł
Mrocza, pow. nakielski	Shanks (Szyng) ³⁷	James (Iakub)	30 zł	177	446	30 zł
Pleszew, pow. kaliski	Calderwood (Kaldwult)	George (Jerzy)	amount unknown	178	86	
	Spittal (Spichol)	James (Iakub)	amount unknown	178	87	30 zł
Rogowo, pow. gnieźnieński	Scott ? (Szot)	Alexander	50 zł	179	97	50 zł
Skoki, pow. gnieźnieński	Keill (Kill)	John (Jan)	20 zł	146	47	20 zł

³⁷ Pernal and Gasse believe that the modern spelling of the name should read 'Shank', see Pernal and Gasse, "The 1651 Polish subsidy," 38.

Table (*cont.*)

<i>Place</i>	<i>Surname</i>	<i>First name</i>	<i>Amount</i>	<i>G&S</i>	<i>P&G</i>	<i>Total</i>
Wągrowiec, pow. kcyński	Scott ? (Szotek)	Balthasar (Balcer)	90 zł	183	103	
	Scott ? (Szot)	James (Jakub)	90 zł	180	100	
	Scott ? (Szot)	John (Jan)	90 zł	181	101	
	Scott ? (Szot)	John (Jan)	60 zł	182	102	330 zł
Września, pow. gnieźnieński	Mill (Mell)	Thomas (Tomasz)	3 zł	138	39	
	Peterson or Patterson (Peterson)	William (Wilhelm)	300 zł	184	95	
	Williamson (Wikelmson)	James (Iakub)	100 zł	185	96	403 zł
			KALISKIE TOTAL:			2514 zł
INOWROCŁAW PALATINATE (WOJEWÓDZTWO INOWROCŁAWSKIE)						
Bydgoszcz, pow. bydgoski	Barton (Barthon)	John (Ian)	550 zł	188	152	
	Barton (Barthon)	Michael (Michał)	40 zł	190	154	
	Millar or Miller (Meller)	Henry (Henrych)	60 zł	189	153	
	Staines (Stanebs)	William (Wilhelm)	80 zł	191	155	
	Wallace	William (Wilhem)	600 zł	186	150	
	Watson	George (Jerzy)	90 zł	193	157	
	Watson ³⁸	Samuel	50 zł	194	159	
	Wilson or Wallson (Wolson)	Henry (Henrych)	200 zł	187	151	

³⁸ Son of the late Samuel Watson, see AGAD ASK I, MS 134, fol. 19.

Table (*cont.*)

<i>Place</i>	<i>Surname</i>	<i>First name</i>	<i>Amount</i>	<i>G&S</i>	<i>P&G</i>	<i>Total</i>
	Wilson or Wallson (Wolson)	Peter (Piotr)	50 zł	192	156	1720 zł
Koronowo, pow. bydgoski	Nichol (Nikiel) ³⁹	Alexander	50 zł	195	161	
	Tochiński	Albert	15 zł	196	461	65 zł
Pakość, pow. inowrocławski	Smith (Szmet)	Alexander	30 zł	198	149	
	Walls (Wols)	John (Ian)	510 zł 12 gr	197	148	540 zł 12 gr
Solec Kujawski, pow. bydgoski	Halliday (Helede)	William (Wilhelm)	40 zł	199	162	
	Wallace	unnamed	—	—	163	40 zł
			INOWROCŁAW TOTAL:			2365 zł 12 gr
BRZESKO-KUJAWSKIE PALATINATE (WOJEWÓDZTWO BRZESKO-KUJAWSKIE)						
Kowal, pow. kowalski	Glover (Gliwer)	Alexander (Aleksander)	60 zł	200	422	60 zł
Włocławek, pow. brzeski	Walls	Andrew (Andrzej)	650 zł	201	140	650 zł
			KUJAWY TOTAL:			710 zł
DOBRZYŃ PALATINATE (ZIEMIA DOBRZYŃSKA)						
Dobrzyń, pow. dobrzyński	Anderson ⁴⁰	Sebastian	50 zł	202	141	

³⁹ Pernal and Gasse believe that the modern spelling of the name should read 'Nicol', see Pernal and Gasse, "The 1651 Polish subsidy," 45.

⁴⁰ Son of the late George (Ierzy) Anderson, see AGAD ASK I, MS 134, fol. 17.

Table (cont.)

<i>Place</i>	<i>Surname</i>	<i>First name</i>	<i>Amount</i>	<i>G&S</i>	<i>P&G</i>	<i>Total</i>
	Papuga née unknown ⁴¹	Catherine (Katarzyna)	100 zł	203	143	150 zł
Nieszawa, pow. lipnowski	Bemys (Bemiss)	David (Dawid)	10 zł	206	147	
	Coutts (Kuc)	Paul (Pawel)	10 zł	205	146	
	Pook, version of Pollock (Pook)	Alexander	150 zł	204	145	170 zł
			DOBRZYŃ TOTAL:			320 zł
ŁĘCZYCA PALATINATE (WOJEWÓDZTWO ŁĘCZYCKIE)						
Brzeziny, pow. brzeziński	Gibson (Giston)	Peter (Piotr)	40 zł	209	131	
	Sands or Shanks (Sanc)	James (Jakub)	32 zł	214	137	
	Sands or Shanks (Sanc)	John (Jan)	2 zł	210	132	
	Sinclair (Synkler)	William (Wilhelm)	20 zł	207	129	
	Souter (Sutorowski) née unknown	Agnes (Jagnieszka)	30 zł	212	135	
	Souter (Sutorowski)	Tomasz (Thomas)	100 zł	213	136	
	Souter (Sciotr) ⁴²	John (Jan)	70 zł	215	138	
	Tait (Theta)	Thomas (Tomasz)	100 zł	208	130	

⁴¹ Wife of the late George (Ierzy) Papuga, see Ibid.
⁴² Pernal and Gasse believe that the modern spelling of the name should read ‘Short’, see Pernal and Gasse, “The 1651 Polish subsidy,” 27.

Table (*cont.*)

<i>Place</i>	<i>Surname</i>	<i>First name</i>	<i>Amount</i>	<i>G&S</i>	<i>P&G</i>	<i>Total</i>
	Travell ? née unnamed (Trabelt Wdowa) ⁴³	Catherine (Katarzyna)	20 zł ⁴⁴	211	133	
	Younger (Jungier)	William (Gwilhelm)	100 zł	216	139	514 zł
Kłodawa, pow. łęczycki	Meikle or MacKaill (Miciel)	John (Ian)	400 zł 12 gr	217	125	400 zł 12 gr ⁴⁵
Łęczyca, pow. łęczycki	Brand (Brandt)	John (Ian)	172 zł	218	126	
	Johnston (Junson)	Peter (Piotr)	30 zł	220	128	
	Petrie (Pietre)	Robert	344 zł	219	127	546 zł
			ŁĘCZYCA TOTAL:			1460 zł 12 gr
SIERADZ PALATINATE (WOJEWÓDZTWO SIERADZKIE)						
Grabów, pow. ostrzeszowski	Watson (Watson alias Killian)	William (Wilhelm)	150 zł	221	116	150 zł
Konieczpol Stary pow. radomski	unnamed	unnamed	160 zł 22 gr (they paid together)	222	123	
	unnamed	unnamed		222	124	160 zł 22 gr

⁴³ Wife of the late William (Gwilhelm) Travell (Trabelt), see AGAD ASK I, MS 134, fol. 16.

⁴⁴ Pernal and Gasse mistakenly show her contribution as 30 zł, Guldon and Stępkowski show the correct amount of 20 zł, see Pernal and Gasse, "The 1651 Polish subsidy," 26.

⁴⁵ Pernal and Gasse noticed that John Meikle or MacKaill has made a higher contribution than he should have. Ten percent of the sum that he has declared (4002 zł), amounts to 400.2 zł or 400 zł 6 gr. This is an error of +6 gr, see Ibid., 26.

Table (*cont.*)

<i>Place</i>	<i>Surname</i>	<i>First name</i>	<i>Amount</i>	<i>G&S</i>	<i>P&G</i>	<i>Total</i>
Lutomiersk, pow. szadkowski	Steinson (Stynson)	David (Dawid)	40 zł	223	117	40 zł
Piotrków, pow. piotrkowski	Burnet	George (Jerzy)	35 zł	226	120	
	Moffat (Mofeth)	John (Jan)	11 zł 15 gr	227	121	
	Nichol (Nikiel) ⁴⁶	Albert (Albertus)	exempt from tax	228	122	
	Peterson or Patterson (Peterson)	William (Wilhelm)	30 zł	225	119	
	Williamson (Wilhemson)	James (Jakub)	50 zł	224	118	126 zł 15 gr
Sieradz, pow. sieradzki	Arrol (Areo)	John (Dzian)	20 zł	236	112	
	Bennet (Baneth)	Caspar (org. Gaspar)	100 zł	232	108	
	Douglas (Dukles)	Albert (Woyciech)	40 zł	233	109	
	Elder (Eldor)	Albert (Woyciech)	30 zł	234	110	
	Johnston or Johnstone (Ionszton)	Thomas (Tomasz)	7 zł 15 gr	229	105	
	Lithgow (Lithgoff)	William (Wilhelm)	22 zł 18 gr 9 d	230	106	
	Struthers (Strederz) ⁴⁷	William (Wilhelm)	20 zł	235	111	
	Thomson (Thamszon)	George (Georgius)	13 zł 16 gr 12 d	231	107	253 zł 20 gr 3 d

⁴⁶ Pernal and Gasse believe that the modern spelling of the name should read 'Nicol', 44.

⁴⁷ Pernal and Gasse believe that the modern spelling of the name should read 'Strathearn', 45.

Table (*cont.*)

<i>Place</i>	<i>Surname</i>	<i>First name</i>	<i>Amount</i>	<i>G&S</i>	<i>P&G</i>	<i>Total</i>
Widawa, pow. sieradzki	Smith	Andrew (Andrys)	115 zł 21 gr	237	104	115 zł 21 gr
Wieluń, pow. wieluński	Allan (Alen)	Alexander	10 zł	240	115	
	Keith (Kieta) ⁴⁸	Alexander (Aleksander)	5 zł	239	114	
	Morton (Marton)	George (Jerzy)	15 zł	238	113	30 zł
			SIERADZ TOTAL:			876 zł 18 gr 3 d
		WIELKOPOLSKA	GRAND TOTAL:			17,326 zł 6 gr 3 d
MAZOVIA AND PODLAHIA						
MAZOVIA PALATINATE (WOJEWÓDZTWO MAZOWIECKIE)						
Ciechanów, zi. ciechanowska	Hamilton (Hamiltan)	Andrew (Andris)	60 zł	241	339	
	Sinclair (Sinceroff)	Thomas (Tomas)	350 zł	242	340	410 zł
Ostrów Mazowiecka zi. nurska	Hamilton (Habeltan)	James (Iakub)	amount unknown	243	342	
	Rawson (Rawzon)	George (Ierzy)	amount unknown	244	343	
	unnamed	William (Wilhelm)	exempt from tax	245	344	130 zł

⁴⁸ Guldón and Stępkowski list him as 'Kuta', Pernal and Gasse as 'Kieta', see Guldón and Stępkowski, "Szkoci i Anglicy w Koronie," 47; Pernal and Gasse, "The 1651 Polish subsidy," 25.

Table (*cont.*)

<i>Place</i>	<i>Surname</i>	<i>First name</i>	<i>Amount</i>	<i>G&S</i>	<i>P&G</i>	<i>Total</i>
Pułtusk, zi. zakroczymska	Niven (Niwen) ⁴⁹	Matthew (Mathyasz)	amount unknown	249	325	
	Paip (Pep) ⁵⁰	Albert	amount unknown	248	324	
	Weir (Woier)	John (Jan)	amount unknown	247	323	
	Weston (Vaston)	Alexander	amount unknown	246	322	250 zł
Różan, zi. różańska	Merrick (Merech)	John (Ian)	40 zł	250	341	40 zł
Serock, zi. zakroczymska	Watts (Wattasz)	Peter (Piotr)	5 zł	251	338	5 zł
Warka, zi. czerska	Bentson (Binston)	Thomas (Tomasz)	10 zł	255	276	
	Brown (Brun)	John (Jan)	exempt from tax	257	278	
	Gordon (Gordan)	James (Jakub)	190 zł	252	273	
	Gordon (Gordan)	John (Jan)	60 zł	254	275	
	Horn	Albert (Woyciech)	70 zł	253	274	
	Walker (Waker)	William (Wilhelm)	6 zł	256	277	336 zł
Warszawa	Achtenlek, version of Affleck ⁵¹	James (Jakub)	amount unknown	262	284	
	Achtenlek, version of Affleck ⁵²	William (Wilim)	amount unknown	263	285	

⁴⁹ Guldon and Stępkowski mistakenly list Niven as 'Hiwen', see Guldon and Stępkowski, "Szkoci i Anglicy w Koronie," 42.

⁵⁰ Pernal and Gasse believe that the modern spelling of the name should read 'Pape', see Pernal and Gasse, "The 1651 Polish subsidy," 44.

⁵¹ Pernal and Gasse believe that the modern spelling of the name should read 'Auchinleck', see *Ibid.*, 41.

⁵² *Ibid.*

Table (*cont.*)

<i>Place</i>	<i>Surname</i>	<i>First name</i>	<i>Amount</i>	<i>G&S</i>	<i>P&G</i>	<i>Total</i>
	Auld (Ald)	Albert (Woyciech)	amount unknown	287	309	
	Auld (Ald)	David (Dawid)	amount unknown	288	310	
	Barnes	Alexander	amount unknown	261	283	
	Brown (Brunn)	Alexander	amount unknown	280	302	
	Brown (Brun)	William (Wilhelm)	amount unknown	290	279	
	Cheyne (Cin) ⁵³	Andrew (Andrys)	amount unknown	267	289	
	Christie (Krysty)	Balthasar (Balcer)	amount unknown	260	282	
	Coldwells (Kalwals)	Albert (Woyciech)	amount unknown	283	305	
	Cowie (Kuy)	John (Jan)	amount unknown	284	306	
	Craig (Kreg)	William (Wilchelm)	amount unknown	293	314	
	Cuthbert (Kubreth)	John (Jan)	amount unknown	273	295	
	Drummond (Dromont)	George (Jerzy)	amount unknown	276	298	
	Findlay (Fendle) ⁵⁴	William (Wilem)	amount unknown	289	311	
	Forbes	Peter	amount unknown	291	312	
	Gibb (Gib)	John (Jan)	amount unknown	268	290	
	Gibson	Andrew (Andryss)	amount unknown	278	300	
	Green (Grein)	Bartholemew (Bartosz)	amount unknown	279	301	
	Henderson	Alexander	amount unknown	294	315	
	Innes	Abraham (Abracham)	amount unknown	266	288	
	Liddel (Ledell)	Albert (Woyciech)	amount unknown	277	299	

⁵³ Pernal and Gasse believe that the modern spelling of the name should read 'King', see *Ibid.*

⁵⁴ Pernal and Gasse believe that the modern spelling of the name should read 'Fende', see *Ibid.*, 42.

Table (*cont.*)

<i>Place</i>	<i>Surname</i>	<i>First name</i>	<i>Amount</i>	<i>G&S</i>	<i>P&G</i>	<i>Total</i>
	MacGill (Magal)	James (Jakub)	amount unknown	264	286	
	MacLachlan (Machlachen)	Donald (Donalt)	amount unknown	270	292	
	Meldrum	Peter	amount unknown	269	291	
	Mushet (Musiat)	James (Jakub)	amount unknown	285	307	
	Pitcairn (Petkieren)	Albert (Woyciech)	amount unknown	274	296	
	Pitcairn (Petkeren)	David (Dawid)	amount unknown	275	297	
	Riddoch (Rydoft) ⁵⁵	Alexander	20 zł	440	208	
	Riddoch (Rodoch) ⁵⁶	Alexander (Aleksander)	amount unknown	295	316	
	Robertson	William (Wilem)	amount unknown	296	317	
	Ross (Ros)	Albert (Woyciech)	amount unknown	258	280	
	Steinson (Stynson)	William (Wilem)	amount unknown	259	281	
	Straton (Stretton)	Peter	amount unknown	297	318	
	Thomson (Tamson)	Andrew (Andrys)	amount unknown	272	294	
	Undrem (perhaps Windram)	Thomas (Tomas)	amount unknown	271	293	
	Wallace (Walens)	Alexander	amount unknown	281	303	
	Wellwood or Wellward (Wolwod)	David (Dawid)	amount unknown	286	308	
	Wood (Vood)	David (Dawid)	amount unknown	292	313	

⁵⁵ Riddoch paid the tithe in Lwów, see *Ibid.*, 29.

⁵⁶ Pernal and Gasse believe that the modern spelling of the name should read 'Ruddock', see *Ibid.*, 45.

Table (*cont.*)

<i>Place</i>	<i>Surname</i>	<i>First name</i>	<i>Amount</i>	<i>G&S</i>	<i>P&G</i>	<i>Total</i>
	Young (Jung)	Matthew (Matys)	amount unknown	282	304	
	Young (Iung)	Peter	amount unknown	265	287	5420 zł
Wyszogród	Abernethy (Abernaty)	James (Jakub)	30 zł	299	320	
	Andrews ? (Andrzychowicz)	John (Jan)	20 zł	300	321	
	Thomson (Tamson)	David (Dawid)	40 zł	298	319	90 zł
Zakroczym, zi. zakroczymska	Circuit or Kirkwood (Kierkut)	John (Jan)	10 zł	306	331	
	Glass (Glas)	George (Jerzy)	20 zł	311	336	
	Godfrey (Gothfry)	Herkules (Hercules)	10 zł	312	337	
	Hewitt or Howitt (Hoytt, Hott)	George (Jerzy)	90 zł	307	332	
	Johnstone (Dzionston)	John (Jan)	80 zł	308	333	
	King (Cin, Cyn)	John (Jan)	50 zł	301	326	
	Lindsay (Lendzay)	Alexander (Aleksander)	20 zł	303	328	
	Robertson (Robertson)	Paul (Pawel)	20 zł	302	327	
	Skórdziak [<i>sic</i>]	David (Dawid)	10 zł	309	334	
	Slowan (Slouman)	Thomas (Tomas)	10 zł	310	335	
	Tweedie or Toddy or Toddie (Tudy)	Alexander	5 zł	304	329	
	Watson	Andrew (Andrzej)	4 zł	305	330	329 zł
			TOTAL:			7010 zł

Table (*cont.*)

<i>Place</i>	<i>Surname</i>	<i>First name</i>	<i>Amount</i>	<i>G&S</i>	<i>P&G</i>	<i>Total</i>
PŁOCK PALATINATE (WOJEWÓDZTWO PŁOCKIE)						
Mława, pow. mławski	Gordon (Gordan)	William (Wilhelm)	amount unknown	313	267	
	Gray	Alexander	amount unknown	315	269	
	Horwell or Morwell (Horwel)	Thomas (Tomas)	amount unknown	316	270	
	MacGhie or MacKay (Makki) ⁵⁷	William (Wilhelm)	amount unknown	314	268	250 zł
Płock, pow. płocki	Dziakowski [<i>sic</i>]	Albert (Wojciech)	600 zł	318	271	
	Stróżewski [<i>sic</i>]	Daniel	exempt from tax	317	272	600 zł
Płońsk, pow. płoński	unnamed	unnamed	10 zł	319	414	10 zł
Raciąż, pow. raciański	Carkettle (Karkiet)	Samuel	amount unknown	323	253	
	Donaldson (Donalson)	William (Wilhelm)	amount unknown	327	257	
	Geddes (Gedesz)	George (Jerzy)	amount unknown	320	250	
	Grym or Grim or Graem, version of Graham (Grym)	James (Jakob)	amount unknown	325	255	
	Henderson (Handersan)	John (Jan)	amount unknown	322	252	
	Henderson (Handersan)	William (Wilhelm)	amount unknown	326	256	

⁵⁷ Pernal and Gasse believe that the modern spelling of the name should read 'Mackie', see *Ibid.*, 45.

Table (*cont.*)

<i>Place</i>	<i>Surname</i>	<i>First name</i>	<i>Amount</i>	<i>G&S</i>	<i>P&G</i>	<i>Total</i>
	Meikle or MacKaill (Meciel)	Albert (Woyciech)	amount unknown	324	254	
	Semtak [<i>sic</i>] ⁵⁸	Thomas	amount unknown	321	251	150 zł
Sierpc, pow. sierpski	Anderson	John (Jan)	10 zł	335	265	
	Clark (Klark)	Simon	15 zł	329	259	
	Curtis (Kourtes)	John (Jan)	25 zł	334	264	
	Fuller or Fowler (Fular)	James (Jakub)	40 zł	328	258	
	Mair or Merr or Moir or Moor or More or Muir (Miier) ⁵⁹	Aneas (Anusz)	30 zł	333	263	
	Pacierznik [<i>sic</i>] ⁶⁰	Andrew (Andrzej)	5 zł	336	266	
	Steinson (Stynson)	Alexander	30 zł	332	262	
	Taylor (Teler)	Alexander	5 zł	331	261	
	unnamed (Jakubowa młoda) ⁶¹	unnamed	50 zł	330	260	
	<i>unknown no. of Scots</i> ⁶²		300 zł	—	—	510 zł
			TOTAL:			1520 zł

⁵⁸ Pernal and Gasse believe that the modern spelling of the name should read 'Sandok', but Guldón and Stępkowski list him as 'Semrak', see Ibid.; Guldón and Stępkowski, "Szkoci i Anglicy w Koronie," 42.

⁵⁹ Pernal and Gasse believe that the modern spelling of the name should read 'Mair', see Pernal and Gasse, "The 1651 Polish subsidy," 44.

⁶⁰ Guldón and Stępkowski list him as 'Pauerznik', see Guldón and Stępkowski, "Szkoci i Anglicy w Koronie," 55.

⁶¹ Wife of James jnr (surname unknown), see Ibid., 31.

⁶² Guldón and Stępkowski show the total contribution of Scots in Sierpc correctly as 510 zł, however they do not list separately the 300 zł contribution made by an unknown number of Scots and collected by de la Boissier. This is shown by Pernal and Gasse, see Guldón and Stępkowski, "Szkoci i Anglicy w Koronie," 55; Pernal and Gasse, "The 1651 Polish subsidy," 40.

Table (*cont.*)

<i>Place</i>	<i>Surname</i>	<i>First name</i>	<i>Amount</i>	<i>G&S</i>	<i>P&G</i>	<i>Total</i>
RAWA PALATINATE (WOJEWÓDZTWO RAWSKIE)						
Łowicz, pow. sochaczewski	Billson (Bilsor)	David (Dauid)	amount unknown	337	350	
	<i>unknown no. of Scots</i>		amount unknown	338	—	1129 zł 21 gr ⁶³
Rawa, pow. rawski	Maxwell (Maxell)	John (Ioannes)	exempt from tax	339	345	
	Scott ? (Scotus)	William (Wilhelm)	20 zł	340	346	
	Smart (Szmertt)	John (Joannes)	60 zł	341	347	
	Souter (Sutorowska) ⁶⁴	unnamed	60 zł	342	349	140 zł
			TOTAL:			1269 zł 21 gr
PODLASKIE						
Węgrów pow. drohicki	Gibson ⁶⁵	Andrew (Andryss)	30 zł	442	211	
	Gordon	Richard (Rychald)	1000 zł 20 gr ⁶⁶	343	212	
	<i>unknown no. of Scots</i>		3600 zł	343	—	4630 zł 20 gr
			TOTAL:			4630 zł 20 gr
		MAZOWSZE	GRAND TOTAL:			14,430 zł 11 gr

⁶³ Pernal and Gasse noted a mistake made by the tax collectors in converting the sum collected at Łowicz. The sum in the register shows 1128 zł instead of 1129 zł 21 gr, that is a deficit of 1 zł 21 gr, see Pernal and Gasse, "The 1651 Polish subsidy," 24.

⁶⁴ Wife of the late Thomas Souter (Sutorowski), see *Ibid.*, 34.

⁶⁵ Andrew Gibson paid the tithe in Lwów, see *Ibid.*, 29.

⁶⁶ Gordon made two contributions, one of 231 zł 20 gr in Lwów, and another of 769 zł in Węgrów, which give a total of 1000 zł 20 gr and not 1000 zł as it was indicated by Guldón and Stępkowski, see Guldón and Stępkowski, "Szkoci i Anglicy w Koronie," 56.

Table (*cont.*)

<i>Place</i>	<i>Surname</i>	<i>First name</i>	<i>Amount</i>	<i>G&S</i>	<i>P&G</i>	<i>Total</i>
ROYAL PRUSSIA						
POMORZE PALATINATE (WOJEWÓDZTWO POMORSKIE)						
Biały Bór, pow. człuchowski	Andrews (Andrys)	Thomas (Tomas)	amount unknown	1	442	
	Ferres née Allen (Ferens née Alle)	Christine (Krystyna)	amount unknown	2	437	657 zł
Bytów, okręg bytomski	<i>unknown no. of Scots</i>		18 zł	—	—	18 zł
Chojnice, pow. Człuchowski	Gasson (Gesser)	Simon	amount unknown	6	435	
	Inger (Engier)	John (Iohannes)	amount unknown	5	434	
	Lauder (Lüderin)	Dorothy (Dorota)	amount unknown	4	433	
	Lauder (Lueder)	Peter (Petrus)	amount unknown	3	432	735 zł
Czarne, pow. Człuchowski	Allen (Alle)	Adam	amount unknown	7	436	
	Allen née unknown (Alle)	Christine (Krystyna)	amount unknown	7	437	
	Keill (Kiell)	George (Georgius)	amount unknown	8	438	
	Keill (Kiell)	Paul (Paulus)	amount unknown	8	439	
	Millen (Mollen)	Andrew (Andrzej)	amount unknown	9	440	300 zł
Człuchów, pow. Człuchowski	unnamed	unnamed	250 zł	11	478	
	<i>unknown no. of Scots</i>		100 zł	10	—	350 zł
Debrzno, pow. Człuchowski	Grimman or Grimmond (Grymmen)	Thomas	50 zł	12	441	50 zł

Table (*cont.*)

<i>Place</i>	<i>Surname</i>	<i>First name</i>	<i>Amount</i>	<i>G&S</i>	<i>P&G</i>	<i>Total</i>
Gdańsk, pow. gdański	Bellie (Bely)	Robert	30 zł	41	407	
	Bennet	James (Iacob)	400 zł	18	383	
	Brown (Braun)	Charles (Carolo)	100 zł	22	387	
	Burnet	James (Iacob)	600 zł	43	351	
	Burnet (Bornet)	John (Ioanne)	420 zł (they paid together)	39	404	
	Taylor (Teiler)	unnamed		39	405	
	Clark (Klark)	John (Ioanne)	150 zł	29	394	
	Donaldson (Donalson)	Robert (Roberto)	200 zł	30	395	
	Donaldson (Donalson vidua)	unnamed	180 zł	33	398	
	Duncan (Dunken)	James (Iacobo)	100 zł	28	393	
	Follet (Faulent)	Robert (Roberto)	50 zł	23	388	
	Gellatly (Gelentin)	Thomas (Thoma)	2400 zł	14	379	
	Henry	William (Wilhelm)	240 zł	20	385	
	Hudson (Hodson)	William (Wilhelm)	300 zł	15	380	
	King or Kean (Kinn)	James (Iacob)	84 zł	27	392	
	Long (Lange)	Robert	120 zł	26	391	
	Lyon	James (Iacob)	100 zł	37	402	
	Mann	James (Iacob)	630 zł	31	396	
	Meikle or MacKaill (Mechl)	John (Jan)	200 zł	17	382	
	Mollison (Mollesson)	John (Ioanne)	150 zł	25	390	
	Morton	John (Ioanne)	360 zł	21	386	

Table (*cont.*)

<i>Place</i>	<i>Surname</i>	<i>First name</i>	<i>Amount</i>	<i>G&S</i>	<i>P&G</i>	<i>Total</i>
	Norrie (Norrei) ⁶⁷	William (Wilhelmo)	21 zł	40	406	
	Ramsay	Daniel	480 zł	16	381	
	Ramsay	Paul (Paulo)	100 zł	36	401	
	Robertson	William (Wilhelm)	1020 zł	32	397	
	Smart (Smardt)	Thomas (Thoma)	500 zł	13	378	
	Smith (Smidt)	James (Iacobo)	300 zł	35	400	
	Stephen (Stefen)	James (Iacobo)	200 zł	19	384	
	Tennant (Tennet)	George (Georgio)	390 zł	24	389	
	Thayne or Thain (Then)	Andrew (Andrea)	420 zł	38	403	
	Thomson (Tamson Vidua) ⁶⁸	unnamed	600 zł	34	399	
	<i>unknown no. of Scots</i>		890 zł	42	—	
	<i>unknown inn (3 miles from Gdansk)</i>		30 zł	44	—	11,765 zł
Gniew, pow. tczewski	MacGhie (Magga) ⁶⁹	Hector (Hektor)	73 zł	46	428	
	<i>unknown no. of Scots</i>		300 zł	45	—	373 zł
Kościerzyna, pow. Tczewski	unnamed	unnamed	21 zł	47	477	21 zł

⁶⁷ Pernal and Gasse listed him as 'Norrei', and Guldon and Stępkowski as 'Morrens', see Pernal and Gasse, "The 1651 Polish subsidy," 37; Guldon and Stępkowski, "Szkoci i Anglicy w Koronie," 42.

⁶⁸ Wife of the late Thomson (Tamson), see AGAD ASK I, MS 134, fol. 35.

⁶⁹ Pernal and Gasse believe that the modern spelling of the name should read 'MacGaa', see Pernal and Gasse, "The 1651 Polish subsidy," 44.

Table (*cont.*)

<i>Place</i>	<i>Surname</i>	<i>First name</i>	<i>Amount</i>	<i>G&S</i>	<i>P&G</i>	<i>Total</i>
Lębork, okręg łęborski	<i>unknown no. of Scots</i>		904 zł	—	—	904 zł
Lignowy Szlacheckie, pow. Tczewski	<i>unknown no. of Scots</i>		150 zł	—	—	150 zł
Miłobądz, pow. Tczewski	<i>unknown no. of Scots</i>		30 zł	—	—	30 zł
Nowe, pow. nowski	<i>unknown no. of Scots</i>		1500 zł	—	—	1500 zł
Pszczółki (Pszulin)	<i>unknown no. of Scots</i>		10 zł	—	—	10 zł
Puck, pow. pucki	<i>unknown no. of Scots</i>		2850 zł	—	—	2850 zł
Starogard Gdański, pow. Tczewski	<i>unknown no. of Scots</i>		60 zł	—	—	60 zł
Świecie, pow. świecki	Ballingall (Balingal) ⁷⁰	John (Joannes)	60 zł	—	158	
	<i>unknown no. of Scots</i>		624 zł			684 zł

⁷⁰ Guldon and Stepkowski do not list 'Ballingall' as a separate entry, yet in the total sum collected at Świecie, they acknowledge his contribution, see Guldon and Stepkowski, "Szkoci i Anglicy w Koronie," 43.

Table (*cont.*)

<i>Place</i>	<i>Surname</i>	<i>First name</i>	<i>Amount</i>	<i>G&S</i>	<i>P&G</i>	<i>Total</i>
Tczew, pow. tczewski	Ingeramblackey née Neilands (Engerblecht née Nilans)	Catherine (Catherina)	30 zł	49	429	
	<i>unknown no. of Scots</i>		300 zł	48	—	330 zł
Tuchola, pow. Tucholski	Bakerson or Baker (Bekierzón)	Albert (Albertus)	50 zł	50	447	
	Daniels or Danielson ? (Danielczyk)	Matthias	35 zł	51	448	
	Gordon	Albert	12 zł (they paid together)	55	456	
	Gordon	Kazimierz (Casimir)		55	455	
	Gordon	Stanisław (Stanislas)		55	457	
	Gordon née unknown (Gordon Vidua) ⁷¹	unnamed		55	454	
	Gordon ⁷²	John (I) (Ioannis)	40 zł (they paid together)	54	451	
	Gordon	Alexander		54	453	
	Gordon	John (II) (Joannes)		54	452	
	Jamieson (Giemzon)	Christopher (Christophorus)	40 zł	52	449	
	Locke (Log)	John (Ioanne)	20 zł (they paid together)	56	459	
	Locke (Logowa Vidua) ⁷³	unnamed		56	458	

⁷¹ Mother of Albert, Kazimierz and Stanisław Gordon, see AGAD ASK I, MS 134, fol. 36v.

⁷² Father of Alexander and John (II) Gordons, see Ibid.

⁷³ Mother of John Locke, see Ibid.

Table (*cont.*)

<i>Place</i>	<i>Surname</i>	<i>First name</i>	<i>Amount</i>	<i>G&S</i>	<i>P&G</i>	<i>Total</i>
	Seath (Seyt)	James (Jacob)	40 zł	53	450	
	Zereyski [<i>sic</i>]	Peter (Petrus)	30 zł	57	460	267 zł
			TOTAL:			21,054 zł
CHEŁMNO PALATINATE (WOJEWÓDZTWO CHEŁMIŃSKIE)						
Chelmno	<i>unknown no. of Scots</i>		800 zł	—	—	800 zł
Golub, pow. Chełmiński	Sanders (Szander)	James (Jakub)	100 zł	58	415	100 zł
Grudziądz, pow. Chełmiński	Spreull (Spraul)	Andrew (Andreas)	40 zł	59	427	40 zł
Lidzbark Welski, pow. michałowski	<i>unknown no. of Scots</i>		130 zł	—	—	130 zł
Łasin, pow. chełmiński	Adam	John (Johan)	6 zł	62	482	
	Barr (Bar)	James (Jacob)	6 zł	61	481	
	Todd (Vidua) ⁷⁴	unnamed	30 zł	60	479	42 zł
Nowe Miasto, pow. Chełmiński	Brown (Braun)	David (Dawid)	amount unknown	63	416	
	Egarr (Egier)	William (Wilim)	amount unknown	63	417	
	Parry ? (Para) ⁷⁵	James (Iacob)	amount unknown	63	418	86 zł

⁷⁴ Wife of the late William (Vilhelm) Todd, see *Ibid.*, 37.

⁷⁵ Pernal and Gasse believe that the modern spelling of the name should read 'Parratt', see Pernal and Gasse, "The 1651 Polish subsidy," 44.

Table (cont.)

<i>Place</i>	<i>Surname</i>	<i>First name</i>	<i>Amount</i>	<i>G&S</i>	<i>P&G</i>	<i>Total</i>
Radzyń, pow. Chełmiński	Morrison (Moryzon)	George (Ierzy)	amount unknown	64	419	
	Paul	David (Dawid)	amount unknown	66	421	
	Staines (Stanes)	Gabriel	amount unknown	65	420	160 zł
Toruń	<i>unknown no. of Scots</i>		90 zł	—	—	90 zł
Wąbrzeźno, pow. Michałowski	Anderson (Aderson)	Caspar (Kasper)	amount unknown	70	426	
	Baxter	Thomas (Tomas)	amount unknown	67	423	
	Gibson	Thomas (Tomas)	amount unknown	68	424	
	Forbes	William (Wilim)	amount unknown	69	425	80 zł
			TOTAL:			1528 zł
MALBORK PALATINATE (WOJEWÓDZTWO MALBORSKIE)						
Dzierżgoń	Blackhall (Blakal)	George (Georgius)	225 zł	72	471	
	Blackhall (Blakal)	Thomas (Tomas)	112 zł 15 gr	73	472	
	Donaldson (Donalson)	Alexander (Aleksander)	112 zł 15 gr	71	470	450 zł
Elbląg	Ramsay	John (Ioanne)	60 zł	76	410	
	Ramsay	William (Wilhelm)	480 zł	74	408	
	Ray (Rey)	Peter (Piotr)	30 zł	77	411	
	West	James (Iacobo)	300 zł	75	409	870 zł
Gniazdowo	Manger (Minger)	John (Hans)	20 zł	85	468	20 zł
Malbork	Lowis (Lewes)	George (Georgio)	300 zł (they paid together)	78	412	
	Lowis (Lewes)	Marcin (Martin)		78	413	

Table (cont.)

<i>Place</i>	<i>Surname</i>	<i>First name</i>	<i>Amount</i>	<i>G&S</i>	<i>P&G</i>	<i>Total</i>
	Schoden (Schoden) ⁷⁶	Richard (Rychard)	50 zł	79	469	350 zł
Mątowy Wielkie	<i>unknown no. of Scots</i>		100 zł	—	—	100 zł
Nowy Staw	Bassill (Bassell)	James (Iacob)	84 zł	81	464	
	Findlay (Finlay)	Albert (Albertus)	334 zł	82	465	
	Paisley (Poslo)	Paul	40 zł	80	462	
	Young (Iung)	Nicholas (Nicolaus)	6 zł	84	467	
	Young (Iung)	Nicholas (Nikel)	20 zł	83	466	484 zł
Tolkmicko	Cochno (Kochne)	John (Ian)	26 zł	86	475	26 zł
			TOTAL:			2300 zł
WARMIA						
Frombork	Strachan (Strachen)	John (Ioannes)	24 zł	87	474	24 zł
			TOTAL:			24 zł
ROYAL PRUSSIA						
Other Prussian cities	<i>unknown no. of Scots</i>		5020 zł			5020 zł
			TOTAL:			5020 zł
		ROYAL PRUSSIA	GRAND TOTAL:			29,944 zł
TOTAL MONIES COLLECTED:						102,220 zł 29 gr 12 d

⁷⁶ Pernal and Gasse believe that the modern spelling of the name should read 'Sheddan', see *Ibid.*, 45.

APPENDIX II

SCOTTISH NAMES APPEARING IN THE BAPTISMAL AND MARRIAGE
RECORDS OF ST PETER AND ST PAUL CHURCH, GDAŃSK 1640–1649

Sources
“Trauffbuch 1573–1641,” APGd. sig. 356/3; “Traubuch (Catalogus Eorum) 1573–1641,”
APGd. sig. 356/2; “Tauf Register 1693–1795,” APGd. sig. 356/4.

Notes
Wilson** names mentioned by Fischer in SEWP, Appendix XX, The
Church Records of Sts Peter and Paul, and of St Elisabeth at
Danzig, 211–228.
d.o. daughter of
Fr. *Frau*
Jenkins (*Jenkins*) parishioners of English origin.
Jfr. *Jungfrau*
NN name unknown
Reich Paul spouse of local origin.
s.o. son of

PART I – BAPTISM REGISTER

<i>Child's Name</i>	<i>Date of Baptism</i>	<i>Parents</i>	<i>Witnesses</i>	<i>Page</i>
1640 [MDCXL]				
Kelly Alexander	**1640, 26 Feb	Kelly Hans & NN Maria		f.375v
Walker (Walkir) Jacob	**1640, 19 Apr	Walker (Walkir) Franz & NN Dorothea		f.375v
Sinclair (Senkler) Ernst	**1640, 22 Apr	Sinclair (Senkler) Wilhelm & NN Anna		f.375v
Meldrum (Meldrun) Anna Maria	**1640, 18 Jun	Meldrum (Meldrun) Jakob & NN Christina		f.376
Hewison (Huyssen) Cordula	**1640, 21 Jun	Hewison (Huyssen) Wilhelm & NN Anna		f.376
Dickson Peter	**1640, 5 Jul	Dickson Thomas & NN Sara		f.376
Thomson (Tamson) Catharina	**1640, 12 Aug	Thomson (Tamson) Hans & NN	Gellentín Thomas Demster Georg's wife	f.376v

Table (cont.)

<i>Child's Name</i>	<i>Date of Baptism</i>	<i>Parents</i>	<i>Witnesses</i>	<i>Page</i>
<i>Howard (Haward) Peter</i>	**1640, 20 Aug	<i>Howard (Haward) Peter & NN Maria</i>		f.376v
Grieve (Greeve) Wilhelm	**1640, 26 Aug	Grieve (Greeve) Archibald & NN Barbara		f.376v
Wobster Regina	**1640, 26 Aug	Wobster Alexander & NN Anna		f.376v
Blackhorn Wilhelm	**1640, 27 Sep	Blackhorn Georg & NN Anna		f.377
<i>Daniels (Daniel) Edward</i>	**1640, 4 Oct	<i>Daniels (Daniel) Edward & NN Brigitta</i>		f.377
Dougall (Duggell) Jacob	**1640, 7 Nov	Dougall (Duggell) John & NN Eva		f.377
Learmonth (Lermundt) Catharina	**1640, 20 Nov	Learmonth (Lermundt) Albert & NN Regina		f.377v
Gordon Johan Sigismund	**1640, 29 Nov	Gordon Franciscus <i>Herr</i> & NN Anna		f.377v
<i>Sylwester Christina</i>	**1640, 2 Dec	<i>Sylwester Heinrich & NN Catharina</i>		f.377v
Davis Johannes	**1640, 2 Dec	Davis Wilhelm & NN Anna		f.377v
Lumsdail (Lonsdel) Wilhelm	**1640, 23 Dec	Lumsdail (Lonsdel) Gilbert & NN		f.377v
1641 [MDCXLI]				
Dempster (Demster) Elisabeth	**1641, 14 Feb	Dempster (Demster) Georg & NN Elisabeth		f.378
Innes Georg	**1641, 17 Feb	Innes Georg & NN Leonora		f.378
Paterson Johannes	**1641, 17 Feb	Paterson Abraham & NN Sara		f.378
Mellis Johannes	**1641, 19 Feb	Mellis Alexander & NN Abigail		f.378
Balfour Jakob	**1641, 5 Mar	Balfour Wilhelm & NN Maria		f.378v
Muttray (Mutreich) Maria	**1641, 2 Apr	Muttray (Mutreich) Andreas & NN Maria		f.378v
<i>Bilton Edward</i>	**1641, 19 Apr	<i>Bilton Edward & NN Anna</i>		f.378v
Anderson Jacob	**1641, 12 May	Anderson Adam & NN Anna		f.379

Table (*cont.*)

<i>Child's Name</i>	<i>Date of Baptism</i>	<i>Parents</i>	<i>Witnesses</i>	<i>Page</i>
Strachan (Strachon) Christoff	**1641, 6 Jun	Strachan (Strachon) Hieronym & NN Anna		f.379
Thomson (Thamson) Jacob	**1641, 9 Jun	Thomson (Thamson) Andreas & NN		f.379
Henderson (Hennerson) Anna	**1641, 4 Aug	Henderson (Hennerson) Willem & NN Barbara		f.379v
MacIntosh (Machomtosch) Michael	**1641, 3 Oct	MacIntosh (Machomtosch) Daniel & NN Agneta		f.380
Rennie Jacob	**1641, 24 Nov	Rennie Alexander & NN Anna		f.380
1642 [MDCXLII]				
Gerry (Garry) Andreas	**1642, 1 Jan	Gerry (Garry) Wilhelm & NN Maria		f.1
<i>Edwards (Edward)</i> <i>Daniel</i>	**1642, 6 Jan	<i>Edwards (Edward) Samuel &</i> <i>NN Elisabeth</i>	Illeg.	f.1
<i>Howard (Howart)</i> <i>Anthony</i>	**1642, 12 Jan	<i>Howard (Howart) Peter & NN</i> <i>Maria</i>		f.1
Peacock Anna Maria	**1642, 23 Feb	Peacock Andreas & NN Anna Maria	Smart ? Thomas	f.1
Gordon Cyrilla	**1642, 6 Mar	Gordon Franciscus <i>Herr</i> & NN Anna	—	f.1
<i>Daniels (Daniel) Johan</i>	**1642, 6 Apr	<i>Daniels (Daniel) Edward & NN</i> <i>Brigitta</i>	—	f.2
Brown (Brun) Elisabeth	**1642, 9 Apr	Brown (Brun) Thomas & NN Elisabeth	Zander Hans	f.2
Brown (Brun) Andreas	**1642, 11 May	Brown (Brun) Andreas & NN Anna		f.2
Birnie (Berni) Constantin	**1642, 12 May	Birnie (Berni) Thomas & NN Garde		f.3
Mael ? (Millis) Andreas	**1642, 29 Jun	Mael ? (Millis) & NN Abigail	—	f.3
Sinclair (Senkeler) Willem	**1642, 6 Jul	Sinclair (Senkeler) Willem and NN Anna		f.4
<i>Bilton Elisabeth</i>	**1642, 13 Jul	<i>Bilton Edward & NN Anna</i>	—	f.4

Table (cont.)

<i>Child's Name</i>	<i>Date of Baptism</i>	<i>Parents</i>	<i>Witnesses</i>	<i>Page</i>
Graeve (Greeve) Elisabeth	**1642, 21 Sep	Graeve (Greeve) Archibald & NN Barbara	—	f.5
Johnson (Janson) Peter	**1642, 21 Sep	Johnson (Janson) Paul & NN Catharina	—	f.5
Dempster (Demster) Anna Maria	**1642, 22 Dec	Dempster (Demster) Georg & NN Elisabeth	—	f.6
Freser ? (Frese) Abraham	**1642, 26 Dec	Freser ? (Frese) Abraham & NN Catharina	—	f.7
1643 [MDCXLIII]				
Clark (Klarke) Sara	**1643, 18 Jan	Clark (Klarke) David & NN Sara	Klercke Lucretia (Reinhold)	f.8
Morton Georg	**1643, 5 Mar	Morton Ian & NN Maria	—	f.9
<i>Daniels (Daniel) Nathanael</i>	**1643, 5 Mar	<i>Daniels (Daniel) Edward & NN Brigitta</i>	—	f.10
<i>Hudson (Hodson) Florentina</i>	**1643, 23 Mar	<i>Hudson (Hodson) Wilhelm & NN Justina</i>	—	f.10
Peterson Abraham	**1643, 29 Mar	Peterson Abraham & NN Sara	—	f.10
Wobster (Wolpster) Grete	**1643, 25 May	Wobster (Wolpster) Sanner & NN Anna	Stuart Alexander Marshall Jones Maurtitze Anneke Robbertson Grete	f.10
Robertson Elisabeth	**1643, 14 Jun	Robertson Jacob and NN Anna	—	f.11
Kelly Hans	**1643, 28 Jun	Kelly Hans & NN Maria	—	f.11
Strachan Samuel	**1643, 14 Jul	Strachan Hieronymus & NN Anna	—	f.12
Davis Samuel	**1643, 14 Jul	Davis Wilhelm & NN Susanna	—	f.12
Dougal (Duggal) Hans	**1643, 26 Jul	Dougal (Duggal) Hans & NN Eva	—	f.12
Sangster Elisabeth	**1643, 16 Aug	Sangster Jacob & NN Anna	Bornet Barbara (George) Andres Margareth (Jacob)	f.13
Henderson Barbara	**1643, 18 Oct	Henderson Wilhelm & NN Barbara	—	f.14

Table (*cont.*)

<i>Child's Name</i>	<i>Date of Baptism</i>	<i>Parents</i>	<i>Witnesses</i>	<i>Page</i>
1644 [MDCXLIV]				
Williamson (Willemson) Hans	**1644, 24 Jan	Williamson (Willemson) Albrecht & NN Sibylla	Henrichson Wilhelm	f.16
Lewis (Lauwes) Jacob	**1644, 31 Jan	Lewis (Lauwes) Jacob & NN Anna	Berni Thomas	f.16
Mell (Mellis) Samuel	**1634, 4 Feb	Mell (Mellis) Alexander & Abigail	—	f.16
Brown (Brun) Nicklas	**1644, 21 Feb	Brown (Brun) Peter & NN Maria	—	f.17
Ballantine Thomas	**1644, 25 Feb	Ballantine Thomas & NN Euphrosyna	—	f.17
<i>Bilton Johan</i>	**1644, 15 Mar	<i>Bilton Edward & NN Anna</i>	—	f.17
Henderson Hans	**1644, 24 Mar	Henderson Andreas & NN Anna	—	f.17
Sinclair (Senckler) Abraham	**1644, 10 Apr	Sinclair (Senckler) Willem & NN Anna	Forgeisen Hans	f.18
Fergusson (Fergaussen) Elisabeth	**1644, 15 May	Fergusson (Fergaussen) Hans & NN Orty [Dorothea]	—	f.18
Forbes (Forbess) Arthur	**1644, 15 May	Forbes (Forbess) David & NN Maria	—	f.18
Brown (Brun) Anna	**1644, 29 May	Brown (Brun) Thomas & NN Elisabeth	—	f.19
Wilson (Wolson) Anna	**1644, 7 Aug	Wilson (Wolson) Jacob & NN Dorothea	—	f.20
<i>Gore Esther</i>	**1644, 11 Aug	<i>Gore William & NN Regina</i>	—	f.20
Brown (Brun) Christina	**1644, 21 Aug	Brown (Brun) Andreas & NN Anna	—	f.20
<i>Williamson ? (Wilhelmson) Helena</i>	**1644, 30 Aug	<i>Williamson ? (Wilhelmson) Wilhelm & NN Magdalena</i>	—	f.21
<i>Daniels (Daniel) Richard</i>	**1644, 22 Sep	<i>Daniels (Daniel) Edward & NN Brigitta</i>	—	f.21
Meddle ? David	**1644, 4 Oct	Meddle ? David & NN Margaretha	—	f.21

Table (*cont.*)

<i>Child's Name</i>	<i>Date of Baptism</i>	<i>Parents</i>	<i>Witnesses</i>	<i>Page</i>
Brown (Brun) Johan	**1644, 14 Oct	Brown (Brun) Alexander & NN	Smart Thomas Fr. David Morrison Tamsen Hans	f.21
Clark (Klarck) Anna	**1644, 30 Oct	Clark (Klarck) David & NN Sara	—	f.22
1645 [MDCXLV]				
Law (Laws) Catharina	**1645, 8 Jan	Law (Laws) Albert & NN Catharina	—	f.24
Sangster (Sanster) Elisabeth	**1645, 8 Jan	Sangster (Sanster) Jacob & NN Anna	—	f.24
Smart Catharina	**1645, 15 Jan	Smart Georgen & NN Catharina	Smart Thomas Patton Elisabeth Parrey Oliver	f.24
<i>Howard (Howart) Daniel</i>	**1645, 9 Feb	<i>Howard (Howart) Peter & NN Maria</i>		f.24
Dempster (Demster) Georg	**1645, 28 May	Dempster (Demster) Georg & NN Elisabeth	—	f.26
<i>Hudson Richard</i>	**1645, 10 Jul	<i>Hudson Wilhelm & NN Justina</i>	—	f.28
Brown (Brun) Anna	**1645, 30 Jul	Brown (Brun) David & NN Sophia	Licht Alexander	f.28
Peacock David	**1645, 27 Aug	Peacock Andreas & NN Anna Maria	—	f.29
Fergus (Forgus) Sara	**1645, 4 Sep	Fergus (Forgus) Hans & NN Dorothea	—	f.29
Jackson Maria	**1645, 2 Oct	Jackson Thomas & NN Judith	—	f.29
Mill Anna	**1645, 8 Oct	Mill Hans & NN Anna	—	f.29
Henderson Wilhelm	**1645, 12 Nov	Henderson Wilhelm & NN Barbara	—	f.30
<i>Bilton Wilhelm</i>	**1645, 15 Nov	<i>Bilton Edward & NN Anna</i>	—	f.30
Wobster Alexander	**1645, 19 Nov	Wobster Alexander & NN Anna	Lang Marten	f.30
Mell (Mellis) Alexander	**1645, 19 Nov	Mell (Mellis) Alexander & NN Abigail	Morton Hans Robbertson Thomas Theen Elisabeth (Andres)	f.30

Table (*cont.*)

<i>Child's Name</i>	<i>Date of Baptism</i>	<i>Parents</i>	<i>Witnesses</i>	<i>Page</i>
1646 [MDCXLVI]				
Sinclair (Senckler) Maria	**1646, 21 Jan	Sinclair (Senckler) Willem & NN Anna	—	f.32
Brown (Brun) NN	**1645, 4 Feb	Brown (Brun) Alexander & NN	Fr. Thomas Smart	f.32
Dougal (Duggel) Wilhelm	**1646, 18 Feb	Dougal (Duggel) Hans & NN Eva	—	f.32
Turner (Torner) Johannes	**1646, 27 Mar	Turner (Torner) Jean & NN Catharina		f.33
<i>Daniels (Daniel) Johan</i>	**1646, 29 May	<i>Daniels (Daniel) Edward & NN Brigitta</i>	—	f.35
Brown (Braun) Elisabeth	**1646, 24 Jun	Brown (Braun) Hans & NN Sophia	—	f.35
Wilson (Wolsen) Johannes	**1646, 30 Aug	Wilson (Wolson) Jacob & NN Dorothea	Kochrem Albrecht Mehre Jacob	f.36
Angus Maria	**1646, 9 Sep	Angus Albrecht & NN Regina	Morton Hans Angus Albrecht Robbertson Anna Pattons Elisabeth	f.37
Strachan (Strachon) Helena	**1646, 11 Oct	Strachan (Strachon) Alexander & NN Barbara	Achterlonis Gilbert Berne Jacob Middis David	f.38
Baillie (Bally) Maria	**1646, 23 Oct	Baillie (Bally) Hans <i>der younger</i> & NN Jacomina	Collins Maria Bally Maria	f.38
Wobster Peter	**1646, 25 Nov	Wobster Alexander (Zander) & NN Anna	—	f.39
Lyall (Layl) David	**1646, 23 Dec	Lyall (Layl) David & NN Anna	—	f.39
1647 [MDCXLVIII]				
<i>Howard (Howart) Maria</i>	**1647, 1 Jan	<i>Howard (Howart) Peter & NN Maria</i>	—	f.40
Brown (Brun) Sophia	**1647, 6 Jan	Brown (Brun) David & NN Sophia	—	f.40
Fergus (Forgus) Rachel	**1647, 20 Jan	Fergus (Forgus) Hans & NN Dorothea	—	f.40

Table (cont.)

<i>Child's Name</i>	<i>Date of Baptism</i>	<i>Parents</i>	<i>Witnesses</i>	<i>Page</i>
<i>Williamson ? (Wilmson) Cornelius</i>	**1647, 21 Feb	<i>Williamson ? (Wilmson) Wilhelm & NN Magdalena</i>	—	f.40
Brown (Brun) Anna	**1647, 7 Mar	Brown (Brun) Alexander & NN	Achterlohn N. Schirer Albrecht Fr. Minne Hans Fr. Thamson	f.41
<i>Randles (Randal ?) Jacob</i>	**1647, 21 Mar	<i>Randles (Randal ?) Thomas & NN Catharina</i>	—	f.41
Meir Anna Maria	**1647, 28 Mar	Meir Jacob & NN Gertrud	Torner Maria Willems Anna	f.41
Jackson Elisabeth	**1647, 14 Apr	Jackson Thomas & NN Judith	—	f.42
Sibbald (Sybbolt) Maria	**1647, 4 Aug	Sibbald (Sybbolt) Adam & NN Theodora	—	f.44
Sinclair (Senkeler) Isaac	**1647, 11 Aug	Sinclair (Senkeler) Wilhelm & NN Anna	Willemsen Edward	f.44
Burnet (Bornet) Johannes	**1647, 10 Sep	Burnet (Bornet) Jan [Johann] & NN Catharina	Taylor Johan	f.44
Baillie (Bally) Jacomina	**1647, 29 Sep	Baillie (Bally) Hans <i>yünger</i> & NN Jacomina	—	f.45
<i>Hudson Maria Elisabeth</i>	**1647, 1 Oct	<i>Hudson Wilhelm & NN Justina</i>	—	f.45
Maxwell (Maxwel) Margareta	**1647, 24 Nov	Maxwell (Maxwel) Ernst & NN Elisabeth	Lion Jacob	f.46
Brown (Brun) Christianes	**1646, 15 Dec	Brown (Brun) Hans & NN Sophia		f.46
Ross Jacob	**1646, 22 Dec	Ross Albrecht & NN Elisabeth	Ramse Daniel Geriach Willem Achterlon Casper Fr.	f.46
1648 [MDCXLVIII]				
<i>Edwards (Edward) Samuel Henrich</i>	**1648, 6 Jan	<i>Edwards (Edward) Samuel & NN Elisabeth</i>	<i>Sander Niclas</i>	f.47
Dunbar (Dombar) Andreas	**1648, 12 Jan	Dunbar (Dombar) Peter & NN	Tamsen Andrew Juncker Albert Achterlon	f.47
Henderson Henrich	**1648, 16 Jan	Henderson Andreas & NN Anna	Mildrom Jacob	f.47

Table (cont.)

<i>Child's Name</i>	<i>Date of Baptism</i>	<i>Parents</i>	<i>Witnesses</i>	<i>Page</i>
Brown (Brun) Catharina	**1648, 26 Jan	Brown (Brun) Hans & NN Else	Rise Michel	f.47
Green ? (Gré) Nielcke	**1648, 9 Feb	Green ? (Gré) Hans & Elisabeth	Willemsen Albrecht Lion Jacob Gourlay? (Gorle) Anne Roberts Anke	f.47
<i>Howlet (Houlget) Jeremias</i>	**1648, 23 Feb	<i>Howlet (Houlget) Jeremias & NN Elisabeth</i>	<i>Bartsches Ritschert Schepert Ritschert Baret Robert</i>	f.48
<i>Jennings (Jennig) Maria Elisabeth</i>	**1648, 31 Mar	<i>Jennings (Jennig) Johann & Anna Maria</i>	Stive Jacob Demsters Alexander <i>Jennig Maria Jfr.</i>	f.49
Williamson (Willemsen) Jacob	**1648, 5 Apr	Williamson (Willemsen) Albrecht & NN Sibylla	Brun Johannes Rotscher Jacob	f.49
Sangster (Sanster) Maria	**1648, 19 Apr	Sangster (Sanster) Jacob & NN Anna	Petersen Thomas	f.49
MacKean (Meckens) Johannes	**1648, 21 Apr	MacKean (Meckens) Johannes & NN Johanna	Nais Philip Davids Robert	f.49
Strachan (Strachon) Anna Maria	**1648, 12 May	Strachan (Strachon) Hieronimus & NN Anna		f.49
Peacock (Pecock) Andrew (Andres)	**1648, 14 May	Peacock (Pecock) Andrew (Andres) & [NN Anna Maria]	Teller Johan Fr. David Murray (Mori) Bennets Jacob	f.49
Fergusson (Fargenson) Johannes	**1648, 22 May	Ferguson (Fargenson) Thomas & NN Susanna	Gellentini Thomas Norin Catharina	f.49
Meir (Mehr) Wilhelm	**1648, 7 Jun	Meir (Mehr) Wilhelm & NN Gertrud	Meldrum Jacob Schmart Thomas	f.49
Donaldson (Danalson) Johannes	**1648, 9 Jun	Donaldson (Danalson) Andres & NN Anna	Grim Andres Bris Hans Davids Elisabeth	f.50
Strachan (Strachon) Barbara	**1648, 28 Jun	Strachan (Strachon) Alexander & NN Barbara	Gellentins Euphrosina Mirus Anna	f.50
Andrews (Andres) Ernestus	**1648, 13 Jul	Andrews (Andres) Jacob & NN Florentina	Nicklas Catharina ?	f.50

Table (cont.)

<i>Child's Name</i>	<i>Date of Baptism</i>	<i>Parents</i>	<i>Witnesses</i>	<i>Page</i>
<i>Warren (Warrin) Sara</i>	**1648, 26 Jul	<i>Warren (Warrin) Thomas & NN Esther</i>	Stimsen Maria	f.51
Aidy (Ede) Grigen	**1648, 27 Jul	Aidy (Ede) Hans & NN Elisabeth	Ede Grigen Kricht Jacob Strachon Alexander Schmart Thomas Anderson Willem Achterlon Fr. Millis Fr.	f.51
Aidy (Ede) Albrecht	**1648, 27 Jul	Aidy (Ede) Hans & NN Elisabeth	as above	f.51
<i>Williamson (Willemson) Florentina</i>	**1648, 17 Sep	<i>Williamson (Willemson) Willem & NN Magdalena</i>		f.52
Burnet Florentina	**1648, 18 Sep	Burnet Johann & NN Catharina	Taylor Johann Fr.	f.52
<i>Howard (Howart) Abigail</i>	**1648, 20 Sep	<i>Howard (Howart) Peter & NN Maria</i>		f.52
Meldrum Elisabeth	**1648, 22 Sep	Meldrum Jacob & NN Esther	Siboldt Maria Fr.	f.52
Sanders Elisabeth	**1648, 11 Oct	Sanders Peter & NN Maria	Lion Jacob Achterlon Maria Fr.	f.53
Chalmers (Tschammer) Andres	**1648, 8 Nov	Chalmers (Tschammer) Hans & NN Elisabeth		f.54
Graem (Grem) Anna	**1648, 29 Nov	Graem (Grem) Lorentz & NN Anna	Bornet Johan Achterlon Maria Fr.	f.54
1649 [MDCXLXIX]				
Taylor (Taillor) Johannes [jnr.]	**1649, 24 Feb	Taylor (Taillor) Johannes [snr.] & NN Christina	Dumbar Peter Thomson Johan Fr.	f.57
Bennet Catharina-Elisabeth	**1649, 7 Mar	Bennet Jacob & NN Adelgunda	Steffens Andres Dämster Elisabeth (Grig)	f.57
Brown ? (Brun) David [jnr.]	**1649, 21 Mar	Brown ? (Brun) David [snr.] & NN Sophia		f.58
Dempster (Dämster) Cordula	**1649, 21 May	Dempster (Dämster) Girgen & NN Elisabeth	Bennet Adelgunda Fr. Damster Cordula Jfr.	f.60

Table (cont.)

<i>Child's Name</i>	<i>Date of Baptism</i>	<i>Parents</i>	<i>Witnesses</i>	<i>Page</i>
Fergusson (Ferguson) Esther	**1649, 30 May	Fergusson (Fergesson) Hans & NN Orty	Travel Peter	f.60
Mell Elisabeth	**1649, 8 Jun	Mell Hans & NN Anna	Anderson Wilhelm Bornet Catharina (Johan)	f.60
<i>Traffel (Travel) Elisabeth</i>	**1649, 2 Jul	Traffel (Travel) Samuel & NN Justina	<i>Collins Johan Hudson Justina (Willem) Hadford</i>	f.61
Angus Orty [Dorothy]	**1649, 6 Jul	Angus Albrecht & NN Regina	Meldrum Jacob Tailor Johan Mauritzen Elisabeth	f.61
MacKean (Mekes) Maria	**1649, 6 Jul	MacKean (Mekes) Jan [Johannes] & NN Johanna	Collins Maria Strimson Maria	f.61
<i>Jennings Anna Concordia</i>	**1649, 21 Jul	<i>Jennings Johann & NN Anna Maria</i>	Dumbar Peter	f.62
Sinclair (Senkler) Anna	**1649, 22 Jul	Sinclair (Senkler) Wilhelm and NN Anna		f.62
Baillie (Bally) Elisabeth	**1649, 27 Jul	Baillie (Bally) Hans <i>der younger</i> & NN Jacomina	Collins Maria Fr.	f.62
Burnet (Bornet) Barbara	**1649, 1 Aug	Burnet (Bornet) Jacob & NN Barbara	Morton Hans Bornet Catharina (Johan)	f.62
Aidy (Edé) David	**1649, 1 Aug	Aidy (Edé) Georgen & NN Jels	Gellentini Thomas Anderson Willem Schirris Anna	f.62
Henderson Sara	**1649, 12 Aug	Henderson Willem & NN Barbara	Mellisen Hans	f.63
Carr (Karr) Thomas	**1649, 22 Aug	Carr (Karr) Jacob & NN Ursula	Morton Hans Smart Thomas Schirris Gilbert	f.63
Hill Helena	**1649, 9 Sep	Hill Richert & NN Elisabeth	Patton Hans	f.64
<i>Hudson Concordia</i>	**1649, 7 Oct	<i>Hudson Wilhem & Justina</i>	<i>Waynde Richard Collins Maria Fr.</i>	f.64
Hill ? (Hell) Hans Girge	**1649, 24 Oct	Hill ? (Hell) Johann & NN Elisabeth	Strachon Hieronymus	f.65

Table (cont.)

<i>Child's Name</i>	<i>Date of Baptism</i>	<i>Parents</i>	<i>Witnesses</i>	<i>Page</i>
Grimman ? (Krimon) Thomas [jnr.]	**1649, 21 Nov	Grimman ? (Krimon) Thomas [snr.] & NN Thomas	Torner Wilhelm Ehde Jfr.	f.66
Gill (Gillis) Daniel [jnr.]	**1649, 16 Dec	Gill (Gillis) Daniel [snr.] & NN Anna	Schott Thomas Simsen Peter Ross Elisabeth Fr.	f.66
Chalmers (Tschammer) Thomas	**1649, 19 Dec	Chalmers (Tschammer) Hans & NN Elisabeth	Meller Alexander Mongrif Albricht	f.67

PART II – MARRIAGE REGISTER

<i>Name of Groom</i>	<i>Name of Bride</i>	<i>Date of Marriage</i>	<i>Page</i>
1640 [MDCXL]			
Scott Thomas	Johnson (Janson) Maria Jfr. d.o. Arnold von Aüwerding	∞1640, 7 Feb	f.175
Duncan (Duncken) Jacob	Jacobson Maria	∞1640, 13 Feb	f.175
Murray (Mory) Hanß	Horn Dorothea w.o. late Casper	∞1640, 4 Mar	f.175v
Lonsdale Gilbert **	Schmidt Barbara d.o. Jakob	∞1640, 8 Mar	f.175v
Johnson (Janson) Peter	Daniels Sara w.o. late James	∞1640, 15 Apr	f.175v
Bruce (Brüß) Johan	Hagen Elisabeth d.o. David	∞1640, 24 Apr	f.176
Johnson (Jonston) Jacob	Becker Elisabeth	∞1640, 12 Aug	f.177v
<i>Bilton (Bilthon) Edward</i>	Von dem Bogen Anna	∞1640, 13 Sep	f.177v
Maxwell Gabriel **	De Gensers Anna	∞1640, 5 Nov	f.178
Lowe Richard ^{1**} <i>der Königlischen fisci in Preuß Administrator, Königlischen Burggraff auf Marienburg und Secretarius</i>	Polkanin Elisabeth w.o. late Johan Holsten	∞1640, 20 Nov	f.178v

¹ Fischer calls him Lewis, see SEWP, 224.

Table (cont.)

<i>Name of Groom</i>	<i>Name of Bride</i>	<i>Date of Marriage</i>	<i>Page</i>
1641 [MDCXLI]			
Peacock (Peakok) Andreas **	Morrison (Maurison) Anna Maria d.o. David	∞1641, 16 Apr	f.180
Bennet (Bannet) Sepherin / ∞1641, 8 Jul	Johnson (Jonson) Anna d.o. John	∞1641, 8 Jul	f.180v
<i>Collins Johan **</i>	<i>Maria Traffel (Travel) Jfr. d.o. Samuel</i>	<i>∞1642, 1 Oct</i>	<i>f.181</i>
Sterling Georg	Essen Sara d.o. Andreas	∞1641, 14 Oct	f.181
Anderson William **	Warden Mary	∞1641	f.181
1642 [MDCXLII]			
Bennet (Bannet) Jacob	Stevens Adelgunda Fr. w.o. late Jacob Stefhans	∞1642, 17 Feb	f.3
Johnson (Janson) Matthias	Wanton Sara Fr. w.o. late Hans Wentouns	∞1642, 10 Mar	f.3
1643 [MDCXLIII]			
Reich Paul	Dempster (Demsters) Maria Jfr. d.o. Albrecht	∞1643, 27 Apr	f.7
Brown (Brun) David	Sensa ? Barbara	∞1643, 4 May	f.7
Harvie (Harway) Caspar	Staines Elisabeth Jfr. d. o. Gabriel	∞1643, 25 Aug	f.9
Littlejohn (Litlejan) Jacob	Mortimer (Mortimers) Margaretha Jfr. d.o. Jacob	∞1643, 8 Oct	f.9
1644 [MDCXLIV]			
Hill Thomas	Knappard Anna	∞1644, 19 Apr	f.11
Norrie Jacob	Eldman Catharina	∞1644, 8 Aug	f.11
1645 [MDCXLV]			
Hunter Peter	NN Barbara	∞1645, 31 Oct	f.15
Strachan (Strachon) Alexander	Smith ? (Schmit) Barbara w.o. late Gilbert Lumsdail	∞1645, 11 Dec	f.17
1646 [MDCXLVI]			
Dunbar (Dombar) Peter	Kamerlings Jfr. Cordula	∞1646, 19 Jun	f.19
Grey Hans	Barclay (Barkle) Elisabeth Jfr. d.o. Albrecht	∞1646, 1 Jul	f.19
Calander (Kallander) Peter	Priest ? (Pries) Jfr. Magdailene	∞1646, 20 Jul	f.20

Table (*cont.*)

<i>Name of Groom</i>	<i>Name of Bride</i>	<i>Date of Marriage</i>	<i>Page</i>
Burnet (Bornet) Johan	Olhasy Jfr. Catharina	∞1646, 15 Oct	f.20
Brown (Braun) Lorentz	Haig (Hegga) Anna Jfr. d.o. David	∞1646, 11 Dec	f.21
1647 [MDCXLVII]			
Demster David	Wilder Margaretha Jfr.	∞1647, 15 Jan	f.22
...eck Georg	Ingram Catharina Jfr. d.o. Ian	∞1647, 18 Feb	f.22
Vass ? (Voss) Albert	Morrison (Mauritzon) Elisabeth Jfr. d.o. Jacob	∞1647, 26 Feb	f.22
Taylor (Taylour) Jan	Morrison (Mauritzon) Christina Jfr. d.o. David	∞1647, 17 Sep	f.23
Meldrum Jacob	Tennison (Tönnissen) Esther Jfr. d.o. Fridrich	∞1647, 19 Sep	f.23
Jonken Peter	Angus Jfr. Anna (d.o. Alexander)	∞1647, 12 Dec	f.24
1648 [MDCXLVIII]			
Ross Hans	Berents Fr. Anna	∞1648, 2 Feb	f.25
Bastian George	Baillie or Beillie (Balyi) Maria d.o Nicolas	∞1648, 23 Apr	f.25
Everhardt Matthys	Thompson (Tamson) Regina Jfr. d.o. Hans		f.25
Küchn Jacob	Fenton Anna Jfr. d.o. David	∞1648, 5 May	f.26
Smith (Schmidt) Jacob	Morrissey (Moeresy) Maria Jfr. d.o. Johann Georg	∞1648, 22 Jun	f.26
Gibb ? (Gibowski) Johannes	Everts Anna	∞1648, 28 Jun	f.27
Smart (Schmart) Thomas	Meisterthons ? Gertrud	∞1648, 6 Jul	f.27
Calander (Kolander) Peter	Moschowitz Agneta	∞1648, 24 Aug	f.27
Burnett (Bornet) Jacob	Robertson Barbara Jfr. d.o. Jacob	∞1648, 22 Oct	f.28
1649 [MDCXLIX]			
Bilton Edward	Millar ? (Melher) Barbara Jgf. (d.o. Hans)	∞1649, Jan	f.30
Morton Hans	Robertson Fr. Anna (vidua Jacob Robbetsen)	∞1649, 10 Mar	f.30
Am Ende Jacob	Henson (Hinson) Anna Jfr. d.o. Jacob	∞1649, 9 Nov	f.31

APPENDIX III

SCOTTISH NAMES APPEARING IN THE BAPTISMAL AND MARRIAGE
RECORDS OF ST ELIZABETH CHURCH, GDAŃSK 1640–1649

Source

“Tauf Register 1627–1693,” APGd. sig. 351/4.

Notes

Wilson**	names mentioned by Fischer in SEWP, Appendix XX, The Church Records of Sts Peter and Paul, and of St Elisabeth at Danzig, 211–228.
d.o.	daughter of
Fr.	<i>Frau</i>
Jenkins (Jenkins)	parishioners of English origin.
Jfr.	<i>Jungfrau</i>
NN	name unknown
Reich Paul	spouse of local origin.
s.o.	son of
w.o.	wife of

PART I – BAPTISM REGISTER

<i>Child's Name</i>	<i>Date of Baptism</i>	<i>Parents</i>	<i>Witnesses</i>	<i>Page</i>
1640 [MDCXL]				
Donaldson David	**1640, 1 Jan	Donaldson James & NN Elisabeth	Jacob Rittwein David Bell David Artis Elizabeth Anderson	f.112
Donaldson Elisabeth	**1640, 12 Jan	Donaldson Alexander & Hall Margaretha	Jacob Rittwein David Melly Maria w.o. Wilhelm Geri Barbara w.o. Georg Bulert Sara w.o. Daniel Ramson	f.112
Hunter (Honter) Andreas [jnr.] II	**1640, 15 Jan	Hunter (Honter) Andrew [snr.] & Stantzel Eva	Jacob Rittevin	f.112
Barthel Wilhelm	**1640, 4 Mar	Barthel Albrecht & Mutri Elisabeth	Thomas Law Patton Wilhelm Parneth Wilhelm Elizabeth Jacob Law Elizabeth w.o. Jacob Davidson Esther d.o. Jacob Chrichton	f.114

Table (cont.)

<i>Child's Name</i>	<i>Date of Baptism</i>	<i>Parents</i>	<i>Witnesses</i>	<i>Page</i>
Bruce? (Pruss) Anna	**1640, 2 Sep	Bruce? (Pruss) David & Ramsons Elisabeth	Patton Wilhelm	f.121
<i>Handford (Handfort) John [I]</i>	**1640, 4 Sep + before 1644	<i>Handford (Handfort) Robert & NN</i>	Johan Collins Richard Jenkins <i>Englischen Nation Secretarius</i>	f.122
Hamilton (Hamelthon) Ludwig	**1640, 5 Sep	Hamilton (Hamelthon) Johann & Schultz Maria	Stephan Berndt Blasi Hamelthon Thomas Malvin	f.122
Crumme Johan	**1640, 12 Sep	Crumme David & Innes (Innys) Regina		
Angus (Angos) Adelgunda	**1640, 18 Oct	Angus (Angos) Albrecht & NN Elizabeth	Abigail w.o. Alexander Melly Andreas s.o. Jacob Stephans	f.125
Dempster (Demster) Georg	**1640, 20 Nov	Dempster (Demster) David [snr.] & NN Elizabeth	Georg Borndt Hanus Kerny Dempster (Demster) Georg	f.126
Cochrane (Kocherim) Florentina	**1640, 5 Dec	Cochrane (Kocherim) Albrecht & NN Ursula	Anna w.o. Johan Karkettel Hanus Rhüd Jacob Wolff	f.127
Angus (Angos) Elizabeth	**1640, 23 Dec	Angus (Angos) Albrecht & NN regina	Magdalena w.o. Lorents Janson Jacon Andersohon Maria Hotschon w.o. Wilhelm Geri	f.128
1641 [MDCXLI]				
Steinson (Stinnson) Maria	**1641, 5 Mar	Steinson (Stinnson) Robert & NN Maria	Jan Petrishon Maria Rödin Maria w.o. Michael Witt	f.130
Wardrope (Waddrop) Elisabeth	**1641, 24 Mar	Wardrope (Waddrop) Peter & [Thain] Katharina	Thein Andreas David Bell	f.131
Wardrope (Waddrop) Anna II	**1641, 24 Mar	Wardrope (Waddrop) Peter & NN Katharina	Sherers Gilbert Roberts Anna Lion Jacob Gurle Anna	f.131
Ramsay (Ramson) Johannes	**1641, 28 Apr	Ramsay (Ramson) Daniel & Nisebith Sara	Zander Hanus	f.132

Table (cont.)

<i>Child's Name</i>	<i>Date of Baptism</i>	<i>Parents</i>	<i>Witnesses</i>	<i>Page</i>
Kandt Elizabeth	**1641, 9 Jun	Kandt Wilhelm & Fosters Margaretha	Kochram Jörg Geri Wilhelm Anna w.o. Zanders Karkittels Elizabeth Johan Zanders Moritzon Jacob Husson Wilhelm	f.133
Anderson Jacob	**1641, 2 Jul	Anderson Jacob & NN Christina	Wolssen Balthasar Regina Wolssen Philipp[s] Thomas Tamson Alexander	f.133
MacGhie or MacKay (Makke) Wilhelm	**1641, 7 Jul	MacGhie or MacKay (Makke) Thomas & Henrichson Elizabeth	Scherer Gilbert Elizabeth w.o. late Reinhold Portiuns Sara Jacobs w.o. Hans Witten Fischer Eduard Hennershon Wilhelm	f.134
Wolsen Johannes	**1641, 11 Aug	Wolsen Abraham & NN Regina	Krumme David Harißon Katharina Prüß Hanuß Waddi Hanuß	f.134
Brown (Bruno) Arturus oder Artus	**1641, 7 Nov	Brown (Bruno) Hanuß Scotus & Fasters Anna	Ottison Artus Tuch Hanns Teligert Maria Rittwin Jacob Roberts Anna	f.138
<i>Corry (Corye) Wilhelm</i>	<i>**1641, 7 Nov</i>	<i>Corry (Corye) Alexander & Schwaps Barbara</i>	Karkettel Johan Handfort Robert NN w.o. Hanuß Zanders Heggi David	f.138
1642 [MDCXLII]				
Bruce? (Pruss) Margareta	**1641, 12 Feb	Bruce? (Pruss) David & Ramsons Elisabeth	Martin Margareta w.o. Stinson Ramson Anna Prüß Hanuß	f.141
Angus (Angos) Wilhelmus	**1642, 13 Feb	Angus (Angos) Albrecht & Mylius Elisabeth	Stephan Ernst Gery Wilhelm	f.142
Straton (Strachon) Johannes	**1642, 29 Apr	Straton (Strachon) Peter & NN	Elizabeth Jacob Donaldsons Elizabeth Wilhelm Patton Prüß Hanuß Mommer Jacob Samson Hanuß	f.145

Table (cont.)

<i>Child's Name</i>	<i>Date of Baptism</i>	<i>Parents</i>	<i>Witnesses</i>	<i>Page</i>
Ramsay (Ramson) Jacob	**1642, 10 Jun	Ramsay (Ramson) Daniel & Nisebith Sara	Bennet Jacob Peacock Andreas	f.146
Wood (Wott) Barbara	**1642, 6 Jul	Wood (Wott) Adam & Walens Cunegundis	Mann Jacob Schmart Thomas for Roß Hannus Karkittels Maria Sterlings Georg Elizabeth Patons Maria Helsch w.o. W. Gery	f.149
Murray (Morey) Maria	**1642, 10 Jul	Murray (Morey) Alexander & Kolens Katharina	Griff Johan Ede Georg Maria Helsch w.o. W. Gery	f.149
Coldway (Coldewey) Elisabeth	**1642, 3 Aug	Coldway (Coldewey) Hanuß & NN Agnes	Susanna Reinold Junkers Schmidt Peter	f.150
Arthur (Arthus) Johannes	**1642, 30 Oct	Arthur (Arthus) Wilhelm & Mott Annike	Schmardin Elizabeth Hogbergische Elizabeth Patton Wilhelm Cöllmer Hanuß Robbert Hanuß	f.152
<i>Handford Elisabeth</i>	<i>**1642, 4 Nov</i>	<i>Handford Robert & NN Elisabeth</i>		f.152
Thomson (Tamson) Elisabeth	**1642, 7 Dec	Thomson (Tamson) Peter & NN Elisabeth	Elisabeth Pattons Tamson Wilhelm	f.154
Donaldson Johannes	**1642, 22 Dec	Donaldson Jacob & NN Elisabeth	Stephan Hanuß Robertson Daniel Niclaus Jacob	f.155
1643 [MDCXLIII]				
Morrison David	**1643, 2 Jan	Morrison Albrecht & NN Anna	Ramson Daniel Hottischon Artus	f.156
Hamilton (Hamelthon) Abraham	**1643, 11 Jan	Hamilton (Hamelthon) Blasius & Nielandts Katherina	Reinold Juncker Abraham Juncker	f.157
Crumme Elizabeth	**1643, 15 Jan	Crumme David & Innes (Innys) Regina	Stuard Alexander Bell Andreas Pattons Elisabeth	f.157
Anderson Johannes	**1643, 25 Jan	Anderson Jacob & Pratt Margar	Chilmer Hans Kandt Hans Andreson Elisabeth	f.158

Table (*cont.*)

<i>Child's Name</i>	<i>Date of Baptism</i>	<i>Parents</i>	<i>Witnesses</i>	<i>Page</i>
Littlejohn (Littelian) Elisabeth	**1643, 26 Apr	Littlejohn (Littelian) George [snr.] & Melvin Elisabeth	Cranstoun Alexander	f.162
Sterling Thomas	**1643, 5 May	Sterling Georg & Tems ? Sara	Georgen Kochram w.o. Wilhelm Ballentin Gelentin Thomas	f.163
MacGhie or MacKay (Macky) Anna	**1643, 12 May	MacGhie or MacKay (Macky) Thomas & Hutchinson ? Elisabeth	Patton Hanuß Demster David Patton Elisabeth Moray Annike Schmidt Elisabeth Schefard Anna Robertson Hanuß	f.163
Ingram Thomas	**1643, 21 May	Ingram Jacob & Curl Elisabeth	Chalmer Hanuß Lion Jacob	f.164
Lithgow (Lisko) Maria	**1643, 24 Jun	Lithgow (Lisko) Jacob & Henrichsen Elisabeth	Robertsen Maria Pattons Elisabeth Gilmer Hans	f.165
Angus (Angos) Johannes	**1643, 28 Jun	Angus (Angos) Albrecht & NN	Deller Hanuß Magdalena w.o. Wilhelm Wilhelmson Achterlohn Gilbert	f.166
Cranstown (Cranstoun) Agnes	**1643, 30 Aug	Cranstown (Cranstoun) Alexander & Reußner	Bell Andreas	f.167
Chalmers (Chalmer) Maria	**1643, 13 Sept	Chalmers (Chalmer) Andrew [orig. Andreas] & NN Sophia	Maria w.o. Berners Albrecht Donaldson Elisabeth w.o. late Bell David	f.167
Ramsay (Ramse) Wilhelm I [jnr.] <i>Posthumus</i>	**1643, 15 Oct	Ramsay (Ramse) Wilhelm [snr.] & Kolwins Elisabeth		f.169
Hamilton (Hamelthon) Johaness [snr.]	**1643, 15 Nov	Hamilton (Hamelthon) Alexander & Clauß Sara	Hamelthon Blasius	f.169
Hay Jacob [II]	**1643, 26 Nov	Hay Jacob [I] & NN		f.171
1644 [MDCXLIV]				
Steinson (Stinson) Katharina	**1644, 2 Feb	Steinson (Stinson) Robert & NN		f.173

Table (cont.)

<i>Child's Name</i>	<i>Date of Baptism</i>	<i>Parents</i>	<i>Witnesses</i>	<i>Page</i>
<i>Sergeant (Sergant) Johannes</i>	**1644, 17 Feb	<i>Sergeant (Sergant) Hanß & NN Katharina</i>	Sommerfeld Agnes Schppard Richard	f.173
Bruce? (Prüss) David	**1644, 28 Feb	Bruce? (Prüss) David & NN	Burla Annica d.o. Chalmer Hannuß Lang David Doncken Jacob Bornath Barbara w.o. Georg	f.174
Dempster (Demster) David [jnr.]	**1644, 3 Mar	Dempster (Demster) David [snr.] & NN Elisabeth	Mikki David Berok Andreas Hutschin Elizabeth w.o. Hanß Cordula d.o. Alex. Damster Heggi David	f.174
Brown (Prun) Johannes	**1644, 6 Mar	Brown (Prun) Hanuß & Faster Anna	Davidson Hanuß Ross Henrich Donaldson Elisabeth Gilmer Hanuß	f.174
Wardrope (Wattrop) Katharina	**1644, 24 Apr	Wardrope (Wattrop) Peter & Thain (Thean) Katharina	Hottischon Maria conj. Wilhelm Gery Königsche Maria Hottischon Artus	f.176
Ramsay (Ramse) Ernstus	**1644, 24 Apr	Ramsay (Ramse) Daniel & Nisebits Sara	Föster Jacob for Carol Ramse Juncker Rinold	f.176
Arthur (Artus) Anna	**1644, 23 Oct	Arthur (Arthus) Wilhelm & Moott Annike	Schärer Gilbert Andersohn Jacob Davidson Elizabeth conj. Hanford Margaretha w.o. Robert Patton Elisabeth conj. Kerny Hanuß	f.181
Schmagk Jacob	**1644, 20 Nov	Schmagk Thomas & NN Elisabeth	Däck Peter Davidson Hanuß Katharina w.o. Peter Watrop Anna w.o. Jacob Schmidt Bornath Georg Kein Jacob	f.183
Bell David	**1644, 24 Nov	Bell Andreas [snr.] & Fischer Anna	Lyon Jacob Kamer Henrich w.o. Albrecht Frier Patton Elisabeth conj. Bell David	f.183

Table (cont.)

<i>Child's Name</i>	<i>Date of Baptism</i>	<i>Parents</i>	<i>Witnesses</i>	<i>Page</i>
Andrews (Andres) Johan	**1644, 11 Dec	Andrews (Andres) Carl & [Flockert Elisabeth]	No Scots	f.184
1645 [MDCXLV]				
Anderson Margaretha	**1645, 12 Feb	Anderson Jacob & Pratt (Bratt) Margaretha	Lyon Jacob Moritz Albert Thamson Margaretha Faster Margaretha Kerny Margaretha d.o. Hanuß	f.187
Bruce? (Prus) Richard	**1645, 27 Feb	Bruce? (Prus) David & NN Elisabeth	Lampart Stephan Schippart Richart <i>Anglus</i>	f.188
<i>Handford (Handfort) Johannes [II]</i>	**1645, 13 Mar	<i>Handford (Handfort) Robert & NN Elisabeth</i>		f.188
Davidson Maria	**1645, 10 Apr	Davidson Johan & NN	Achterlohn Gilbert Zanders Elisabeth conj. Patton Elisabeth conj. Balfur Wilhelm	f.190
Kolleson Thomas	**1645, 11 May	Kolleson Hanuß & La[w] Elisabeth	Hottischon Artus Mortimer Johan Witt Jacob Middi Margaretha w.o. late David Meilis Elisabeth w.o. Albert Angos	f.191
Norrie (Nory) Alexander	**1645, 8 Jun	Norrie (Nory) Jacob [snr.] & NN		f.191
Littlejohn (Litteljan) Barbara [I]	**1645, 1 Jul	Littlejohn (Litteljan) Georg [snr.] & Melvin Elisabeth	Bornet Andreas Bell Katharina w.o. David Moritzin Elisabetha w.o. Albrecht Niclaus Magdalena w.o. Jacob Kochram Jacob	f.192
Allison ? (Ailleson) Elisabeth	**1645, 17 Aug	Allison ? (Ailleson) Albrecht & Elsners Katharina	Lyon Jacob s.o. Schmidt Jacob Moritzen Margaretha w.o. Jacob	f.194
Dempster (Demster) Alexander	**1645, 27 Aug	Dempster (Demster) David [snr.] & NN Elisabeth	Ritt Jacob Von Dusseldorf Johann	f.194

Table (cont.)

<i>Child's Name</i>	<i>Date of Baptism</i>	<i>Parents</i>	<i>Witnesses</i>	<i>Page</i>
Chalmers ? (Schammer) Adelgunda	**1645, 8 Oct	Chalmers ? (Schammer) Andreas & NN Sophia	No witnesses	f.194
Straton (Strachon) Anna	**1645, 15 Oct	Straton (Strachon) Peter & NN Elisabeth	Schott . . . Albrecht König Anna conj. Hottshinin Anna conj. Balli Katharina conj. Angoß Elisabeth conj. Robertson Albert	f.196
Mauritzon Wilhelm	**1645, 13 Nov	Mauritzon Albrecht & NN Anna	Cronstoun Alexander Patton Elisabeth conj. Duhall Wilhelm	f.197
Dane (Denn) Elisabeth	**1645, 10 Dec	Dane (Denn) Hanuß & NN	Mortimer Hanuß Zanders Elisabeth w.o. Hanuß Roberts Barbara d.o. Jacob Mell Hanuß	f.199
1646 [MDCXLVI]				
Leddel Anna Maria	**1646, 4 Mar	Leddel Thomas handschuch-macher & Schmidt Annike	Kerny Hanuß for Lyon Jacob Damster David Martin Hanuß Elisabeth Patton	f.202
Wardrope (Watrop) Margareta	**1646, 22 Mar	Wardrope (Watrop) Peter & Thain (Thean) Katharina	Schirmer Cunrad Moritzen Annike w.o. Albrecht Roberts Margaretha w.o. late Hanuß Patton Elisabeth conj. Crichton (Chrichtsun) Jacob	f.203
<i>Sergeant (Shergant)</i> <i>Dorothea</i>	**1644, 22 Apr	<i>Sergant Hanß & NN</i> <i>Katharina</i>	Recht Lorentz Zapman Anna conj.	f.203
Brown (Braun oder Brun) Jacob	**1646, 13 May	Brown (Braun oder Brun) Hanuß & Fösters Annike	Morritz Albert Wolsen Andreas Gurla Anna for Chalmer Anna Crichton Annika w.o. Jacob Kün Jacob	f.204
Guthrie (Guttri) Johan	**1646, 20 May	Guthrie (Guttri) Thomas & Roberts Elisabeth	Mildrom Jacob Chalmer Annika Taylor? (Tholier) Maria Jfr. Patton Wilhelm Thron? Andreas	f.204

Table (cont.)

<i>Child's Name</i>	<i>Date of Baptism</i>	<i>Parents</i>	<i>Witnesses</i>	<i>Page</i>
MacGhie or MacKay (Magge) Johannes	**1646, 17 Jun	MacGhie or MacKay (Magge) Thomas & Henderson Elisabeth	Dugloss Albrecht oder Robert Schärer Albrecht Achterlohn Maria Schmat Anna w.o. Thomas w.o. Angos Albrecht Tamsen Hanuß Maldrom Jacob	f.206
Cranstown (Cranstoun) Wilhelmus [II]	**1646, 16 Jul	Cranstown (Cranstoun) Alexander & Raüßner Helen	Frierabend Albrecht Patton Elizabeth w.o. Wilhelm Lyon Jacob	f.207
Cranstown (Cranstoun) Daniel	**1646, 16 Jul	Cranstown (Cranstoun) Alexander & Raüßner Helen	Krichton Helen w.o. Jacob	f.207
Ramsay (Ramse) Wilhelm II [jnr.]	**1646, 5 Aug	Ramsay (Ramse) Wilhelm [snr.] & NN Anna	Rautenberg Martin Davidson Johan Borneth Barbara w.o. Georg Lyon Jacob	f.208
Littlejohn (Litteljan) Anna	**1646, 12 Aug	Littlejohn (Litteljan) George [snr.] & NN Elisabeth	Hütt Ebert s.o. Ebert Patton Elizabeth Mellen Anna w.o. Hanuß Meldrom Jacob	f.209
Wilson (Wollsen) Maria	**1646, 12 Aug	Wilson (Wollsen) Abraham & Ditmar Regina	Pütt oder Pëat Abraham Bruce? (Prüss) Anna w.o. Andreas Ross Robert Moritzen Elisabeth w.o. Jacob	f.210
Crichton (Krichton) Cunrad	**1646, 11 Sept	Crichton (Krichton) Jacob & Schirmer Magdalena	Hutschison Artus Lyon Elisabeth w.o. Jacob Schirmer Cunrad	f.211
Bell Katharina	**1646, 4 Nov	Bell Andreas [snr.] & NN Anna	Paul Albrecht Angoß Elisabeth w.o. Albrecht	f.212
Davidson Elisabeth	**1646, 26 Nov	Davidson Johan & NN Elisabeth	Angoß Elisabeth w.o. Albrecht Lyon Elisabeth w.o. Jacob Crichton (Chrichtsun) Elis. w.o. Jacob Chalmer Hanuß	f.213

Table (*cont.*)

<i>Child's Name</i>	<i>Date of Baptism</i>	<i>Parents</i>	<i>Witnesses</i>	<i>Page</i>
Andrews (Andreaß) Regina	**1646, 9 Dec	Andrews (Andreaß) Carl [snr.] & Flockert Elisabeth	Schartd Anna w.o. Robertson Jacob Farets Johann Patton Elizabeth	f.215
1647 [MDCXLVII]				
Bruce? (Prüß) Jacob	**1647, 17 Mar	Bruce? (Prüß) David & NN Elisabeth	Jun Jacob Wolsen Abraham Ellon Johann Skot Regina w.o. Roß Georg Thean Katharina w.o. Peter Watrop	f.219
Norrie (Nory) Andreas	**1647, 24 Feb	Norrie (Nory) Jacob [snr.] & NN		f.218
Anderson Elisabeth	**1647, 3 Apr	Anderson Maior Thomas & Sayn Agnes	w.o. Angus Albrecht Anderssen Willem w.o. Oberst Morr d.o. Schmidt Jacob Mortimer Hanuß	f.220
Anderson (Andershon) Anna	**1647, 12 May	Anderson (Andershon) Andreas & NN Anna	Mell Hanuß Lyon Jacob Ramson Sara w.o. Daniel Patton Elisabeth Theins Elisabeth w.o. Andreas	f.220
Straton Maria	**1647, 4 Jul	Straton Peter & NN	Meldrum Jacob Thamsen Andreas Hodsche Maria Schert Albrecht	f.222
Morrison (Mauritzon) Jacob	**1647, 22 Sep	Morrison (Mauritzon) Robertus & NN	Zander Peter Crichtsun Magdalena w.o. Jacob Meldrum Jacob	f.225
Angus (Angos) Anna Maria	**1647, 20 Oct	Angus (Angos) Albrecht & NN	Scherer Maria w.o. Albrecht Schkott Jacob Lion Jacob	f.226
MacLean (Macklin) Hildebrand [jnr.]	**1647, 21 Nov	MacLean (Macklin) Hildebrand [snr.] & NN	Grymm Lorentz Hoyt (Koyt) Jacob Schmidt Anna Meisterton peter Meldrum Jacob	f.228

Table (cont.)

<i>Child's Name</i>	<i>Date of Baptism</i>	<i>Parents</i>	<i>Witnesses</i>	<i>Page</i>
Grieff <i>oder</i> Greive Archibald [jnr.]	**1647, 21 Nov	Grieff <i>oder</i> Greive Archibald [snr.] & NN Barbara	Lyons Elisabeth wife.o. Glawer Jacob Andersohn Wilhelm	f.229
1648 [MDCXLVIII]				
Ramsay (Ramson) David	**1648, 9 Feb	Ramsay (Ramson) Wilhelm [snr.] & NN Anna	Damster David Morrison Albrecht Weston ? Magdalena Jung Anna Ramsay Daniel	f.229
Anderson (Andersohn) Anna	**1648, 8 Mar	Anderson (Andersohn) Jacob & NN Margretta	Andres Carol w.o. Lang Elisabeth w.o. Sangster Jacob Ramson . . .	f.230
Anderson Jacob	**1648, 20 Mar	Anderson Thomas & NN Agnes	Hendrichs Wilm Meldrum Jacob Krichton Jacob Anderson Jacob Braún Carolus Stein Maria Fr. Zander Maria Fr. Wolsum Margritt Fr. Reihold Johan	f.230
MacKie (Macke) Dorothea	**1648, 14 Apr	MacKie (Macke) Thomas & NN Elisabeth	Grim Anna Fr. Gellentín Thomas Cranstoun (Krantu) Alexander Cranstoun (Krantu) Dorothea Bell Andreas	f.232
Crichton (Krichton) Andreas	**1648, 19 May	Crichton (Krichton) Jacob & NN Magdalena	Mull Margritt Zander Peter	f.233
Ross (Rosin) Wilhelm	**1648, 1 Jun	Ross (Rosin) Wilhelm & NN Catharina	Zanders hans Morton Hans Musin Margritt Ridwin Jacon	f.234
Burnet (Barnet) Barbara	**1648, 24 Jun	Burnet (Barnet) Alexander & NN Agnes	Edi Hans Mauritz Anna Fr. Krichton Georg	f.235
Grim or Graem (Grimm) Andreas [jnr.]	**1648, 22 Jul	Grim or Graem (Grimm) Andreas [snr.] & NN	Henrichs Wilhelm Heggin Anna Bornet Johann	f.236

Table (*cont.*)

<i>Child's Name</i>	<i>Date of Baptism</i>	<i>Parents</i>	<i>Witnesses</i>	<i>Page</i>
Ross (Roß) Anna Maria	**1648, 26 Jul	Ross (Roß) Alexander & NN Regina	Wahlberg Albrecht Bornet Georg Grim Anna Fr. Bornet Anna Fr. Bornet Johann	f.236
Dane (Din) Catharina	**1645, 30 Sep	Dane (Din) Hans & NN Elisabeth	Donalson Elisabeth Hut Elisabeth Fr. Scherer Gilbert	f.239
Chalmers ? (Tschammer) Rosina	**1648, 13 Dec	Chalmers ? (Tschammer) Andreas & NN		f.240
1649 [MDCXLIX]				
Norrie (Nory) Jacob I [jnr.]	**1649, Jan	Norrie (Nory) Jacob [snr.] & NN Catharina	Hehrichson Wilhelm Achterlone Gilbert	f.242
Bell Susanna II	**1649, 9 Mar	Bell Andreas [snr.] & Krügers Anna		f.243
Grieff oder Greive Jacob	**1649, 16 May	Grieff oder Greive Archibald [snr.] & NN Barbara	Bornet Johan Bennet Jacob Lang Agnes Fr.	f.245
Allen (Alens) Esther	**1649, 4 Aug	Allen (Alens) Albrecht & NN Catharina	Anderson Wilhelm Schmide Barbara Fr. Möller Esther Fr. Smart Thomas	f.247
Andrews (Andreas) Carl [I]	**1649, 15 Aug	Andrews (Andreas) Carl [snr.] & NN Elisabeth	Rie Peter Davison Wilhelm	f.247
Wardrope (Waddrop) Magdalena	**1649, 19 Aug	Wardrope (Waddrop) Peter & Thain (Dähn) Catherina	Grechtons Magdalena Mell Hans Paulsen Magdalena Ross Maria virgo Davidson Jan	f.247
Wardrope (Waddrop) Christina	**1649, 19 Aug	Wardrope (Waddrop) Peter & Thain (Dähn) Catherina	Pris David w.o. Smart Thomas w.o. Robbrns Jacob Thain (Dähn) Christina virgo Watson Hans	f.247
Morris (Mauritz) Catharina	**1649, 24 Oct	Morris (Mauritz) Albrecht & NN Anncke	Moleyson Hans w.o. Meisterdon Peter Smart Thomas	f.250

Table (*cont.*)

<i>Child's Name</i>	<i>Date of Baptism</i>	<i>Parents</i>	<i>Witnesses</i>	<i>Page</i>
Grim or Graem (Grim) Elisabeth	**1649, 2 Nov	Grim or Graem (Grim) Andreas [snr.] & NN Elisabeth	Lewin Elisabeth w.o. Smit Catharina Thomson Wilhelm	f.250
Littlejohn (Littelson) George [jnr.]	**1649, 7 Nov	Littlejohn (Littelson) George [snr.] & NN Lisbeth	Edde George Black (Plack) Wilhelm Stain (Stein) Maria w.o. Achterloni Moleyson Hans	f.250
Ramsay Johan	**1649, 12 Dec	Ramsay Gwilhelm [snr.] & Steinhums? Annike	Pris David Smart Gertrud w.o. Thomas Rogge Jonan w.o. Ramsay Albrecht	f.251

PART II – MARRIAGE REGISTER

<i>Name of Groom</i>	<i>Name of Bride</i>	<i>Date of Marriage</i>	<i>Page</i>
1640 [MDCXL]			
Wilson (Wolssen) Abraham	Lichtenfels Regina Fr.	∞1640, 5 Feb	f.20
Kehl Hanuß	Forbes (Vorgiß) Katharina w.o. late Alexander	∞1640, 10 Sep	f.21
Schott Hanuß <i>burger of Neuenburg</i>	Eckwald Maria Jfr.	∞1640, 17 Sep	f.21
Carkettel (Karkettel) Johan **	Saunders (Zanders) Anna	∞1640, 22 Oct	f.22
Andrews (Andres) Jacobus	Richter Anna d.o. David	∞1640, 19 Nov	f.22
1641 [MDCXLI]			
Hamilton (Hammelthon) Alexander ** ₁	Janssen (Johnson ?) née Claasen Sara	∞1641, 21 Apr	f.22
Robertson (Robbertsen) Hanuß ** ₂	Horne (Hornn) Margareta Jfr. d.o. John <i>of Eberdin Schottland</i> and Elizabeth	∞1641, 27 Aug	f.23
1642 [MDCXLII]			
<i>Acton Gamaliel</i>	Olfers Magdalene w.o. late Efraim Corelius	∞1642, 4 Feb	f.24
Cranstown (Kranstoun) Alexander ** ₃	Reusner Helena Jfr. of Polnische Eylau	∞1642, 3 Mar	f.24

¹ Fischer incorrectly listed this marriage under 1640, see SEWP, 224.

² Fischer incorrectly listed this marriage under 1640, see Ibid.

³ Fischer incorrectly listed this marriage under 1640, see Ibid.

Table (cont.)

<i>Name of Groom</i>	<i>Name of Bride</i>	<i>Date of Marriage</i>	<i>Page</i>
Patton (Paton) Wilhelm **4	Hutcheson (Hütscheson) Elisabeth d.o. Georg	∞1642, 25 Mar	f.24
Littlejohn (Litteljhon) Georg	Mell (Melling) Elisabeth d.o. Hanuß of Eberding	∞1642, 19 May	f.25
Wright (Wrecht) Hans ein Schott **5	Lichthon (Lichtun) Anna Jfr. d.o. late William	∞1642, 23 Sep	f.26
Chalmers (Schammer) Andreas	Riden Sophia w.o. late Alexander	∞1642, 27 Oct	f.26
1643 [MDCXLIII]			
Krentzer Mattheis	Hay née Johnson (Janssen) Maria w.o. Jacob	∞1643, 16 Feb	f.26
Ziepol Simon	Donaldson (Donalsen) Maria Jfr. d.o. Jacob	∞1643, 28 Apr	f.26
Thomson (Tamson) Wilhelm	Hutcheson (Hütscheson) Margareta Jfr. d.o. Georg	∞1643, 19 May	f.27
Andress Carl	Flockhard (Fluckerd) Elisabeth Jfr. d.o. Hannuß	∞1643, 16 Nov	f.27
1644 [MDCXLIV]			
Duncan (Doncken) Jacob **6	De Mostrel Barbara Jfr.	∞1644, 16 Feb	f.28
Collison (Kolleson) Hanuß	Hendrickson (Hinderichsen) Elisabeth Fr.	∞1644, 30 Aug	f.28
Allison (Ailleson) Albert ein Schott	Elsner Catharina Jfr.	∞1644, 18 Oct	f.28
1645 [MDCXLV]			
Crichton (Krichton) Jacob **	Nichol ? (Niclaus) Magdalena Fr.	∞5.09.1645	f.29
Bell Andreas (Handreas) **	Jfr. Krägers Anna d.o. Simon	∞8.11.1645	f.29
1646 [MDCXLVI]			
Long ? (Lang) Albert	Ingram (Ingrim) Agneta Fr.	∞16.04.1646	f.29
Alart David	Hannssen Elisabeth Jfr.	∞15.05.1646	f.30
Marshall (Mörschal) Wilhelm unter dem Herr Hauptman Johan von Bobart musquetirrer	Williamson (Wilhelmson) Agnes Jfr. <i>Burgersin der Stadt Eberdin in Königsreich Schottland</i>	∞21.05.1646	f.30
Hunter ? (Hotter) Peter <i>knopfmacher</i>	Parrot Margareta d.o. Richard	∞27.05.1646	f.30
Mouth Hannß Scotus	Arthur (Artus) Anna w.o. late Wilhelm	∞2.07.1646	f.30

4 Fischer incorrectly listed this marriage under 1640, see Ibid.
5 Fischer incorrectly listed this marriage under 1640, see Ibid.
6 Fischer incorrectly listed this marriage under 1640, see Ibid.

Table (cont.)

<i>Name of Groom</i>	<i>Name of Bride</i>	<i>Date of Marriage</i>	<i>Page</i>
Forbes (Forbus) Wilhelm **	Wiseman ? (Wisman) Katharina w.o. late Thomas	∞20.08.1646	f.30
Scott (Skott) Adam	Grünebaum Esther w.o. late Jacob Alland	∞9.09.1646	f.31
Ross Alexander <i>soldate</i>	Trent ? (Tret) Regina d.o. Hanuß <i>zur Eberdin in Schotland</i>	∞8.11.1646	f.31
Straton (Streton) Peter	Hewison ? (Husen) Elisabeth w.o. late Hanß <i>zur Edenburg</i>	∞12.11.1646	f.31
Brueder Michael	Allen Esther d.o. Jacob	∞27.01.1647	f.31
Nairn Alexandereinen <i>Schottischen Leuttenant</i>	Elschener Dorothea w.o. late Johann Uhrwien	∞27.01.1647	f.31
Burnet (Bornet) Alexander **	Roberts Agnes d.o. Hanuß	∞23.04.1647	f.32
Watson (Watzon) Hannß	Roberts née Horn Margareta	∞24.07.1647	f.32
Cuick Georg	Gern Elisabeth w.o. late Egenheit Stephan	∞3.10.1647	f.32
1648 [MDCXLVIII]			
1649 [MDCXLIX]			
Thomson Wilhelm	Heiman Maria Jfr.	∞11.05.1649	f.34
Jack (Dziack) Wilhelm	Hutcheson (Hotzesion) Agneta d.o. Georg?	∞22.06.1649	f.34
Thomson David <i>von Litt auß Schottland</i> ** ⁷	Nieland Elisabeth d.o. Walter and Elisabeth Peterson	∞11.10.1649	f.35

⁷ Fischer incorrectly listed this marriage under 1648, see Ibid., 225.

APPENDIX IV

SCOTTISH NAMES APPEARING IN THE BAPTISMAL AND MARRIAGE
RECORDS OF THE REFORMED CHURCH IN KÖNIGSBERG 1640–1649

Source

“Die Bet[...]liste (Taufen Register) 1635–1673.” EZAB sig. 2142B; “Die Bet[...]liste (Heiraten Register) 1636–1690.” EZAB sig. 2142B.

Notes

Fr. Möllen Maria spouse of local origin.
Fr. *Frau*
Jfr. *Jungfrau*
NN name unknown

PART I – BAPTISM REGISTER

<i>Child's Name</i>	<i>Date of Baptism</i>	<i>Parents</i>	<i>Page</i>
1640 [MDCXL]			
Young (Jounga) Andreas	**1640, 1 Jan		f.82
Watson Maria	**1640, 6 Feb		f.82
Lawson (Lafson) Johannes	**1640, 15 Mar		f.83
Forbes (Forbis) Jacob	**1640, 19 Mar		f.83
Birrell ? (Barall) Jacob	**1640, 6 Apr		f.83
Duncan (Duncken) Jacob	**1640, 15 Jul		f.83
Gordon Maria	**1640, 29 Jul		f.83
Ramsay (Ramsei) Abraham	**1640, 29 Jul		f.83
Cockburn (Kobran) Martin	**1640, 8 Nov		f.83
Cockburn (Kobran) Catharina	**1640, 8 Nov		f.83
Short Johannes	**1640, 18 Nov		f.83
1641 [MDCXLI]			
Leslie (Lesle) Andreas	**1641, 10 Feb		f.83
Davidson (Davidsson) Wilhelm	**1641, 6 Mar		f.83

Table (cont.)

<i>Child's Name</i>	<i>Date of Baptism</i>	<i>Parents</i>	<i>Page</i>
Brown ? (Brun) Magaretha	**1641, 7 Apr		f.83
White ? (Wich) Thomas	**1641, 24 Jul		f.83
Middleton (Mittelthon) Johannes	**1641, 20 Oct		f.84
Smitton David	**1641, 12 Dec		f.84
1642 [MDCXLII]			
Hamilton (Hamelton) Susanna	**1642, 30 Jan		f.84
Forbes David	**1642, 13 Feb		f.84
Lawson (Lafson) Elisabeth	**1642, 9 Mar		f.84
Keans Elisabeth	**1642, 9 Mar		f.84
Robertson Alexander	**1642, 8 May		f.84
Gordon Christina	**1642, 15 Jun		f.84
Davidson Jacob	**1642, 15 Jun		f.84
Adamson Anna	**1642, 19 Jun		f.84
Williamson (Willemson) Johannes	**1642, 29 Jun		f.84
Ramsay David	**1642, 20 Jul		f.84
Duncan (Duncken) Maria	**1642, 27 Jul		f.84
Staines Samuel	**1642, 27 Jul		f.84
Black ? Christina	**1642, 17 Aug		f.85
Johnson (Jansen) Johannes	**1642, 1 Oct		f.85
Staines (Stein) Albrecht	**1642, Oct		f.85
Samson Maria	**1642, 23 Oct		f.85
1643 [MDCXLIII]			
Williamson (Willemson) Johannes	**1643, 11 Jan		f.85
Hood (Hutt) Susanna	**1643, 19 Feb		f.85
Forbes (Forbis) Jacob	**1643, 1 Mar		f.85
Long (Lang) Jacob	**1643, 1 Mar		f.85
Short Maria	**1643, 12 Mar		f.85

Table (cont.)

<i>Child's Name</i>	<i>Date of Baptism</i>	<i>Parents</i>	<i>Page</i>
Middleton (Mitthenthon) Elisabeth	**1643, 12 Apr		f.85
Strachon Maria	**1643, 14 May		f.85
Thomson ? (Tomasson) Catharina	**1643, 14 Jun		f.85
Staines Elisabeth	**1643, 12 Jul		f.85
Cockburn (Kobran) Jacob	**1643, 26 Jul		f.85
Morrison (Mörison) Wilhelm	**1643, 3 Aug		f.85
Mail (Mell) Johannes	**1643, 13 Sep		f.85
Hamilton (Hamelthon) Margaretha	**1643, 17 Sep		f.85
Watson Elisabeth	**1643, 4 Oct		f.85
Samson Susanna	**1643, 22 Oct		f.85
Davidson Georgis	**1643, 22 Oct		f.85
Watson Margaretha	**1643, 25 Oct		f.85
Lumsdail ? (Lamstal) Christiana	**1643, 11 Nov		f.86
1644 [MDCXLIV]			
Forbes (Forbis) Georg	**1644, 1 Jan		f.86
Ross Hans	**1644, 31 Jan		f.86
Lawson (Lasson) Maria	**1644, 28 Mar		f.86
Gordon Adam	**1644, 17 May		f.86
Duncan (Duncken) Wilhelm	**1644, 19 Jun		f.86
Willamson (Williamson) Maria	**1644, 6 Oct		f.86
Simson Dorothea	**1644, 27 Oct		f.86
Robertson Johannes	**1644, 24 Nov		f.86
Watson (Wattson) Anna Maria	**1644, 21 Dec		f.86
1645 [MDCXLV]			
Grant (Grand) Elisabeth	**1645, 8 Jan		f.86
Baillie (Bellie) Gustav Wilhelm	**1645, 19 Jan		f.86
Williamson (Willemson) Maria	**1645, 12 Apr		f.87

Table (cont.)

<i>Child's Name</i>	<i>Date of Baptism</i>	<i>Parents</i>	<i>Page</i>
Samson Dorothea	**1645, 12 Apr		f.87
Davidson (Davison) Wilhelm	**1645, 19 Apr		f.86
Davidson Albrecht	**1645, 4 May		f.87
Forbes (Forbus) Wilhelm	**1645, 24 Oct		f.87
Morrison (Mörison) Jacob	**1645, 5 Nov		f.87
Watson (Wathson) Albrecht	**1645, 26 Nov		f.87
Staines Regina	**1645, 26 Nov		f.87
1646 [MDCXLVI]			
Hamilton (Hamelton) Johannes	**1646, 18 Jan		f.87
Duncan (Dunckens) Thomas	**1646, 28 Feb		f.87
Hunter Andreas	**1646, 11 Mar		f.87
Dundas (Dandes) David	**1646, 15 Mar		f.87
Grant (Grand) Jacob	**1646, 22 Mar		f.87
Fiddes Margaretha	**1646, 1 Aug		f.87
Long (Lang) Regina	**1646, 29 Jul		f.87
Samson Laurentius	**1646, 11 Aug		f.87
Ross Andreas	**1646, 2 Dec		f.87
1647 [MDCXLVII]			f.87
Lawson (Lafson) David	**1647, 27 Jan		f.87
Miller (Miler) ? Anna	**1647, 10 Feb		f.87
Lauri (Lowrie) Alexander	**1647, 3 Mar		f.87
Morrison (Mörison) Margaretha	**1647, 7 Mar		f.88
Oliphant (Olephant) Wilhelm	**1647, 7 Mar		f.88
Watson (Wattson) Catharina Elisabeth	**1647, 19 Mar		f.88
Belton Jeannette	**1647, 4 Apr		f.88
Davidson Anna	**1647, 10 Apr		f.88

Table (*cont.*)

<i>Child's Name</i>	<i>Date of Baptism</i>	<i>Parents</i>	<i>Page</i>
Williamson (Wilmson) Regina	**1647, 13 Jun		f.88
Hunter Maria	**1647, 7 Jul		f.88
Grant (Grand) Margaretha	**1647, 10 Jul		f.88
Stuart (Stuard) Maria	**1647, 1 Nov		f.88
Harrison (Harison) Frantz	**1647, 21 Nov		f.88
Gibson (Gipson) Margaretha	**1647, 22 Nov		f.88
Hamilton (Hamelton) Elisabeth	**1647, 22 Dec		f.88
1648 [MDCXLVIII]			
Staines ? Samuel	**1648, 13 Feb		f.88
Lowrie (Lauri) Johannes	**1648, 11 Apr		f.88
Cottham Johannes	**1648, 10 May		f.88
Williamson (Willemsen) Johannes	**1648, 21 May		f.88
Archibald (Airtzbald) Wilhelm	**1648, 4 Jun		f.88
Ramson Johannes	**1648, 13 Sep		f.88
Brown (Braun) Anna Maria	**1648, 14 Sep		f.88
Davidson Jacob	**1648, 17 Sep		f.88
Davidson Elisabeth	**1648, 19 Nov		f.89
1649 [MDCXLIX]			
Hamilton Abraham (<i>posthuma</i>)	**1649, 31 Jan		f.89
Grant (Grand) Barbara	**1649, 4 Feb		f.89
Ramsay Elisabeth	**1649, 28 Feb		f.89
Hamilton Albrecht	**1649, 11 Mar		f.89
Watson Barbara	**1649, 5 Apr		f.89
Taylor (Tajlor) Margareta	**1649, 25 Apr		f.89
Lawson (Lafsen) Catherina	**1649, 20 May		f.89
Duncan (Duncken) Balthasar	**1649, 3 Jun		f.89
Williamson (Willemson) Jacob	**1649, 1 Aug		f.89

Table (*cont.*)

<i>Child's Name</i>	<i>Date of Baptism</i>	<i>Parents</i>	<i>Page</i>
Gibson (Gipson) Maria	**1649, 23 Sep		f.89
Cottham Elisabeth	**1649, 2 Dec		f.89

PART II – MARRIAGE REGISTER

<i>Name of Groom</i>	<i>Name of Bride</i>	<i>Date of Marriage</i>	<i>Page</i>
1640 [MDCXL]			
Short Johannes	Andrews ? (Anders) Maria Jfr.	∞1640, 20 Feb	f.151
Hamilton (Hamelthon)	Ramsay (Ramsei) Margaretha Jfr.	∞1640, 8 Oct	f.151
Studley Cornelius	Bowler (Bouler) Maria Fr.	∞1640, 14 Oct	f.151
White ? (Withs) Thomas	Spens Sophia Jfr.	∞1640, 14 Oct	f.151
1641 [MDCXLI]			
Staines Johannes	<i>Polt . . . Regina Jfr.</i>	∞1641, 22 Oct	f.151
1642 [MDCXLII]			
Samson Peter Stephan	<i>Lau . . . Dorothea Jfr.</i>	∞1642, 14 Jan	f.151
Strachon Thomas	Roberts ? (Rober) Margareth Jfr.	∞1642, 16 Feb	f.151
Adamson Hans	<i>Emstal Catharina Jfr.</i>	∞1642, 1 Apr	f.151
Ross Niclas	<i>Siverts Anna Fr.</i>	∞1642, 12 May	f.151
Morrison (Morison) Jacob	Lennox (Lenox) Margareth Jfr.	∞1642, 15 Nov	f.151
1643 [MDCXLIII]			
Watson (Wattson) Hans	Lennox (Lenox) Barbara Jfr.	∞1643, 20 Jan	f.151
Lawson (Lafson) Albrecht	<i>B . . . Ursula Fr.</i>	∞1643, 25 Oct	f.151
Lowrie (Laury) Alexander	<i>NN Ursula</i>	∞1643, Nov	f.152
1644 [MDCXLIV]			
Bailie ? (Belly) Andreas	Cotham (Catham) Louisa Fr.	∞1644, 26 Jan	f.152
Watson (Wattson) Albrecht	<i>NN Catharina Fr.</i>	∞1644, 29 Mar	f.152

Table (*cont.*)

<i>Name of Groom</i>	<i>Name of Bride</i>	<i>Date of Marriage</i>	<i>Page</i>
<i>Dilgers Georg</i>	Hamilton (Hamelton) Maria Jfr.	∞1644, 29 Nov	f.152
1645 [MDCXLV]			
Hamelton (Hamilton) Hans	Russel ? (Rüsel) Catharina Fr.	∞1645, 8 Jan	f.152
Hunter Alexander	<i>Fr. Möllen Maria</i>	∞1645, 19 Feb	f.152
1646 [MDCXLVI]			
Cotham (Cottam) Johannes	<i>Bottiben ? Anna Jfr.</i>	∞1646, 8 Feb	f.152
Robertson Gilbert	<i>NN Helena</i>	∞1646, 3 Jun	f.152
Gipson Heinrich	<i>Braütgams ? Maria</i>	∞1646, 28 Oct	f.152
Kelly David <i>Engl...</i>	<i>Wa... NN Fr.</i>	∞1646, 18 Nov	f.152
Stuart (Stuard) Jacob <i>Merc.</i>	Fraser ? (Frieze) Anna Jfr.	∞1646, 26 Nov	f.152
1647 [MDCXLVII]			
Ramsay Gilbert	<i>Mertens Elisabeth Jfr.</i>	∞1647, 28 Jan	f.152
Finlayson (Finlaison) Henrich <i>Engl...</i>	Staines Margaretha Jfr.	∞1647, 23 Apr	f.152
Lowrie (Laury) Hans <i>krämar</i>	Samson Margaretha Jfr.	∞1647, 1 May	f.152
Taylor (Tajlor) Hans <i>Schott krämar</i>	Gell ? Elisabeth	∞1647, 14 May	f.152
1648 [MDCXLVIII]			
Stuart (Stuard) Georg Paul	Watson ? (Walson) Catharina Jfr.	∞1648, 25 Sep	f.152
1649 [MDCXLIX]			
<i>Clahils Johannes</i>	Gordon Barbara Jfr.	∞1649, 18 Feb	f.153
<i>Wais Wilhelm</i>	Carr Margaretha Jfr.	∞1649, 19 Jun	f.153
Davidson Walter	Watson Barbara Fr.	∞1649, 29 Aug	f.153

APPENDIX V

REIESTR AUDITORÓW ALBO SŁUCHACZÓW ZBORU WIELKANOCKIEGO Y LUCIANOWSKIEGO

Source

“Reiestr Auditorów albo Słuchaczów Zboru Wielkanockiego y Lucianowskiego,”
KW AParEA Kraków, fols 7–9.

Notes

Allan** couples

Men	Women
1 Allen William (Wilhelm Ellen)	1 Blackhall Eve (Ewa Blackhalowa) ** wife of Robert [I]
2 Baker William (Wilhelm Beker)	2 Brown Ursula (Orszula Braunówna)
3 Bowes (Bas) David	3 Burnet Agnes (Agnieszka Bernatowa)
4 Basket Alexander	4 Burnet Catherine (Katarzyna Bornetowa)
5 Baxter William (Wilhelm Bachster)	5 Dixon Elizabeth (Helzbieta Dixonowa) ** wife of Alexander
6 Blackhall (Blakhal) Alexander	6 Dixon (Orszula Dixonówna)
7 Blackhall Andrew (Andrzej Blakhal)	7 Dixon Catherine (Katarzyna Dixonowa)
8 Blackhall Robert (Woyciech Blakhal) [I]**	8 Dugat Anna [née Hunter]
9 Blackhall Robert (Woyciech Blakhal) [II]	9 Elmslie Ursula (Orszula Emsłowa)
10 Carmichael James (Jakub Karmichel)	10 Fiddes Susan (Zuzanna Fedes)
11 Chambers John (Jan Ciamer)	11 Forbes Elizabeth (Farbers)
12 Chambers (Czamers) Casper	12 Forbes Anna (Forbesowa) ** wife of Thomas
13 Corbet James (Jakub Korbi)	13 Fraser Susan (Zuzanna Fraserowa) ** wife of Andrew
14 Cruickshank George (Jerzy Kruckszanck)	14 Guthrie Martha (Marta Gutra)
15 Dixon Alexander**	15 Harvie Elizabeth (Elzbieta Herwowa) ** wife of James
16 Dougal John (Jan Dugal)	16 Henderson (Hendersonówna) Barbara
17 Dundas John (Jan Dindas)	17 Kalaj [née King] Catherine (Katarzyna)
18 Fiddes Joseph (Józef Fedes)	18 King (Kinowa) unnamed widow
19 Fiddes William (Wilhelm Fedes)	19 Majerhowerowa Susan [née Burnet] (Zuzanna)
20 Forbes Thomas**	20 Patterson Catherine (Katarzyna Petersonowa) ** wife of William
21 Fraser Andrew (Andrzej)**	21 Patterson Susan (Zuzanna Petersonowa)
22 Haig John (Jan Hägi)	22 Patterson Sophie (Zofia Petersonówna)
23 Haig James (Jakub Hegi)	23 Sailor Elizabeth (Helzbieta Sellorowa) ** wife of Stanisław
24 Harvie James (Jakub Herve)**	
25 Hunter Andrew (Andrzej)	
26 Innes (Enes) Abraham	

Table (cont.)

Men		Women	
27	Innes Andrew (Andrzej Enisz)	24	Smith (Szmidowa) unnamed** wife of John
28	Innes (Casper Ennes)	25	Thorie Susan (Susanna Thora) ** wife of William
29	Innes Robert (Woyciech Enes)		
30	Kinnaird George (Georg Kinhard)		
31	Kirkwood William (Wilhelm Kirchwald)		
32	Kirkwood William (Wilhelm Kirkot)		
33	MacCubbin John (Jan Makubin)		
34	MacHardie (Makary) Thomas		
35	MacKenzie Andrew (Andrzej Makenson)		
36	MacKenzie Thomas (Tomas Makenson)		
37	Mair William (Wilhelm Meehr)		
38	Murray William (Wilhelm Moro)		
39	Orem John (Jan Arim)		
40	Paip Robert (Woyciech Pep)		
41	Parson (Person) Richard		
42	Patterson (Wilhelm Peterson)		
43	Patterson William (Wilhelm Peterson) **		
44	Ramsay Charles (Carolus Ramse)		
45	Robertson John (Jan Roberson)		
46	Robertson John (Jan)		
47	Sailor (Sellor) Stanisław **		
48	Smeaton (Szmetan) Gottfried		
49	Smith John (Jan Szmit) **		
50	Thorie William (Wilhelm Thory) **		

APPENDIX VI

SCOTTISH NAMES APPEARING IN THE BAPTISMAL AND MARRIAGE RECORDS OF THE REFORMED CHURCH IN WIELKANOC/LUCIANOWICE 1640–1649

Source

“Dziatek Ochrzczonych których imiona w księgach kościelnych przedtym nie były wpisane Rejestrzyk od samych ich Rodziców zebrany y do tych ksiąg podany [1610–1657],” KW AparEA Kraków, fols 16–30.

“Rejestr Ślubów różnych czasów AD av 1631 danych, zebrany od P.P. Starszych ZB Krakowskiego [1606–1656],” KW AparEA Kraków, fols 131a–132a.

Notes

(Lucianowice) sacrament performed in church in Lucianowice
(Wielkanoc) sacrament performed in church in Wielkanoc
Fr. *Frau*
Jfr. *Jungfrau*
NN name unknown

PART I – BAPTISM REGISTER

<i>Child's Name</i>	<i>Date of Baptism</i>	<i>Parents</i>	<i>Witnesses</i>	<i>Page</i>
1640 [MDCXL]				
Seller Chrystyna	**1640 Poniedziałek Wielkanocny (Wielkanoc)	Seller Stanisław & NN Orszula	Forbes Thomas Hunter Andrzej Duget Jan Emzłowa Orszula	f.19v
Basket (Bassket) Alexander	**1640, 10 May (Wielkanoc)	Bassket Alexander & NN Zuzanna	Karmichel Jakub Musiert Abraham Fraser Andrzej Thora Zuzanna Petersonówna Zofia	f.19v
Frier (Frajer) NN (female)	**1640, 25 Sep (Wielkanoc)	Frier John (Frajer Jan) & NN Zuzanna	Karmichel Jakub Forbes Thomas Duget Jan Emzłowa Orszula Blakhalowa	f.19v

Table (cont.)

<i>Child's Name</i>	<i>Date of Baptism</i>	<i>Parents</i>	<i>Witnesses</i>	<i>Page</i>
1641 [MDCXLI]				
Aikenhead (Akenhev) NN	**1641, Mar (Wielkanoc)	Aikenhead John (Akenhev Jan) & NN	Dixon Alexander Karmichel Jakub Blakhall Woyciech Czamerowa Zuzanna	f.20
Chalmer (Czamer) Alexander	**1641, 10 Sep (Wielkanoc)	Chalmer (Czamer) Casper & NN	Dixon Alexander Czamer Jakub Peterson Wilhelm Karmichlowa Czamerowa Petersonówna Zofia	f.20v
Blackhall John (Blakhal Jan)	**1641, 15 Sep (Wielkanoc)	Blackhall Robert (Blakhal Woyciech) & [NN Ewa]	Karmichel Jakub Forbes Thomas Musiert Abraham	f.20v
1642 [MDCXLII]				
Chalmer James (Czamer Jakób)	**1642, 10 Feb (Wielkanoc)	Chalmer James (Czamer Jakób) & Orem Elisabeth (Elżbieta)	Blackhall Woyciech Karmichel Jakub Dugal Jan Emzłowa Jurkowa Czamerowa Casprowa Cransówna ? Ewa	f.20v
Hewison (Huyson) NN [female]	**1642, 12 Oct (Wielkanoc)	Hewison William (Huyson Wilhelm) <i>ze Gdańska kupiec</i> & NN Zuzanna	Blackhall Woyciech Fraser Andriś Thora Zuzanna Czamerowa Zuzanna	f.21
Carmichael (Karmichel) Alexander	**1642, 14 Oct (Wielkanoc)	Carmichael James (Karmichel Jakób) <i>kupiec krakowski</i> & Dixon Anna	Thory Wilhelm Fraser Andriś Czamerowa Elżbieta Blackhall Ewa	f.21v
Harvie William (Hervi Wilhelm)	**1642, 14 Oct (Wielkanoc)	Harvie James (Hervi Jakób) & NN Helena	Huysen Wilhelm Musert Abraham Thory Wilhelm Fraser Andriś Emzłowa Orszula Czamerowa Casprowa Blackhall Ewa	f.21v

Table (cont.)

<i>Child's Name</i>	<i>Date of Baptism</i>	<i>Parents</i>	<i>Witnesses</i>	<i>Page</i>
1643 [MDCXLIII]				
Torrie William (Thory Wilhelm)	**1643, 14 Jan (Wielkanoc)	Torrie William (Thory Wilhelm) & [Orem] Zuzanna	Huysen Wilhelm Dixon Alexander Fraser Andrzej	f.22
Chalmer (Czamer) NN [male]	**1643, 26 Aug	Chalmer (Czamer) Casper & NN	Not listed	f.22
1644 [MDCXLIV]				
Blackhall (Blakhal) Marianna	**1644, 4 Feb (Wielkanoc)	Blackhall Robert (Blakhal Woyciech) & [NN Ewa]	Czamer Casper Forbes Wilhelm Czamerowa Elzbieta Dixonowa Orszula	f.22
Chalmer (Czamer) Thomas	**1644, 9 Aug (Wielkanoc)	Chalmer James (Czamer Jakób) & [Orem Elisabeth]	Freser Andrzej Thory Wilhelm Blackhall Alexander Kruckszang Jerzy Hervi Helena Emzlowa Jurkowa Kruckszangowa	f.22v
Dixon Justina	**1644, 9 Sep (Lucianowice)	Dixon Alexander & [Crausówna Elzbieta]	Czamser Michal Thory Wilhelm Petersohn Wilhelm Huysonowa Forbusowa Anna	f.22v
Torrie (Thory) Zuzanna	**1644, 16 Dec (Wielkanoc)	Torrie William (Thory Wilhelm) & [Orem Zuzanna]	Freser Andrzej Korbis Jakub Czamer Jakub Korbitowa Zuzanna Kruckszangowa Zuzanna Emzlowa Orszula Huysonowa Anna	f.22v
1645 [MDCXLV]				
Aikenhead (Ahenhiff) Anna	**1645, 14 Apr? (Wielkanoc)	Aikenhead John (Ahenhiff Jan) mieszczanin wolkuski & NN	Gutteter Zygmunt Langowa Sellerowa	f.22v

Table (cont.)

<i>Child's Name</i>	<i>Date of Baptism</i>	<i>Parents</i>	<i>Witnesses</i>	<i>Page</i>
Hewison (Huyson) Ludwik	**1642, 12 Oct (Wielkanoc)	Hewison William (Huyson Wilhelm) & [NN Zuzanna]	Dixon Alexander Thory Wilhelm Korbit Jakub Forbes Wilhelm Musert Abraham Emzłowa Orszula Karmichłowa Czamerowa Jakubowa Hervina Helena	f.23
Chalmer (Czamer) NN	**1645 (Wiatowice)	Chalmer (Czamer) Casper & NN	Not listed	f.23
Blackhall (Blakhal) NN	**1645 (Wielkanoc)	Blackhall Robert (Blakhal Woyciech) & [Ewa NN]	Not listed	f.23
1646 [MDCXLVI]				
Dixon Robert Alexander	**1646, 1 Mar (Wielkanoc)	Dixon Alexander & Crausówna Elżbieta	Czamerowa Elżbieta Czamerowna Anna	f.23v
Chalmer Elisabeth (Czamer Elżbieta)	**1646, 15 Sep (Wielkanoc)	Chalmer James (Czamer Jakób) & [Orem Elisabeth]	Dixon Alexander Freser Andrzej Karmichel Jakub <i>młodszy</i> Huysonowa Anna Forbusowa Orszula Thora Anna Hervi Helena Emzłowa Jurkowa Kruckszangowa	f.23v
1647 [MDCXLVII]				
Aikenhead (Akinhiff) NN [male]	**1647 (Wielkanoc)	Aikenhead John (Akinhiff Jan) <i>z</i> <i>Wolkusza</i> & NN	Not listed	f.23v
Blackhall Agnes (Blakhal Agnieszka)	**1647, 12 Jul (Lucianowice)	Blackhall Robert (Blakhal Woyciech) <i>kupiec krakowski</i> & [NN Ewa]	Forbes Wilhelm Harvie Jan Thory Wilhelm Czamerowa Elżbieta Karmichłowa Anna	f.24
Forbes Elisabeth (Elżbieta)	**1647, 12 Jul (Lucianowice)	Forbes William (Wilhelm) & Dixon Ursula (Orszula)	Thory Wilhelm Czamer Jakub Fraser Andrzej Dixonowa Elżbieta Blakhalowa Ewa	f.24

Table (cont.)

<i>Child's Name</i>	<i>Date of Baptism</i>	<i>Parents</i>	<i>Witnesses</i>	<i>Page</i>
Hewison James (Huyson Jakub)	**1647, 12 Jul (Lucianowice)	Hewison William (Huyson Wilhelm) & [NN Anna]	Fraser Andrzej Thory Wilhelm Karmichel Jakub <i>młodszy</i> Achterloni Andrzej Korbia Zuzanna Kruckszangowa Zuzanna	f.24
1648 [MDCXLVIII]				
Chalmer William (Czamer Wilhelm)	**1648, 14 May (Wielkanoc)	Chalmer James (Czamer Jakób) & [Orem Elisabeth]	Duget Jan Andersohn Wilhelm Karmichelowa Dixonowa Alexandrowa	f.24v
Blackhall (Blakhal) Robert	**1648, 12 Oct (Wielkanoc)	Blackhall Robert (Blakhal Woyciech) & [NN Ewa]	Bornet Thomas Karmichel Jakub <i>młody</i> Bornetowa Ewa	f.24v
1649 [MDCXLIX]				
nil				

PART II – MARRIAGE REGISTER

<i>Name of Groom</i>	<i>Name of Bride</i>	<i>Date of Marriage</i>	<i>Page</i>
1640 [MDCXL]			
Carmichael James (Karmichel Jakub)	Kaāj [née Dixon] Anna Fr. wdowa	∞1640, 22 Nov	f.133v
1641 [MDCXLI]			
Corbett James (Korbit Jakub)	<i>Basket (Baszket) née NN Zuzanna (in the records mistakenly listed as Katarzyna) Fr. wdowa</i>	∞1641, 7 Jan (Lucianowice)	f.133v
Chambers James (Czamer Jakob)	Orem Elisabeth (Oremówna Elżbieta)	∞1641, 11 Apr	f.133v
Cruikshanks James (Kruckszang Jakub)	<i>Jäger [Zuzanna] of Lublin</i>	∞1641, 10 Sept (Lucianowice)	f.134
1642 [MDCXLII]			
Fiddes (Fedes) Joseph	<i>Stephanówna NN wdowa</i>	∞1642	f.134
1643 [MDCXLIII]			
nil			

Table (cont.)

<i>Name of Groom</i>	<i>Name of Bride</i>	<i>Date of Marriage</i>	<i>Page</i>
1644 [MDCXLIV]			
<i>Duget Zygmunt</i>	Petersonówna Zophia	∞1644, 26 Sep	f.134
1645 [MDCXLV]			
nil			
1646 [MDCXLVI]			
Fiddes (Fedes) NN	<i>Szper Marta Jfr.</i>	∞1646, 1 May	f.134v
Wishart (Musert) Abraham	Fiddes (Fedes) Magdalena	∞1646, 23 Oct	f.135
1647 [MDCXLVII]			
nil			
1648 [MDCXLVIII]			
nil			
1649 [MDCXLIX]			
nil			

APPENDIX VII

SCOTTISH NAMES APPEARING IN THE BAPTISMAL AND MARRIAGE
RECORDS OF THE REFORMED CHURCH IN WILNO 1640–1649

Source
“Parish registers 1631–1795,” LVIA Fond 606, Ap. 1, bb. 8, 102–104.

Notes
Zenkiewicz spouse of local origin
Fr. *Frau*
Jfr. *Jungfrau*
NN name unknown

PART I – BAPTISM REGISTER

<i>Child's Name</i>	<i>Date of Baptism</i>	<i>Parents</i>	<i>Witnesses</i>	<i>Page</i>
1640 [MDCXL]				
Ogilvie (Ogelbe) Katarzyna	**1640, 13 Mar	Ogilvie (Ogelbe) Jakub & NN	Davidson NN Fr.	f.6v
1641 [MDCXLI]				
1642 [MDCXLII]				
Gilbert Jan	**1642, 19 Feb	Gilbert Robert <i>Szkot</i> & Rollins (Rhuellins) Katarzyna	Donoway (Denoway) Jan	f.7
1643 [MDCXLIII]				
1644 [MDCXLIV]				
Gilbert Jakub	**1644, 9 Feb	Gilbert Robert & [Rollins (Rhuellins) Katarzyna]	Forbes (Forbesins) NN <i>Szkot</i> Rollins (Rhuellins) Ewa Jfr.	f.8
Innes (Eness) Wilhelm	**1644, 25 Mar	Innes (Eness) Jan <i>Szkot</i> & NN	Galloway Jan <i>Szkot</i> Gilbert née Rollins (Rhuelins) Katarzyna	f.8
Peterson Jan	**1644, 19 Jun	Peterson Peter & NN	Strachan ? (Strackie) Henryk	f.8v

Table (*cont.*)

<i>Child's Name</i>	<i>Date of Baptism</i>	<i>Parents</i>	<i>Witnesses</i>	<i>Page</i>
Ogilvie (Ogielbe) Andrzej	**1644, 25 Nov	Ogilvie (Ogielbe) Jakub & NN	Gilbert Dawid Gilbert née Rollins (Rhuelins) Katarzyna	f.8v
1645 [MDCXLV]				
Barnhill ? (Barnill) Johannes	**1645, 20 Sep	Barnhill ? (Barnill) Peter & NN	Galloway (Gallebey) Jan May Susanna Fr.	f.9v
Barnhill ? (Barnill) David	**1645, 21 Sep	Barnhill ? (Barnill) Peter Scot & NN	Scott Catharina Fr. (wife of Rupert, rather Robert)	f.9v
1646 [MDCXLVI]				
Robertson (Robers) NN (daughter)	**1646, 8 Apr	Robertson (Robers) NN& NN	Dawidson Wilhelm Rollins ? David ... Robert	f.9v
Innes (Eness) Jan	**1646, 27 Dec	Innes (Eness) [Jan] <i>Szkot</i> & NN	Gilbert David	f.9v
1647 [MDCXLVII]				
Barnhill ? (Barall) Anna	**1647, 6 Aug	Barnhill ? (Barall) Peter (Petro) & NN	?	f.10v
Ross (Rosse) Margaretha	**1647, 18 Dec	Ross (Rosse) Albert (possibly the same as Robert) & NN	?	f.10v
1648 [MDCXLVIII]				
Ogilvie (Oegulb) Alexander	**1648, 26 May	Ogilvie (Oegulb) [Jakub] & NN	Gilbert NN Innes (Ennes) NN Ross (Rosse) NN <i>lubelski kupiec</i>	f.11
Robertson (Robersun) Judith	**1648, 15 Jul	Robertson (Robersun) NN & NN	Innes (Ennes) NN	f.11
1649 [MDCXLIX]				
Davidson (Dawidson) NN	**1649, 10 Jan	Davidson (Dawidson) Wilhelm & NN	Galloway Johann	f.11v
Ross Catharina	**1649, 21 Jan	Ross Albert (possibly the same as Robert) & NN	Galloway (Galleboy) Johann	f.12
Jamieson ? (Jemson) Anna	**1649, 2 Oct	Jamieson ? (Jemson) NN & NN	Gilbert Robert Galloway (Galaway) Jan Ogilvie (Ogilby) Jakub	f.12v

PART II – MARRIAGE REGISTER

<i>Name of Groom</i>	<i>Name of Bride</i>	<i>Date of Marriage</i>	<i>Page</i>
1640 [MDCXL]			
1641 [MDCXLI]			
1642			
1643			
1644			
1645			
Davidson (Dawidson) Jan Szkot	Zenkiewicz Zofia Jfr. D. of Elias	∞1645, 28 May	f. 28v
1646			
Ross (Rosse) Wojciech Szkot	Pfaffenrüt Marianna Jfr.	∞1646, 28 Nov	f. 29
1647			
Ogilvie (Oegelbe) Jakub	... lewicz Katarzyna Jfr.	∞1647, Jun	f. 29
1648			
1649			
Ramsay (Ramzerz?) Jakub kupiec kieydański	Ogilvie (Oegelbi) Barbara Jfr.	∞1649, 20 Jun	f. 29v

APPENDIX VIII

SCOTTISH NAMES APPEARING IN THE BAPTISMAL AND MARRIAGE
RECORDS OF THE REFORMED CHURCH IN KIEJDANY 1640–1649

Source

“Parish registers 1641–1758,” LVIA Fond 606, Ap. 1, bb. 144–150, 324, 336.

Notes

Okielewicz Krystyna spouse of local origin.
Fr. *Frau*
Jfr. *Jungfrau*
NN name unknown

PART I – BAPTISM REGISTER

<i>Child's Name</i>	<i>Date of Baptism</i>	<i>Parents</i>	<i>Witnesses</i>	<i>Page</i>
1640 [MDCXL]				
no records				
1641 [MDCXLI]				
Keith (Keth) Woiciech	**1641, 16 Jul	Keith (Keth) Jerzy & Watson (Vytson) Regina	—	f.2
Menzis (Manczis) Magdalena	**1641, 18 Jul	Menzis (Manczis) Mikołaj & NN Krystyna	—	f.2
1642 [MDCXLII]				
Baldwin (Balmin) Jan	**1642, 1 Jan	Baldwin (Balmin) Jan & NN	—	f.2v
Nicholl (Nikiel) Alexander	**1642, 30 Apr	Nicholl (Nikiel) Jan & NN	Gordon Aleksander Symson Hendrys Teler Hanna Fr. Stark Hanna Fr.	f.2v
Arnott (Arnet) Dawid	**1642, 20 May	Arnott (Arnet) Jan & NN	Szot Dawid z <i>Kielm</i> Mekienen Jan	f.2v
Gill (Gillas) Jan [jnr.]	**1642, 22 Aug	Gill (Gillas) Jan [snr.] & NN	Mekienen Jan Knox Jerzy	f.2v
Mollison (Molejson) Jan	**1642, 20 Nov	Mollison (Molejson) Tomasz & Birnie ? (Bornaj) Dorota	Starck Fridericus Teler Anna Fr.	f.3

Table (*cont.*)

<i>Child's Name</i>	<i>Date of Baptism</i>	<i>Parents</i>	<i>Witnesses</i>	<i>Page</i>
1643 [MDCXLIII]				
Okielewicz née Chapman (Ciapman) Krystyna	**1643, 16 Feb	Chapman (Ciapman) Jan [snr.]	<i>Krystyna converted from Arianism</i>	f.3
Neilands (Nielans) Elisabeth	**1643, 7 Apr	Neilands (Nielans) Olbricht & NN Elżbieta	—	f.3v
Haig ? (Heygis) Anna	**1643, 20 Apr	Haig ? (Heygis) Abraham & Burnay Anna	—	f.3v
Lenart ? Edward	**1643, 20 May	Lenart ? NN (+) & NN	Arnet Jan Ciapman Jan Alexander N.	f.3v
Chapman (Ciapman) Alexander	**1643, 27 Nov	Chapman (Ciapman) Jan [snr.] & Okielewicz Krystyna	Gordon Alexander Nulens Fr. (Olbricht)	f.4
Mollison (Molejson) Marianna	**1643, 11 Dec	Mollison (Molejson) Tomasz & NN	Knox Jerzy Ciapman Jan Teler NN Fr.	f.4
1644 [MDCXLIV]				
Nicholl (Nikiel) Krystyna	**1644, 5 Feb	Nicholl (Nikiel) Jan & Birnie ? (Bornaj) Dorota d. of Stefan	Knox Jerzy Ciapman Jan	f.4
Arnott (Arnet) Elias	**1644, 2 Mar	Arnott (Arnet) Jan & NN	Symson Hendrys	f.4
Keith ? (Kis) Anna	**1644, 17 Aug	Keith ? (Kis) Jerzy & NN Jadwiga	Knox Jerzy Malejson Tomas Nilans Fr. (Olbricht) Maken Krystyna Fr.	f.4v
Simson Dawid	**1644, 29 Aug	Simson Hendrys & Smith (Szmit) Halszka	Nilans Fr. (Olbricht)	f.4v
MacKean (Makienan) Dawid	**1644, 1 Nov	MacKean (Makienan) Jan & Boruszewska Krystyna	Starck Jan Frydrych Hall NN Bornaj NN Fr.	f.4v
1645 [MDCXLV]				
Neilands (Nilans) Katarzyna	**1645, 28 May	Neilands (Nilans) Albrecht & NN	Knox Hendrych Watson (Wacem) Reiina	f.5

Table (cont.)

<i>Child's Name</i>	<i>Date of Baptism</i>	<i>Parents</i>	<i>Witnesses</i>	<i>Page</i>
Chapman (Ciapman) Jan [jnr.]	**1645, 19 Jul	Chapman (Ciapman) Jan [snr.] & [Okielewicz Krystyna]	Knox Jerzy Nikiel Jan Keith (Kis) Fr. (Jerzy) Arnott (Arnet) Fr. (Jan)	f.5
Nicholl (Nikiel) Jan [jnr.]	**1645, 17 Oct	Nicholl (Nikiel) Jan [snr.] & NN	Knox Jerzy Stark Fr.	f.5v
1646 [MDCXLVI]				
Oliphant (Olephant) Józef	**1646, 19 Mar	Oliphant (Olephant) Wilhelm Szot & NN	Lenart Tomasz Ciapman Jan kramnik Ramsay (Ramza) Mateusz	f.5v
Mollison (Molejson) Sara	**1646, 3 Sep	Mollison (Molejson) Tomasz & NN	Ramsay (Ramzaj) Jan Teler Katarzyna Jfr.	f.5v
MacKean (Makien) Jerzy	**1646, 28 Oct	MacKean (Makien) & Boruszevska Krystyna	Knox Jerzy Ciapman Jan Strackins Anna Fr.	f.5v
1647 [MDCXLVII]				
Nicholl (Nikiel) Anna	**10.03.1647	Nicholl (Nikiel) Jan [snr.] & NN	Simson Hendrys Starkins Anna Fr.	f.6v
Simson Jerzy ?	**28.08.1647	Simson Hendrys & NN	Teler Katarzyna Jfr.	f.7
Forbes (Forbesz) Reina	**24.11.1647	Forbes (Forbesz) Jan & NN	Knox Jerzy	f.7
1648 [MDCXLVIII]				
Arnott (Arnet) Jakub	**1648, 13 Apr	Arnott (Arnet) Jan & NN	Ramsay (Ramzy) Jan Teler Katarzyna Jfr.	f.7v
Mollison (Molejson) Halszka	**1648, 18 Apr	Mollison (Molejson) Tomasz & NN		f.7v
Baldwin (Balmin) Jerzy	**1648, 7 Oct	Baldwin (Balmin) Jan & NN	Bornaj Abram Teler Katarzyna Jfr.	f.7v

Table (cont.)

<i>Child's Name</i>	<i>Date of Baptism</i>	<i>Parents</i>	<i>Witnesses</i>	<i>Page</i>
1649 [MDCXLIX]				
Kean (Kink) Jan	**1649, 21 Feb	Kean (Kink) Adam & NN Krystyna	Robens Wilhelm	f.8
Kean (Kink) Stanislaw	**1649, 21 Feb	Kean (Kink) Adam & NN Krystyna	Scrymgeour (Skromse) Tomass Arnott (Arnet) Zofia Jfr.	f.8
Nicholl (Nikel) Wilhelm	**1649, 26 Feb	Nicholl (Nikel) Jan [snr.] Szkot & NN	Simson Hendrys Scrymgeour (Skromsen) Tomas Teler Katarzyna Jfr.	f.8
Melvin ? (Mallon) Anna	**1649, 6 Apr	Melvin ? (Mallon) Samuel & Bornay Sophia	Starkins [Frydrych] Arnott (Arnet) Johannes Teler Katarzyna Jfr.	f.8
Aidy (Ait) Krystyna	**1649, 27 Jun	Aidy (Ait) Alexander & NN	NN Jerzy kramnik NN Wilhelm kramnik Chapman (Ciapman) Fr.	f.8
Cook (Kujck) Reina	**1649, 28 Oct	Cook (Kujck) Jakub Szkot & NN	Gordon Alexander Anderson Jerzy Keith (Kith) Fr. (Jerzy)	f.8v

PART II – MARRIAGE REGISTER

<i>Name of Groom</i>	<i>Name of Bride</i>	<i>Date of Marriage</i>	<i>Page</i>
1640 [MDCXL]			
no records			
1641 [MDCXLI]			
Gillast Kusto Jan	Andrews? (Hendrys) Jadwidga Jfr.	∞1641, 12 Oct	f.61
1642 [MDCXLII]			
Miksiewicz Bartłomiej	Taylor (Teler) Anna Jfr.	∞1642, 16 Feb	f.61

Table (*cont.*)

<i>Name of Groom</i>	<i>Name of Bride</i>	<i>Date of Marriage</i>	<i>Page</i>
1643 [MDCXLIII]			
Chapman (Ciapman) Jan <i>Szkot</i>	<i>Okielewicz Krystyna Jfr.</i>	∞1643, 15 Feb	f.61v
1644 [MDCXLIV]			
MacKean (Makien) Jan	<i>Boruszewska Krtystyna Jfr.</i>	∞1644, 17 Jan	f.61v
1645 [MDCXLV]			
Neilands (Nülans) Olbrycht <i>wdowiec</i>	Hay (Hey) Raina Jfr.	∞1645, 28 Nov	f.61v
1646 [MDCXLVI]			
nil			
1647 [MDCXLVII]			
Forbes (Forbesz) Jan	Neilands née Hay (Hey) Raina	∞1647, 16 Jun	f.62
1648 [MDCXLVIII]			
nil			
1649 [MDCXLXIX]			
<i>Lipski Józef burmistrz</i>	Couper (Kuper) Katarzyna Jfr.	∞1649, 14 Feb	f. 62v
Youngson (Junksen) Wilhelm of Rosienie	Johnson (Jancenn) Anna Maria Jfr.	∞1649, 13 May	f. 62v
Anderson Jerzy	Simson Zofia Jfr.	∞1649, 17 Oct	f. 62v
Hardy Wilhelmowicz Jan	<i>Jutewicz Halszka Jfr.</i>	∞1649, 17 Oct	f. 62v

APPENDIX IX

REIESTR AUDITORÓW ZBORU KIEYDAŃSKIEGO (1697)

Sources

D. Mikołajewski, “Rejestr Auditorów Zboru Kiejdańskiego (1679),” quoted in Stanisław Tworek, “Materiały do dziejów kalwinizmu w Wielkim Księstwie Litewskim w XVII wieku,” *Odrodzenie i reformacja w Polsce* 14 (1969): 213–215. “Communicants 1679,” LVIA Fond 606, Ap. 1, bb. 144–150, fols 70v–72v.

Notes

Allan**	individuals who do not appear in the register of communicants in 1697
Anderson née Jamunt	spouse of local origin
CH	Christmas
d.o.	daughter of
EA	Easter
PE	Pentecost
s.o.	son of
StM	Feast of St Michael
w.o.	wife of

<i>Scots recorded on Mikołajewski's Register</i>	<i>Scots Not Recorded on Mikołajewski's Register, Appearing on the 1697 List of Communicants</i>	<i>When recorded</i>	<i>Notes</i>
	1. Allan (Alann, Alant), John (Jan)	EA, CH	
2. Anderson George (Jerzy)		PE, CH	Listed as <i>Burmistrz</i>
Anderson [Jamunt née Kutorowicz] Elżbieta		EA, PE, CH	w.o. George Anderson
3. Anderson Marianna **			d.o. George and Elżbieta Anderson
Andrews (Andrysowa) née unknown Sophia (Zofia)		CH	
	4. Arnott (Arnet) James (Jakub)	StM	
	5. Arnott (Arnet) John (Jan)	PE, StM, CH	
	6. Arnott (Arnet) Władysław	CH	

Table (cont.)

<i>Scots recorded on Mikołajewski's Register</i>	<i>Scots Not Recorded on Mikołajewski's Register, Appearing on the 1697 List of Communicants</i>	<i>When recorded</i>	<i>Notes</i>
7. Baillie (Baily) Alexander **			
8. Bell Katarzyna **			d.o. Anna Bell
9. Bennet William (Wilhelm)		EA, CH	
<i>Bennet née unknown Joanna</i>		StM	w.o. William Bennet
10. Bennet George (Jerzy) **			s.o. William Bennet
11. Bennet Robert (Wojciech) **			s.o. William Bennet
<i>Bennet (Benetowa) Adelgunda</i>		StM	
	12. Bennet (Bennetówna, Bennetówna <i>młodsza</i>) Anna	EA, StM, CH	
	13. Bennet James (Jakub)	StM	
14. Christy (Kreisty) David (Dawid)		EA, CH	Listed as <i>szafarz zboru</i>
<i>Christy née Łukaszewiczówna Katarzyna</i>		EA	w.o. David Christy
15. Christy (Kreisty) Anna **			d.o. David Christy
16. Christy (Kreisty) Catherine (Katarzyna) **			d.o. David Christy
17. Cook (Kiuck) James (Jakub) [snr.]		EA, CH	
18. Cook (Kiuck) née [Soutar] Margareth (Małgorzata) **			w.o. James Cook [snr.]
19. Cook (Kiuck) George (Jerzy) [jnr.]		EA, CH	s.o. James Cook [snr.]
20. Cook (Kiuck) James (Jakub) [jnr.] **			s.o. James Cook [snr.]
21. Cook (Kiuck) John (Jan) **			s.o. James Cook [snr.]
<i>Cook (Kiuckowa) née [Zygmontowicz] Gertruda</i>		StM	Widow (late David Cook)

Table (cont.)

<i>Scots recorded on Mikołajewski's Register</i>	<i>Scots Not Recorded on Mikołajewski's Register, Appearing on the 1697 List of Communicants</i>	<i>When recorded</i>	<i>Notes</i>
22. Cook (Kiuck) Anna **			d.o. David and Gertrud Cook
23. Cook (Kiuck) Sophia (Zofia) **			d.o. David and Gertrud Cook
24. Cook (Kwickówna) Margareth (Margareta) **			Listed as <i>dziewczyna</i> (girl). She was probably a relative or a d.o. David and Gertrud Cook
	25. Corsair (Korserowa) née [Mier] Elizabeth	StM	
26. Couper (Kuper) William (Wilhelm)		StM	
<i>Couper (Kuper) née unknown Sophia (Zofia) **</i>			w.o. William Couper
	27. Couper (Kuperówna) Sophia (Zofia)	EA, StM, CH	Probably d.o. William and Sophia Couper
28. Davidson (Dawidson) John (Jan) **			
29. Davidson (Dawidson) née Burnet (Burnetówna) Dorota**			w.o. John Davidson
	30. Erskine (Eska) William (Wilim)	EA, StM	
31. Gilbert David (Dawid)		EA, PE, StM, CH	
32. Gilbert Anna **			d.o. David and [Madeline Hay]
	33. Gordon (Gardens) George (Jerzy)	EA	
34. Gordon (Gordan) Reinold (1679)		StM	
<i>Gordon née Budrewicz Judyta</i>		StM	w.o. Reinold Gordon

Table (cont.)

<i>Scots recorded on Mikołajewski's Register</i>	<i>Scots Not Recorded on Mikołajewski's Register, Appearing on the 1697 List of Communicants</i>	<i>When recorded</i>	<i>Notes</i>
35. Gordon Aleksander **			s.o. Reinold and Judyta Gordon
36. Gordon Katarzyna **			d.o. Reinold and Judyta Gordon
37. Gordonówna Barbara **			Propably d.o. Reinold and Judyta Gordon
38. Haliburton (Hallebarton) George (Jerzy)		CH	
39. Haliburton (Hallebarton, Haliburtonowa) née [Arnott] Elisabeth (Elżbieta)		EA, StM	w.o. George Haliburton
40. Haliburton (Hallebarton) Elisabeth (Elżbieta)		EA, PE, StM	d.o. George and Elizabeth Haliburton
41. Haliburton (Hallebarton) Margaret (Margarita)		EA, PE, StM	d.o. George and Elizabeth Haliburton
42. Haliburton (Hallebarton) William (Wilhelm) **			s.o. George and Elizabeth Haliburton
43. Haliburton (Hallibarton, Haliburtonówna) Halszka		CH	
44. Haliburton (Hallibarton) née [Simson] Margaret (Małgorzata) **			
45. Hay (Hey) John (Jan) **			Stepchild of George Mollison
46. Hay (Hey) Joseph (Józef) **			Stepchild of George Mollison
	Hunter Andrew (Jędrzej)	CH	
47. Hunter Henry (Heinrich, Henryk)		StM, CH	Listed as <i>factor</i>
<i>Irwing (Irwinowa) Teresa</i>		PE	

Table (*cont.*)

<i>Scots recorded on Mikołajewski's Register</i>	<i>Scots Not Recorded on Mikołajewski's Register, Appearing on the 1697 List of Communicants</i>	<i>When recorded</i>	<i>Notes</i>
	49. Jaspers John Bogusław (Jan Boguslaw)	StM	
50. Livingston (Levinston) Robert (Wojciech) [snr.] **			Listed as <i>ławnik</i>
51. Livingston (Levinston) Catherine (Katarzyna) née Crighton (Krechtonówna)			w.o. Robert Livingston [snr.]
52. Livingston (Levinston) Catherine (Katarzyna) **			d.o. Robert [snr.] and Catherine Livingston
53. Livingston (Levinston) George (Jerzy) **			s.o. Robert [snr.] and Catherine Livingston
54. Livingston (Levinston) Margaret (Małgorzata) **			d.o. Robert [snr.] and Catherine Livingston
55. Livingston (Levinston) Robert (Wojciech) [jnr.] **			s.o. Robert [snr.] and Catherine Livingston
56. MacKean (Makien) George (Jerzy) **			Listed as złotnik (goldsmith)
57. MacKean (Makien) née [Cook] Anna **			w.o. George MacKean
58. MacKean (Makien) Andrew (Andrzej) **			s.o. George and Anna MacKean
59. Mollison (Maleisson) George (Jerzy) (1679)		CH	
<i>Mollison née Mikszewicz Katarzyna **</i>			w.o. George Mollison
60. Mollison (Maleisson) Thomas (Tomasz) **			s.o. George and Katarzyna Mollison
	61. Mollison (Mollisonówna) Katarzyna	StM	
62. Mongrieff (Mongriff, Monkryf) Alexander		EA, CH	

Table (cont.)

<i>Scots recorded on Mikołajewski's Register</i>	<i>Scots Not Recorded on Mikołajewski's Register, Appearing on the 1697 List of Communicants</i>	<i>When recorded</i>	<i>Notes</i>
63. Mongrieff (Mongriff, Mongryfowa) née Bennet Sophia (Zofia)		StM, CH	w.o. Alexander Mongrieff
<i>Paterson (Peterson) née Boruszewska Zofia</i>		EA, PE, StM, CH	w.o. James Paterson
64. Paterson (Peterson) Alexander **			s.o. James Paterson and Zofia Boruszewska
	65. Paterson (Patersonówna) Krystyna	CH	d.o. James Paterson and Zofia Boruszewska
66. Paterson (Peterson) Robert (Wojciech)		PE, CH, StM	s.o. James Paterson and Zofia Boruszewska
	67. Paterson (Patersonówna) Dorota	StM	
68. Paterson (Peterson) John (Johannes) Rev.		PE, StM, CH	Listed as Diaconus
69. Ramsay Charles (Karol) **			Stepchild of Robert Livingstone [snr.]
70. Ramsay Thomas (Tomasz) **			Stepchild of Robert Livingstone [snr.]
71. Scrimgeour (Skromzer) John (Jan)		PE	Stepchild of George McKean
72. Scrimgeour (Skromzer) Joseph (Józef) **			
	73. Scrimgeour (Skromzerówna) Reina	CH	
74. Scrimgeour (Skromzer) Thomas (Tomasz) **			
75. Scrimgeour (Skromzerówna) Judyta		StM, CH	Stepchild of George McKean
76. Scrimgeour (Skromzerówna) Katarzyna **			Stepchild of George McKean

Table (*cont.*)

<i>Scots recorded on Mikołajewski's Register</i>	<i>Scots Not Recorded on Mikołajewski's Register, Appearing on the 1697 List of Communicants</i>	<i>When recorded</i>	<i>Notes</i>
77. Seton (Seitanowa) née [Conceror (Konkerowa)] Margaret (Małgorzata) **			w.o. William Seton
78. Seton (Seitanówna) Katarzyna **			d.o. William and Margaret Seton
	79. Seton (Sytonówna) Sophia (Zofia)	CH	
80. Sharp (Scharp) John (Jan)		StM	
81. Sharp (Scharp, Szarpowa) née Haliburton (Helleb) Catherine (Katarzyna)		CH	w.o. John Sharp
82. Sharp (Scharp) Alexander **			s.o. John and Catherine Sharp
83. Sharp (Scharp) John (Jan) **			s.o. John and Catherine Sharp
84. Sharp (Scharp) George (Jerzy) **			s.o. John and Catherine Sharp
85. Sharp (Scharp) Regina **			d.o. John and Catherine Sharp
86. Sharp (Scharp) Robert (Woyciech) **			s.o. John and Catherine Sharp
87. Simson née Smith (Szmitówna) Halszka (Andrysowa) **			w.o. Andrew Simson
88. Smith (Smidówna) Catherine (Katarzyna)		StM	
89. Somerville (Somerwill, Somerwil) James (Jakub) [snr.]		PE, StM, CH	
<i>Sommerville (Somerwill) née [Lenart] Anna</i>		PE	w.o. James Somerville
90. Somerville (Somerwill) Katarzyna		StM	d.o. James and Anna Somerville
91. Somerville (Somerwill) Anna **			d.o. James and Anna Somerville

Table (cont.)

<i>Scots recorded on Mikołajewski's Register</i>	<i>Scots Not Recorded on Mikołajewski's Register, Appearing on the 1697 List of Communicants</i>	<i>When recorded</i>	<i>Notes</i>
92. Somerville (Somerwill, Somerwilówna) Helena		PE, StM, CH	d.o. James and Anna Somerville
93. Somerville (Somerwill) James (Jakub) **			Listed as chłopiec (boy)
94. White ? (Watt, Wath) William (Wilhelm, Wilim)		EA	Listed as chłopiec (boy)

APPENDIX X

CITIZENS OF KIEJDANY 1658–1735

Sources

“Parish registers 1641–1758 (LN, LC, LM 1641–1758)”

LVIA, Vilnius, Fond 606, Ap. 1, bb. 144–150, 324, 336—F. 1218, Ap. 1, b. 390a.

“Parish registers 1758–1864 (LN, LC, LM 1758–1864)”

LVIA, Vilnius, Fond 606, Ap. 1, B. 146–150.

“Communicants 1663–1799”

LVIA, Vilnius, Fond 606, Ap. 1, bb. 144–150, 324, 336—F. 1218, Ap. 1, b. 390a.

“Collecta Zboru Kiejdańskiego: To jest rachunek wszystkich recept i expens zborowych zaczęty roku 1628 dnia 20 novembra,” unpublished print (Wilno: 1939). Lietuvos Mokslų Akademijos Biblioteka, Vilnius, Rankraščiu skyrius, F.9–3040.

D. Mikołajewski, “Rejestr Auditorów Zboru Kiejdańskiego (1679),” quoted in S. Tworek, “Materiały do dziejów kalwinizmu w Wielkim Księstwie Litewskim w XVII wieku,” *Odrodzenie i reformacja w Polsce* 14 (1969): 213–215.

Notes

Col “Collecta Zboru Kiejdańskiego: To jest rachunek wszystkich recept i expens zborowych zaczęty roku 1628 dnia 20 novembra”

Rejestr “Rejestr Auditorów Zboru Kiejdańskiego (1679)”

<i>Surname</i>	<i>Name</i>	<i>Date</i>	<i>Office titles indicating citizen status</i>	<i>Source</i>
Bennet	Jerzy	1658, 1659, 1661, 1662, 1664	<i>Szafarz</i> (1658), <i>administrator cel szlacheckich WXL sekretarz JKM</i> (1664), <i>starosta kiejdański</i> (1669), <i>rajca</i> . Elder of the local parish.	Col 108 Col 120 Col 113 Col 115 LN 1669 LC 1664
Anderson	George	1679	<i>Rajca</i> (1661), <i>Burmistrz</i> (1663, 1679, 1668, 1669, 1672, 1675, 1677, 1681). <i>Collector</i> (1658) and later <i>szafarz</i> of the local parish (1661)	Rejestr Col 108 Col 121–2 LN 1669 LN 1672
Cook	James	1679	<i>Rajca</i> (1679)	Rejestr

Table (cont.)

<i>Surname</i>	<i>Name</i>	<i>Date</i>	<i>Office titles indicating citizen status</i>	<i>Source</i>
Hunter	Heinrich	1679, 1691	<i>Ławnik</i> (1679, 1691)	Rejestr LN 1691
Christie (Kreyst)	D	1679, 1684	<i>Ławnik</i> (1684). <i>Szafarz</i> of the local parish (1679)	Rejestr LN 1684
Haliburton	George	1679, 1684	<i>Magister</i> (1679, 1684)	Rejestr LN 1684
Cooper	Wilhelm	1679, 1684, 1689	<i>Magister</i> (1679), <i>landwójt</i> (1684), <i>landrat</i> (1689)	Rejestr LN 1684 LN 1689
Livingstone	Robert (Wojciech)	1679, 1684, 1691, 1703	<i>Ławnik, rajca</i> (1689, 1703–4)	Rejestr LN 1684 LN 1689 LN 1691 LN 1703 LN 1704
Mollison (Moleison)	George	1684, 1694	<i>Ławnik</i> (1684), <i>burmistrz</i> (1694–95)	LN 1684 LN 1694
Forsyth (Forsai)	William	1691, 1693, 1694, 1698	<i>Pisarz kieydański (pisarz wójtowski)</i> (1691, 1693, 1694, 1698)	LN 1691 LN 1693 LN 1693 LN 1698
Mongrieff	Alexander	1695	<i>Obywatel Kieydan</i> (1695)	LC 1695
Davidson	NN	1698	<i>Rayca magdeburski</i> (1698)	LM 1698
Paterson	Robert (Woyciech)	1698	<i>Obywatel, rayca miasta kieydańskiego</i> (1698)	LM 1698
Cuthbert (Kuthbert)	Alex.	1718, 1720	<i>Burmistrz, landwójt kieydański</i> (1718, 1720)	LN 1719 LN 1720
Cooper	James (Jakub)	1720, 1724	<i>Ławnik magdeburski kiejdański</i> (1720, 1724)	LN 1720 LN 1724
Forsyth	George	1726, 1739, 1741, 1748	<i>Landwójt, arendator protune generalnego hrabstwa kieydańskiego</i> (1739), <i>arendator protune generalnego hrabstwa kieydańskiego i prezydenta miasta tegoż</i> (1741), <i>prezydent</i> (1748/9)	LN 1726 LN 1739 LN 1741 LN 1748 LM 1749
Erskin	David	1731	<i>Obywatel y ławnik kieydański</i> (1731)	LM 1731

Table (cont.)

<i>Surname</i>	<i>Name</i>	<i>Date</i>	<i>Office titles indicating citizen status</i>	<i>Source</i>
Ross	William	1731, 1734, 1740	<i>Obywatel kieydański, landwójt magdeburski kieydański (1734)</i>	LN 1731 LN 1734 LM 1740
Gray	James (Jakub)	1732	<i>Obywatel kieydański, landwójt kieydański (1742)</i>	LN 1731 LN 1742
Haliburton	Wilhelm	1735	<i>Obywatel y ławnik kieydański</i>	LM 1735

APPENDIX XI

SCOTS ADMITTED TO CIVIC RIGHTS IN LWÓW 1557–1754

Source

A. Janeczek, ed., *Album Civium Leopoliensium. Rejestry przyjęć do prawa miejskiego we Lwowie 1388–1783*, 2 Vols (Poznań-Warszawa: Poznańskie Towarzystwo Przyjaciół Nauk, 2005).

Notes

<i>chirurgi</i>	a surgeon
<i>institor</i>	a stallholder
<i>lanius</i>	a butcher
<i>mercator</i>	a merchant
<i>negociator</i>	a merchant
NN	name unknown
<i>revenditor</i>	a trader
<i>sartor</i>	a tailor
<i>sellator</i>	a saddler
<i>stanifusor</i>	a founder, a caster, or a melter

<i>Name</i>	<i>Place of Origin</i>	<i>Parents</i>	<i>Date of Admission</i>	<i>Profession</i>	<i>Recommenders</i>	<i>Index No.</i>
Allan William (Gwilhelmus)	de Schocia Abedine (Aberdeen)	—	1557, 12 Jan	<i>mercator</i>	John Scholcz, John Vays	2449
White <i>Anglus</i> (Wichtt) John (Ioannes)	Lundin (London)	—	1577, 3 Jul	<i>negociator</i>	Andrew Sambor, Stanisław Smissek	2985
Liddell George (Georgius)	Kinross	—	1582, 15 Jan	<i>institor</i>	Simon Leopolita Georg Sponer	3018
Allan (Allandt) James (Iacobus)	Lwów	William citizen of Lwów & NN Jakubusówna	1590, 25 Jun	<i>mercator</i>	Albert Pediani, Stanisław Smissek Stanisław Praemisliensis, Francis Wenigc, Caspar Przedziczki	3193

Table (*cont.*)

<i>Name</i>	<i>Place of Origin</i>	<i>Parents</i>	<i>Date of Admission</i>	<i>Profession</i>	<i>Recommenders</i>	<i>Index No.</i>
Smith (Smith vel Smid) Laurentius (Laurenty)	Lwów	—	1600, 1 Apr	<i>chirurgi</i>	Thomas Karcz, Stanisław Szembek	3494
Dorotheides Gabriel	Lwów	Hyeronim Szapryczka	1600, 13 Nov	—	Andrew Madrowicz, Sienkon Łuczky	3500
Russel (Russel, Ruszel) Melchior	Łańcut	George & Margaretha	1602, 23 Mar	<i>lanius, famatus</i>	Walenty Wilczek, Stanisław Szopa	3427 & 3591
Yeaman (Jman) Peter (Petrus) Scotus	Dyndi (Dundee)	William citizen of Dundee & NN Catharina	1602, 29 Sep	—	Martin Bonus, Simon Guga	3555
Gordon Thomas ¹	—	—	1665, 2 Mar	<i>mercator</i>	Valerian Alembek, Ferdinand Lechner	3880
Fenton (Wenton) John (Ioannes)	—	—	1665, 2 Mar	—	Valerian Alembek, Ferdinand Lechner	3880
MacKin (Makin) Albert (Albertus)	—	—	1671, 16 Jan	—	Benedict Adam Tomecki, John Burzewicz	3963
Stuart (Stoard) Robert (Robertus)	Aberdeen (Aberdom)	Alexander & Elisabeth Smith	1677, 3 Feb	<i>mercator</i>	Stanisław Maydeszewic, Alexander Głuszyński	4001
Janson Samuel	Gdańsk (Gedani)		1684	<i>chirurgus</i>		4071

¹ The record includes information that Thomas Gordon's wife was Constantia Kudlicz with whom he had a son Thomas. This Thomas Gordon was admitted to civic rights in Lwów in 1697.

Table (*cont.*)

<i>Name</i>	<i>Place of Origin</i>	<i>Parents</i>	<i>Date of Admission</i>	<i>Profession</i>	<i>Recommenders</i>	<i>Index No.</i>
Gordon Thomas ²	Saughton Midlothian (Sandstoun)	Alexander of Sandstone & Ioanna Iohnston	1684, 19 Feb	<i>famatus</i>	John Ubaldinni, Albert Kupiński	4078
Baillie (Belli) Thomas	Cracow	—	1685, 17 Dec	[<i>mercator</i>] <i>nobilis, patricius</i>	Mathias Kuczankowic <i>SRM secretaris</i> , Nicolai Boym	4097
Hes Rudolph (Rudolphus)	Portlethen, Kincardineshire	—	1697, 27 Mar	<i>sellator in Civitate Regni Sueciae Portlochum dicta</i>	Thomas Gordon <i>nobilis et spectabilis</i>	4275
Gordon Thomas	Lwów	Thomas <i>famatus</i> merchant, cit. of Lwów (fl. 1665–1697) and Constantia Kudlicz	1697	<i>ingenuus</i>	Thomas Gordon ³ <i>nobilis et spectabilis</i> , Dominik Wilczek	4279
Stuart (Sztuardt) Adam	Lwów	Robert (1677–1710) & Anna Pełka	1702, 20 Feb	[<i>mercator</i>]	Dominik Wilczek, Michael Zlotorowicz	4324
Gordon Alexander	Lwów	Thomas of Saughton (fl. 1684–1717) and Constantia Zywert	1710, 22 Feb	<i>mercator, consul</i> [<i>nobilis</i>]	Thomas Gordon <i>nobilis et spectabilis parentis sui</i> , Thomas Belli <i>consul</i>	4444
Drewe John (Ioannes)	Pilau (Piława) in Ducal Prussia	—	1727, 18 Jun	<i>sartor, honestus</i>	Franciszek Golemborg, Jan Kutasiewicz	4609

² According to the register, Thomas Gordon was listed later as mercator, consul, pro-consul, scabinus. His wife was Joanna Zywert with whom he had a son Alexander (fl. 1710–1723). He was paternal male cousin (frater patruelis) of Thomas Gordon (fl. 1665–1697) admitted to civic rights in Lwów in 1665.

³ This Thomas Gordon was a paternal cousin of Thomas Gordon (fl. 1684–1717). See previous footnote.

Table (cont.)

<i>Name</i>	<i>Place of Origin</i>	<i>Parents</i>	<i>Date of Admission</i>	<i>Profession</i>	<i>Recommenders</i>	<i>Index No.</i>
Murray ? (Muro) John (Ioannes)	—	—	1754, 16 Sep	<i>mercator</i>	Francis Wenin, Theodor Noel	5066
Straton (Streto) John (Ioannes)	—	—	1754, 11 Dec	<i>stanifusor</i>	Francis Wenin, Basil Iliaszewicz	5240

APPENDIX XII

BRITISH DIPLOMATS IN THE POLISH-LITHUANIAN COMMONWEALTH (1580–1700)

<i>Name</i>	<i>Nationality</i>	<i>Note</i>	<i>Source</i>
Rogers, Dr John (c.1538–1603)	English or Scot	Envoy to Poland-Lithuania for the Eastland Company. Acted also as a special ambassador (from 6/8/1580 to 1581) and spy until 1610.	Bell, <i>A Handlist</i> , 153, 213; Biegańska, “The Learned Scots,” 26 (calls him James); SSNE no. 3419.
Herbert, John (later Sir John; c.1540–1617)	English	Acted as an ambassador to Denmark, Prussia, Poland and the Hanse towns (from 16/5/1583 to 1/9/1585).	Bell, <i>A Handlist</i> , 153, 213; SSNE no. 1410.
Harborne, William (1522–1617)	English	In 1588 Harborne had an audience with the Grand Chancellor of Poland. He visited Elbląg and Gdańsk.	Bell, <i>A Handlist</i> , 154, 214; SSNE no. 1455.
Parkins, Dr Christopher (later Sir Christopher; c.1543–1622)	English	Acted as a special ambassador. On his journey to Denmark in 1590, Parkins visited Poland, Prussia and the Hanse towns (from 9/5/1590 to c.26/7/1591 and again from 29/12/1594 to c.7/1595).	Bell, <i>A Handlist</i> , 154, 214; SSNE no. 1414.
Carew, George (later Sir George; d. 1612)	English	Acted as a special ambassador to Sweden, Denmark and Poland (from 20/5/1598 to 21/12/1598). He visited Gdańsk and Elbląg.	Bell, <i>A Handlist</i> , 155, 214; ODNB no. 4627; SSNE no. 1257.
Lyall, Henry (Lyel) (fl. 1600–1610)	Scot or English	The first Stuart-British Special Ambassador to Poland (from 2/4/1603 to 8/8/1603).	Bell, <i>A Handlist</i> , 214; SSNE no. 2404.
Bruce, Dr. William (Bruciusz, Brusius, Bruss, Brusse) (fl. 1600s–1610s)	Scot	Acted as a resident agent (from 20/4/1603 to 22/3/1610). In 1613, Bruce intervened against the expulsion of Scots from Königsberg.	Bell, <i>A Handlist</i> , 214; Biegańska, “The Learned Scots,” 18–19; Kot, “Bruce, William,” 3–4; SSNE no. 4384.

Table (*cont.*)

<i>Name</i>	<i>Nationality</i>	<i>Note</i>	<i>Source</i>
Murray, Sir James (Mori, Mory, Murey, Murray, Moravius) (fl. 1600–8/1633)	Scot	Appointed as a courtier to Zygmunt III of Poland with a salary of 420 zł (c.1601–1603). Later an envoy returning to Poland on official business (1609).	Biegańska, “The Learned Scots,” 1–9; PRSP, 10–11; SSNE no. 1046.
Sandilands of Calder, James 2nd Lord Torphichen (c.1574–1617)	Scot	Appointed as an ambassador extraordinary to Poland (1/6/1609 to 1/10/1609).	Bell, <i>A Handlist</i> , 215; SSNE no. 1457.
Middleton, Sir Robert	Scot	Secretary to the Vice Chancellor of Poland and secretary in London to Sir Robert Stuart (from 1610 to 1624).	Bell, <i>A Handlist</i> , 195; SSNE no. 4879.
Stewart, Sir Robert Earl of Orkney (d. 1670)	Scot	In 1623, he attempted to raise 8000–10,000 troops for the service of Zygmunt III of Poland. The Privy Council authorised Stewart to represent “His Majesties business in Poland and Denmark.” He was to command the planned Polish–Spanish attack on Sweden.	Frost, “Scottish soldiers,” 207; ODNB no. 26505; PRSP, xix; SSNE no. 529.
Gordon, Patrick (d. before 1657)	Scot	Gordon was commissioned as James VI and I’s resident agent to Poland (from 2/6/1610 to 12/1621). He ensured that his post was given to his nephew, Francis Gordon of Braco (see below).	Bell, <i>A Handlist</i> , 195, 215 (mistakenly links him with Sir Patrick Gordon, 1635–1699); ODNB no.11072; SSNE no. 4317.
Dickenson, John (c.1570–1635/6)	British	Acted as a special ambassador to Poland (1/7/1615–6/1/1616).	Bell, <i>A Handlist</i> , 195, 215; ODNB no.7601; SSNE no. 1458.
Aston, Sir Arthur Jnr. (1590/93–1649)	English	Envoy of King James VI and I’s to Poland-Lithuania (1621).	Frost, “Scottish soldiers,” 203, 205, 207, 209; ODNB no.823; SSNE no. 6532.
Mowatt, Hugh	English	Envoy of James VI and I’s to the Scottish community of merchants in Gdańsk (1624), later to the Polish court (1628).	SSNE no. 800.
Gordon of Braco, Sir Francis (d. 01/1644)	Scot	Agent and merchant factor to Poland, stationed at Gdańsk (11/07/1626 to 12/1641). From Gdańsk he took a number of trips to principalities in Northern Europe. During the same period, he frequently travelled between England and Poland.	Bell, <i>A Handlist</i> , 155, 215; Biegańska, “The Learned Scots,” 21; NAS CC 8/8/64; SPLC 1553; SSNE no. 1520; SEWP, 223, 225.

Table (cont.)

<i>Name</i>	<i>Nationality</i>	<i>Note</i>	<i>Source</i>
Roe, Sir Thomas (c. 1581–1644)	English	Ambassador extraordinary to Poland (2/4/1629–4/7/1630).	Bell, <i>A Handlist</i> , 156, 215–216; ODNB no. 23943; SSNE no. 4421.
Douglas, Sir George (d. 1636)	Scot	Charles I's ambassador extraordinary to Poland (10/11/1634 to 31/12/1637). He took part in peace negotiations between Poland and Sweden that began in Sztumska Wieś in 1635.	Bell, <i>A Handlist</i> , 216; Biegańska, "The Learned Scots," 18; SIG, 97; SSNE no. 2360.
Cochrane, Sir John (b. c.1604; d. in or after 1657)	Scot	Charles II's ambassador to Poland (1649), employed to raise money for the royal cause.	Biegańska, "The Learned Scots," 17; ODNB no. 5752; PRSP, xviii; SSNE no. 1490.
Crofts, William (later Baron Crofts of Saxham; d. 1677)	English	Charles II's special envoy to Poland (from 6/1650 to 1651).	Biegańska, "The Learned Scots," 17; ODNB no. 6727; SSNE no. 6517.
Denham, Sir John (1614/15–1669)	English	Charles II's special envoy to Poland (from 6/1650 to 1651).	Biegańska, "The Learned Scots," 17; Frost, 195; ODNB no. 7481; SSNE no. 6513.
Middleton, John 1st Earl of Middleton (c.1608–1674)	Scot	Lieutenant-General. Charles II's special envoy to Poland (from 24/9/1656 to 1657–58), sent there with the aim of raising troops. He visited Gdańsk in 1657–58.	Biegańska, "The Learned Scots," 17; ODNB no. 18674; SSNE no. 6698.
Wyhe, Sir Peter (1628–1699)	English	Ambassador extraordinary to Poland (from 24/11/1669 to 3/7/1670).	Bell, <i>A Handlist</i> , 158; ODNB no. 30119.
Hyde, Lawrence Viscount of Kenilworth (later first Earl of Rochester (bap. 1642; d. 1711)	English	Ambassador extraordinary to Poland (from 5/7/1676 to 13/2/1677).	Bell, <i>A Handlist</i> , 205, 216; ODNB no. 14332; SSNE no. 1250.
Browne, Sir William (fl. 1660s–1700s)	Scot	British resident in Gdańsk (11/7/1700 to 31/12/1700).	SEWP, 195; SSNE no. 946.
Gibson, Archibald (1698–1790)	Scot	British consul in Gdańsk (c. 1735 to ?).	T. Cieślak, "Wilkerz wiejski Aleksandra Gibsonea dla dóbr wejherowskich i rzucewskich z r. 1783," <i>Rocznik Gdański</i> 14 (1955): 232.

Table (cont.)

<i>Name</i>	<i>Nationality</i>	<i>Note</i>	<i>Source</i>
Corry, Trevor	English	British consul in Gdańsk (c. 1773). Had been made a baron of Poland. He was in contact with George Macartney, Earl Macartney (1737–1806).	“The Letters Patent granting the title of baron and naturalisation to Trevor Corry (20 October 1773).” Document No. 438, sygn. D 30; “Trevor Corry, Danzig, to G. Portis (30 November 1773).” PRONI No. D572/2/68.
Wroughton, Thomas	English	Envoy to Poland stationed in Warsaw. He was in contact with George Macartney, Earl Macartney (1737–1806).	“T. Wroughton, Envoy to Poland, Warsaw, to Trevor Corry. Copy of letter transmitting Patent of Baron of Poland” (24 October 1773) PRONI No. D572/2/68.
Gibson, Alexander (c.1727–1811)	Scot	British consul in Gdańsk (c. 1770s), son of the above mentioned Archibald Gibson.	Cieślak, “Wilkierz wiejski,” 233–234.

APPENDIX XIII

BRITISH OFFICERS AND TROOPS UNDER BRITISH COMMAND IN POLAND-LITHUANIA (1570S–1790S)

Notes

With perhaps the exception of Colonel William Stuart's unit, the ethnic background of the men in all other detachments under Scottish command cannot be positively verified.

- (*) strength of this particular unit is based on figures from commissions for raising troops. The unit may have failed to reach the authorised numbers quoted.

<i>Years of Service</i>	<i>Name</i>	<i>Rank</i>	<i>Origin</i>	<i>Notes</i>
1610	'Adolff'	Capt.	British	He took part in the battle of Klushino (4 July 1610): Biegańska, "Żołnierze," 92; Brzeziński, "British Mercenaries," 22.
1673	Anderson, Peter Benedict	Capt.	Scot	Captain P.A. was naturalised in 1673 for an outstanding military service: VL V, 88 no. 28; AARP, no. 1031; Frost, "Scottish soldiers," 211; SSNE no. 6448.
1750–63	Arnott, Jerzy (1695–1763)	Lt.-Col.	Pol.-Scot.	J.A. most likely served in the private army of the Radziwiłł family. In 1750 he was listed in Kiejdany as <i>obersztlejtнант</i> /KM: "LB 1750," "LC 1762," "LM 1763," LVIA Fond 606, B 144–145, fols 56v, 75v, 213v.
1621–26	Aston, Arthur (jnr)	Col.	English	The son of Arthur Aston senior. In March 1621, A.A. served as an envoy from King James VI (I) to Zygmunt III Waza. He was to negotiate necessary conditions from the Polish king regarding James' promises of financial aid and levies (the troops were to be only used against Turkish forces). A group of mercenaries under his command arrived in Gdańsk in September 1621. A.A. arrived in Livonia in February 1622, leading a unit of 300 men to serve under Field Hetman Krzysztof Radziwiłł. A.A.'s service was highly commended by the <i>Sejmin</i> March 1623. A.A. remained in Polish military army till c.1626/7. He distinguished himself at the battle of Gniew (Mewe) (22 Sept.–1 Oct. 1626), where he led a force of 500 musketeers which defeated

Table (*cont.*)

<i>Years of Service</i>	<i>Name</i>	<i>Rank</i>	<i>Origin</i>	<i>Notes</i>
				the Swedish forces. He also took part at the battle of Oksywie (25 Jun 1627): Biegańska, "Żołnierze," 93–94; Borowy, "Anglicy," 310; Brzeziński, "British Mercenaries," 19, 22; Frost, "Scottish soldiers," 203, 205, 207, 209; SSNE no. 6532.
1618–26	Aston, Sir Arthur (snr)	Col.	English	In 1611, A.A. was sent to Ducal Prussia on an embassy from King James VI (I). For a period of time he served in Muscovy, but soon after he returned to England where, with the king's permission, he was recruiting troops for the Poles. In 1621 A.A. was recorded in Britain where he hired three ships to take over mercenaries to Poland. Of apparently over 2000 men who enlisted (largely English and Irish) and embarked, only circa 300 arrived in Gdańsk. King Christian IV of Denmark-Norway held most of them up in the Sound. A.A. himself was imprisoned in Marshalsea prison on the charge that the recruits were being obtained for the use against Russia. In 1623 he became embroiled in a dispute with King Zygmunt III Waza over expenses for his recruitment efforts. The debts were apparently not settled until 1631. A.A. appears to have been captured by the Swedes (September 1626), whom he subsequently joined: Biegańska, "Żołnierze," 101; Borowy, "Anglicy," 299, 305, 310; Brzeziński, "British Mercenaries," 19, 22; SSNE no. 1869.
1638–39	Barclay (Barckley), Alexander	Lt.-Col.	Scot	Listed as lieutenant-colonel in 1638–39 in Gdańsk: "LB 1639," APGd, sig. 356/2, fol. 373.
1608	Bardwell, William		English	Commander of a corsair ship (galleon) in service of Poland: Borowy, "Anglicy," 295; Brzeziński, "British Mercenaries," 22.
1577–78	Barone, John	Capt.	Scot	Served in William Stewart's regiment in Gdańsk, commanding 96 Scots: Brzeziński, "British Mercenaries," 22.
1662	Bazalski a Bosuel, Kazimierz	Capt.	Polish Scot	Born in Prussia. Officer of an infantry unit in the regiment commanded by Col. Felicjan Potocki. K.B. was ennobled in 1662: VL IV, 411, no. 96; AARP, no. 929; MK 203 f. 68v; Sig. 5 f. 79; SSNE no. 6449.

Table (cont.)

<i>Years of Service</i>	<i>Name</i>	<i>Rank</i>	<i>Origin</i>	<i>Notes</i>
1634	Bennet, George	Col.	Scot	Commanded a unit made of footguard and horse (800 men) during the Kamieniec campaign against Turks: "LB 1652, 1655, 1661," LVIA Fond 606, B 144–145, fol. 11v, 13v, 17; Biegańska, "Żołnierze," 95, 103; Brzeziński, "British Mercenaries," 22; SSNE no. 5307.
1673, 1676	Bennet (Benet), George	Maj.	Scot	G.B. raised on his own cost and commanded a 200 strong unit of dragoons which took part in the battle of Chocim (11 November 1673). G.B. was naturalised as a nobleman in 1676: Biegańska, "Żołnierze," 97–98; VL V, 88 no. 28; VL V, 216 no. 60 (presented genealogy and took an oath); AARP, no. 1036; "Regesty indygenatu," 38.
1614–17	Benson	Capt.	English	Left the Muscovites after the defeat at Klushino (4 July 1610), and enlisted in Polish army: Borowy, "Anglicy," 297; Brzeziński, "British Mercenaries," 22; SSNE no. 3125.
1611	Bingley, George	Capt.	Irish	G.B. was in charge of 80 Irishmen-strong unit known as <i>Ulster Kernish Rebels</i> . The unit took part at the battle of Smoleńsk in 1611, where 50 men were lost: Brzeziński, "British Mercenaries," 22; Frost, "Scottish soldiers," 200; SSNE no. 6525 (mistakenly listed as colonel, who entered Polish service in 1617).
1621	Blabie, Francis	Capt.	British	He was in command of the 300 troops heading for Gdańsk to be used against Sweden: Borowy, "Anglicy," 306; Frost, "Scottish soldiers," 204; SSNE no. 6526.
1702	Brown, Robert (Broun, Robbert)	Lt.-Col.	Scot	In 1702 listed as alieutenant-colonel of artillery (<i>Herr Königl. Maiestat in Pohlen Oberst Leutenant von der Artillerii</i>). "LB 1702," APGd, sig. 356/4, fol. 198.
1601	Bruce (Bruse, Brussius), William	Capt.	Scot	W.B. descended from nobility. He was born in Stanstill, in Caithness. W.B. migrated to Continental Europe in his youth, to study at French universities. In 1586 he became a Doctor of Roman Law at the University of Cahors. Later he worked as a professor of Roman Law at Cahors and Toulouse (1588), Würtzburg (1591), and finally at Zamość Academy (1596). In 1600 W.B. was sent on a mission to Queen Elizabeth I. In 1601, as captain of the Crown Chancellor Count Jan Zamoyski, he commanded a

Table (*cont.*)

<i>Years of Service</i>	<i>Name</i>	<i>Rank</i>	<i>Origin</i>	<i>Notes</i>
				company during the Polish–Swedish war in Livonia. The following year he was chosen to escort the Polish ambassador to London (1602). He was recommended by Zygmunt III Waza to James VI (I). In 1604 he was appointed as the new Stuart ambassador to Poland. W.B. remained at that post until 1609. He settled in Poland thereafter and took up private business. Only occasionally he would still act in a diplomatic capacity. In 1613, for example, he intervened against the expulsion of Scots from Königsberg: PSB I, 3–4; Biegańska, “In Search of Tolerance,” 47; idem, “The Learned Scots,” 18–19; Brzeziński, “British Mercenaries,” 22; SSNE no. 4384.
1587–1614	Buck (Bock, Boczk, Bogk, Bucke), Thomas	Capt.	Scot	T.B. was recommended to the Duke of Courland by James VI (I). T.B. served in Jan Zamoyski's army which defeated Maximilian III Habsburg's forces. T.B. distinguished himself during defence of Cracow (14 October–30 November 1587) and probably took part in the battle of Byczyna in 1588. T.B. fought under Polish banner against Charles IX of Sweden in the Livonian war. After being wounded (lost his arm), he returned to Britain. He was ennobled in 1600, for his outstanding military service. In 1617 T.B. was still working on Poland's behalf. James VI (I) allowed him to buy horses and recruit infantry for Poland, on proviso that the British troops would not be used against the Bohemian rebels, Muscovy or any of James's other allies. VL VIII 171; AARP, no. 649; Biegańska, “Żołnierze,” 91–92, 101; Borowy, “Anglicy,” 295, 301, 307; Brzeziński, “British Mercenaries,” 22; Frost, “Scottish soldiers,” 198, 202; PRSP, 35–37; “Regesty nobilitacji,” 51; SSNE no. 5454.
1590	Bull	Capt.	English	In 1590 he received permission to enlist into Polish army. Commander of a corsair ship (galleon) in service of Poland: Borowy, “Anglicy,” 294; Brzeziński, “British Mercenaries,” 22.
c.1650–c.1659	Burnett of Leys, James	Capt.	Scot	Served in the Polish army c. 1650. In 1659 Patrick Gordon met J.L. in the retinue of an envoy from the voivode of Kiev, in Ukraine: Gordon, “Diary 1635–1659,” fol. 169; SPLC no. 536; Borowy, <i>Scots in Old Poland</i> , 25.

Table (*cont.*)

<i>Years of Service</i>	<i>Name</i>	<i>Rank</i>	<i>Origin</i>	<i>Notes</i>
1660	Burnett, Andrew	Lieut.	Scot	In 1661 he joined Russian Service: Biegańska, "Żołnierze," 103; SSNE no. 1679.
1620s	Butler	Capt.	Irish	Company commander in Butler's regiment: SSNE no. 6351.
1626–24, 1634–35	Butler (Buttler, Putler), James (d. 1637)	Col.	Irish	J.B. was in Polish service before 1619. In September 1619, he had been granted a safe-conduct to recruit in Britain. J.B. returned with a small number of troops soon after. Between 1621 and 1622, as a captain of foreign autorament (infantry), he took part in the Livonian campaign (for example in the siege of Mitawa). Later, as a deputy, he took part in the negotiations for the surrender of Memel by the Swedes (17 January 1622). In 1622, he commanded an infantry regiment. During the <i>Sejm</i> of 1623, J.B. was throwing the captured military banners of Swedish army. J.B. took part in the campaign in Prussia against the Swedes in 1626–27. He led a unit against Gustav II Adolf at the battle of Głowa (25 June 1627) and at the battle of Gniew (3 July 1627). J.B. was naturalised for outstanding military service in 1627. He also took part in the war against Muscovite Russia 1633–34. During this campaign, as a colonel, he commanded an infantry unit. He is also credited with enlisting 600 dragoons in Silesia, which with the approval of Albrecht Walenstein, he led to Smoleńsk. He saved the life of Władysław IV Waza, King of Poland in the battle of Smoleńsk. He was probably the same as J.B. who commanded a 1000 strong men regiment during the Kamieniec campaign against Turks. In 1635 he was again fighting in Prussia. J.B. had been married.—VL III, 265 no. 552; Augustyniak, <i>W służbie hetmana</i> , 61, 64, 80, 115, 239, 241, 362–363; Biegańska, "Żołnierze," 90, 93–95, 101; Boniecki, <i>Herbarz</i> , vol. II, 263–265; Borowy, "Anglicy," 311; Brzeziński, "British Mercenaries," 22; Dachnowski, <i>Herbarz szlachty</i> , 429; Frost, "Scottish soldiers," 201–2; Nagielski, "Społeczny i narodowy," 68, 74, 459, 532; "Regesty indygenatu," 28; Uruski, <i>Rodzina</i> , vol. X, 207; SSNE no. 6350.

Table (cont.)

<i>Years of Service</i>	<i>Name</i>	<i>Rank</i>	<i>Origin</i>	<i>Notes</i>
1633	Butler, Ernest Alexander	Rota-meister	Irish?	A.B. commanded a dragoon unit (600 men) during Smoleńsk campaign. In 1635 he was again fighting in Prussia. As a rota-meister, he commanded a unit of 200 men. As a reward for his service, he was given an office of <i>pisarz ziemski</i> of Wenden: Biegańska, "Żołnierze," 94–95, 104; Brzeziński, "British Mercenaries," 22; Frost, "Scottish soldiers," 210; SSNE no. 6537.
1635	Butler, John	Col.	Irish	SSNE no. 6283.
1581–82	Butler, John (I)	Rota-meister	Irish?	J.B. (referred to by Biegańska as Bartholomew a.k.a. John), took part in Pskov campaign (September 1581/February 1582) commanding 150 cavalymen: Brzeziński, "British Mercenaries," 22; Biegańska, "Żołnierze," 90–91.
1621	Butler, John (II)		Irish	Took part in the Moscow campaign. Commanded 300 men.—Brzeziński, "British Mercenaries," 22.
1683	Butler, John (III)	Lt.-Col.	Irish?	J.B. commanded a regiment of arquebusiers of Hieronim Lubomirski. The regiment took part in the campaign against Turks and Tartars, i.e. in the battles of Bratislava (29 July 1683) and Bisamberg (24 August 1683). During the relief of Vienna (11 September 1683), J.B. commanded an infantry regiment: Biegańska, "Żołnierze," 98.
1626–27	Butler, Walter jnr		Irish?	W.B. junior took part in the campaign in Prussia against the Swedes in 1626–1627: Biegańska, "Żołnierze," 94.
1626–27	Butler, Walter snr		Irish?	W.B. senior took part in the campaign in Prussia against the Swedes in 1626–1627: Biegańska, "Żołnierze," 94.
1658	Butler, William (Wilhelm)		Irish?	W.B. was a brother of Gotard Wilhelm. He took part in the campaign in Prussia against the Swedes (1658). His infantry unit distinguished itself during the siege of Toruń, when on 16/17 of September 1658, the unit took <i>Bastion Staromiejski</i> : Biegańska, "Żołnierze," 94, 103.
1618–21	Carmichael, Archibald	Capt.	Scot	A.C. served as a captain in Peter Learmonth's regiment: Brzeziński, "British Mercenaries," 22; Frost, "Scottish soldiers," 204; SSNE no. 6530.

Table (*cont.*)

<i>Years of Service</i>	<i>Name</i>	<i>Rank</i>	<i>Origin</i>	<i>Notes</i>
1614–17	Carre	Capt.	British	Left the Muscovites after the defeat at Klushino (4 July 1610) and enlisted in Polish army: Borowy, “Anglicy,” 297; Brzeziński, “British Mercenaries,” 22.
1659	Carstairs (Karsters, Kaster)	Maj.	Scot	Carstairs was recorded in the parish register of the Protestant Assembly in Kiejdany (December 1659). He was known to serve among other four Scottish officers in the private army of Prince Radziwiłł family: Gordon, “Diary 1659–1667,” fols 121v–122; “LB 1641–1757,” LVIA Fond 606, B 144–145, fol. 15v; SPLC no. 4181; Cf. Žirgulis, “The Scottish Community in Kėdainiai,” 235.
1660–73	Chambers, James	Lt.-Col.	Scot	Captain J.C. took part in the campaign against the Muscovites in Volhynia in 1660. As a Lt.-Col. he also fought at the battle of Chocim (11 November 1673): VL V, 77, no. 84; VL V, 78, no. 87; AARP, no. 1044; Boniecki, <i>Herbarz</i> , Vol. II, 339; Frost, “Scottish soldiers,” 211; Uruski, <i>Rodzina</i> , vol. II, 145; “Regesty indygenatu,” 37; SSNE no. 6453; Wittyg, “Nieznana szlachta,” 54; Biegańska, “Żołnierze,” 97, 98, 103; Urban, 155 (CC 462, s.343).
1673	Chambers, William (Wilhelm)		Scot	W.C. took part in the battle of Chocim (11 November 1673): VL V, 77, no. 84; VL V, 78, no. 87; AARP, no. 1045; Biegańska, “Żołnierze,” 98; Boniecki, <i>Herbarz</i> , vol. II, 339; Uruski, <i>Rodzina</i> , vol. II, 145; “Regesty indygenatu,” 37.
1608	Child of Redriff, Alexander		English	Commander of a corsair ship (galleon) in service of Poland: Borowy, “Anglicy,” 295; Brzeziński, “British Mercenaries,” 22.
1609	Clarke (Clark, Klerk), John (d. c.1609–1610)	Capt.	Scot?	J.C. was in Swedish service till 1609. He was serving in garrison at Pernau which fell to the Poles (2 March 1609). Subsequently he joined Polish forces along with 200 Scots under his command. After J.C.’s death the command over this unit was given to Thomas Buck: Biegańska, “Żołnierze,” 92; Borowy, “Anglicy,” 295; Frost, “Scottish soldiers,” 198; SSNE no. 6520 (mistakenly listed as killed at Pernau).
1614–17	Colbron	Capt.	British	Left the Muscovites after the defeat at Klushino (4 Jul, 1610) and enlisted in Polish army: Borowy, “Anglicy,” 297; Brzeziński, “British Mercenaries,” 22.

Table (*cont.*)

<i>Years of Service</i>	<i>Name</i>	<i>Rank</i>	<i>Origin</i>	<i>Notes</i>
1590	Commendall, William		British	In 1590, received a permission to enlist into Polish army: Borowy, "Anglicy," 294.
1581–82, 1590	Concreor (Conchreor, Concreier, Concreur, Concrior, Concruir, Conkriur, Konkruir, Konkuir, Konkreor, Konkrer, Konkroer, Konkroyer, Konkreur), Andrew	Capt.	Scot	A.C. took part in Pskov campaign (September 1581/February 1582), as a commander of 118 men. In 1584 he was married to Helen Lilia the daughter of English merchant of Gdańsk. In 1590, he commanded a regiment of musketeers (600 men*). For his service in Livonia, he was given an estate in Ruyen district. His son in law was Theodor Butler (Bathler): Biegańska, "Żołnierze," 90, 105–107; Brzeziński, "British Mercenaries," 22.
1614–17	Crighton (Creyton), Thomas	Capt.	Scot	Left the Muscovites after the defeat at Klushino (4 July 1610) and enlisted in Polish army: Borowy, "Anglicy," 297; Brzeziński, "British Mercenaries," 22; SSNE no. 3844.
1571	Cullane	Capt.	Scot	Borowy, "Anglicy," 293.
1612	Cunningham, Robert		Scot	SSNE no. 3846.
1588	<i>Czarni Rajtarzy</i> (Black Reiters)		Scot	Cavalry unit (100 men), possibly Jan Zamoyski's bodyguard. The unit took part in the Battle of Byczyna. Brzeziński, "British Mercenaries," 19, 22.
1577–78	Dallachy, John	Capt.	Scot	Served in William Stewart's regiment in Gdańsk, commanding 75 Scots: Brzeziński, "British Mercenaries," 22.
1662	Davidson, Thomas (Dewison Thomass)	Lt.-Col.	Scot	Most likely served in the private army of Radziwiłł family. In 1662 he was listed in Kiejdany as <i>oberster leitnant</i> . "LB 1662," LVIA, Fond 606, B 144–145, fol. 18.
1621–54	Donoway (Dunaway, Dunnaway, Dunowai, Donaway), John William	Col.	English	Between 1621–1622 Captain J.D. commanded a footguard unit made up of foreigners (120 men). The unit took part in the Livonian campaign. Later served in the private army of Krzysztof Radziwiłł. J.D. supervised Swedish withdrawal from Mitawa after it was overtaken by Polish forces (17 July

Table (cont.)

<i>Years of Service</i>	<i>Name</i>	<i>Rank</i>	<i>Origin</i>	<i>Notes</i>
				1622). In 1625 he was listed as rotameister of German infantry (133 men). In 1625–26 he took part in defence of Birze. Taken prisoner in 1627. Back in Polish army soon after. In 1630, J.D. was recommended for a reward by Lew Sapieha <i>Wojewoda</i> of Wilno. This was opposed by the gathering of deputies of Zemljatia, who accused J.D. of harmful conduct and depopulation of the nobilities estates. Conversely, the gathering of deputies of Oszmiany district, supported Sapieha's proposal and further recommended J.D. (then, already, a captain). Radziwiłł instructed the deputies of the Troki district to support J.D.'s petition for naturalisation at the deliberations of the 1640 <i>Sejm</i> . In 1644 he was working at the Royal court and was nominated to the rank of colonel. J.D. was naturalised in 1654. He was married to a noblewoman Barbara Tyszkiewicz d. o. Piotr Tyszkiewicz (d. c. 1631) and Princess Regina Hołowczyńska (d. 1638): VL IV, 219, no. 18; AARP, no. 765; Augustyniak, <i>W służbie hetmana</i> , 61–62, 64, 80, 115, 239, 241, 363; Borowy, "Anglicy," 311; Brzeziński, "British Mercenaries," 22; SSNE no. 6353; Nagielski, "Społeczny i narodowy," 74; R.T. Prinke and A. Sikorski, <i>Królewska krew: Polscy potomkowie Piastów i innych dynastii panujących</i> (Warszawa: Zysk i Ska, 1997), 134.
1620s	Douglas, Thomas	Capt.	Scot	Company commander in Szpara's regiment: SSNE no. 6349.
1650	Dunbar, George	Lt.-Col.	Scot	Listed in the church records of Sts Peter and Paul as <i>Herr Oberst-Leutenant</i> : "LB 1650," APGd, sig. 356/3, fol. 72.
1657	Durham (Durhame), Alexander	Col.	Scot	A.D. took part in the siege of the city of Toruń in October 1657. Along with General John Middleton, Major General Thomas Rokeby and Mr Davisone, A.D. tried to persuade the Scottish officers inside the city (in the Swedish garrison), to hand over the city to the Poles. A.D. served in the <i>autorament cudzoziemski</i> (regiment of foreigners) commanded by Thomas Rokeby: A. Grosjean, "Royalist Soldiers and Cromwellian Allies? The Cranstoun Regiment in Sweden 1655–1658," in S. Murdoch and A. Mackillop (eds), <i>Fighting for Identity: Scottish Military Experience c.1550–1900</i> (Leiden and Boston: 2002), 61–82; SSNE no. 6699.

Table (cont.)

<i>Years of Service</i>	<i>Name</i>	<i>Rank</i>	<i>Origin</i>	<i>Notes</i>
before 1662	Ferguson (b. 1662)	Capt.	Scot	Before 1662 he was married to Sophie née Plum-mert who, in 1662, wed in Kiejdany, Major George Gordon: "LB 1670," "LC 1662," LVIA, Fond 6o6, B 144–145, fols. 24, 67; Konarski, <i>Szlachta kalwińska</i> , 90.
1774	Fitzgerald, Charles	Maj.	Irish	Uruski, <i>Rodzina</i> , vol. IV, 40.
1765	Fitzpatrick, Peter (Fitz de Paterick)	Lieut.	Irish	Uruski, <i>Rodzina</i> , vol. IV, 40.
1621–22	Forbes, John	Capt.	Scot	Returned to Britain in 1622: Borowy, "Anglicy," 311; SSNE no. 6531.
1620	Forbes, William		Scot	Officer of the Polish army captured by Turks in 1620. Released from captivity, along other Polish POWs, after the intervention of Sir Thomas Roe: Borowy, "Anglicy," 309.
1715–28	Forbes, William	Capt.	Scot	Served in the private army of the Radziwiłł family: "LB 1715, 1728," LVIA, Fond 6o6, Ap. 1, bb. 8, 102–104, fols 47v, 80.
1793	Forseyth (Forsyth), Joseph (c.1751–1817)	Capt.	Scot	J.F. was originally of Edinburgh. He was first recorded as a lieutenant in the regiment of dragoons under the command of Joachim Potocki. J.F. later served as a captain in an infantry regiment. Naturalised in 1775: KK 42a s. 318–323; Sig. w tzw. ML nr 33, f. 5; VL VIII, 167; AARP, no. 1848; "Regesty indygenatu," 66; Boniecki, <i>Herbarz</i> , vol. V, 304–305, annex 48 (Forseyt, Forsyt); Konarski, <i>Szlachta kalwińska</i> , 78; Uruski, <i>Rodzina</i> , vol. IV, 48; Wajs, <i>Materiały</i> , 42; Taylor, <i>Historia rodziny</i> , 11–12.
1726–47	Forsyth, John (c.1700–c.1773)	Maj.	Scot	He served in the Polish army for 47 years: Taylor, <i>Historia rodziny</i> , 11–12.
1790	Freier (Frier), John Gotlieb	Capt.	Polish Scot	Listed as <i>kapitan gwardii konnej</i> . Ennobled in 1790: VL IX, 191 no. 202; VL X, 339, no. 42; AARP, no. 2240; Biegańska, "Żołnierze," 104; Boniecki, <i>Herbarz</i> , vol. V, 322; "Regesty nobilitacji," 167; Uruski, <i>Rodzina</i> , vol. IV, 60.
1617–18	Fuller		Scot	Fought against the Muscovites 1617–18. He commanded 200 men during the storming of Moscow: Biegańska, "Żołnierze," 93; Brzeziński, "British Mercenaries," 22.

Table (cont.)

<i>Years of Service</i>	<i>Name</i>	<i>Rank</i>	<i>Origin</i>	<i>Notes</i>
1660–73	Gardiner (Cordner, Gardener, Gordnier, Kordoner, Kordymier, Kordynier, Kordymer), James	Maj.	Scot	Served in the private army of the Radziwiłł family. Naturalised in 1673. Married to Margaret Arnott (Małgorzata Arnet), with whom he had a son baptised in Kiejdany in 1666: LVIA Fond 606, B 144–145, LC 1663, fol. 67; Eriksonas, “The lost colony of Scots,” 179; “LB 1666, 1668, 1670,” LVIA Fond 606, B 144–145, fols 22v, 23v, 24; SSNE no. 5693; VL V, 88, no. 28 (grant); VL V, 219, no. 81 (submitted genealogy and took an oath).
1610–17	Gilbert, David	Capt.	Scot	D.G. left the Muscovites after the defeat at Klushino (4 July 1610) and enlisted in the Polish army: Borowy, “Anglicy,” 298; Brzeziński, “British Mercenaries,” 22; SSNE no. 3894.
1682–1738	Glower (Glover of Gleyden), Archibald (d. 1738)	Lt.-Col.	Scot	A.G. was the son of Thomas and Elizabeth née Dara. In 1726 he was granted naturalisation for his outstanding service in the Polish army (44 years). During his service he helped to fortify Kamieniec Podolski, Soroki, and Okopy Św. Trójcy. At the time of naturalisation he served in an artillery regiment. Later in his life he was given the office of <i>stolnik inflancki</i> (esquire carver of Livonia): VL VI, 232, no. 25; AARP, no. 1390; Niesiecki, <i>Herbarz</i> , vol. IV, 142–143; “Regesty indygenatu,” 47–48; Uruski, <i>Rodzina</i> , vol. IV, 186; Wajs, <i>Materiały</i> , 46.
1620s	Gordon	Capt.	Scot	Company commander in Butler’s regiment: SSNE no. 6352.
1659	Gordon, Adam (d. 1659)	Lieut.	Scot	Gordon was killed by a cannon ball while fighting against the Swedes near Marienburg: Gordon, “Diary 1659–1667,” fols 13v–14; SPLC no. 504; Borowy, <i>Scots in Old Poland</i> , 25.
c.1612	Gordon, Alexander		Scot	A.G. served in the private army of the Radziwiłł family. He reportedly commanded several hundred men: Borowy, “Anglicy,” 298; Brzeziński, “British Mercenaries,” 22.
1668	Gordon, Alexander	Quartermaster	Scot	Quartermaster of infantry regiment under command of Michał Stanisławski. A.G. joined the Russian army before 1710: Łuszczynski, “Herbarz,” 126.
1768–83	Gordon, Charles (Karol)	Ensign	Polish Scot	Mentioned in 1768 as <i>chorąży</i> (ensign) of an infantry regiment commanded by a Mjr.-Gen. Filip Raczyński. C.G. was a descendant of Peter Gordon: AGAD par. p. doc. no. 8829; AARP, no. 1619; Wajs, <i>Materiały</i> , 47 (KK 45/46, f. 3v)

Table (cont.)

<i>Years of Service</i>	<i>Name</i>	<i>Rank</i>	<i>Origin</i>	<i>Notes</i>
1768–89	Gordon, Fabian	Col.	Polish Scot	F.G. confirmed his noble status in 1768. He was listed then as a cadet in <i>lejb regiment gwardyi</i> . Mentioned also in a constitution confirming his noble status in 1783. F.G. matriculated his arms in 1789. At this time he was listed as colonel: AGAD par. p. doc. no. 9028; AGAD par. p. doc. no. 8829; KK 45/46, f. 3v; VL VII, 371–2, no. 798; AARP, no. 1615; Boniecki, <i>Herbarz</i> , vol. VI, 238–240; “Regesty indygenatu,” 54; Uruski, <i>Rodzina</i> , vol. IV, 269–70; Wajs, <i>Materiały</i> , 47; SSKP, 65; Biegańska, “Żołnierze,” 104; KK. 45/46, f. 3; KK 100, s. 24–28; Sig. 37, f. 47v.
1660, 1662–73	Gordon, George	Maj.	Scot	In 1660, G.G. served in the private army of the Radziwiłł family. He is probably the same as George Gordon who between 1662–70 was recorded as captain at the court of Michał Kazimierz Pachetman of the Grand Duchy of Lithuania. In 1662 in Kiejdany G.G. married Sophie Ferguson née Plummert (previously wife of Capt. Ferguson). In 1673 this Gordon was listed as major of dragoons. He was naturalised as a nobleman in 1673. He became <i>stolnik</i> of Kijów in 1688: VL V, 88, no. 152; VL V, 219, no. 445; AARP, no. 1070; Biegańska, “Żołnierze,” 103–104; Eriksonas, “The lost colony of Scots,” 179; Frost, “Scottish soldiers,” 211; Konarski, <i>Szlachta kalwińska</i> , 90; “LB 1670,” “LC 1662,” LVIA, Fond 606, B 144–145, fols 24, 67; Łuszczzyński, “Herbarz,” 127, 132; SPLC no. 1557; cf. SSNE no. 5492, and 6455.
1700s	Gordon, George (Jerzy, sometimes referred to as Jan) (c.1686–1756)	Capt.	Pol.-Scot.	Son of Władysław Gordon and Sophie Ross of Ankerville, and the grandson of Major George Gordon, naturalised in 1673: Konarski, <i>Szlachta kalwińska</i> , 90; Łuszczzyński, “Herbarz,” 127.
1657–60	Gordon of Huntly, Henry (1635–1674/5)	Lt.-Col.	Scot	H.G. was the fifth son of Gordon George 2nd Marquis of Huntly and Anne of Argyll. He had been brought up in Paris. Migrated to Poland in the 1650s along with his sister Catherine and their guardian Dr William Davidson. In late 1657, Gordon served as lieutenant-colonel to Major Alexander Durhame in the regiment commanded by Mjr.-Gen. Thomas Rokeby. In the following year he was naturalised. Lt.-Col. H.G. was recorded again in 1660 as a commander of a German reiter regiment

Table (cont.)

<i>Years of Service</i>	<i>Name</i>	<i>Rank</i>	<i>Origin</i>	<i>Notes</i>
				during the campaign against the Cossacks and the Muscovites in Volhynia. He distinguished himself during the battle of Cudnów (14 September 1660), where he was wounded. According to the documents, he remained on the battleground despite a horse being shot under him. In 1661 H.G. served under Michał Kazimierz Radziwiłł. According to Bulloch, he returned to Scotland in 1664, on the death of his brother Lewis, 3rd Marquis of Huntly. Conversely, Polish sources note that he was still in Poland during the "Lubomirski Rokosz" (1665–66). H.G. apparently served under Jerzy Sebastian Lubomirski, that is against the royalists. He apparently took part in the battle of Mątwy (13 July 1666). It is possible that H.G. returned to Scotland later that year. H.G. settled in Aberdeen where he was given honorary civic rights in 1666: VL IV, 263, no. 101; Gordon, "Diary 1635–1659," fol. 241v; AARP, no. 796; Biegańska, "Żołnierze," 96–7, 103, 108–110; Boniecki, <i>Herbarz</i> , vol. V, 323–324; Brzeziński, "British Mercenaries," 20; Bulloch, <i>The Gay Gordons</i> , 44–45; idem., <i>The Polish</i> , 3–16; Bulloch and Skelton, <i>Gordons Under Arms</i> , 429–430, 433; PSB, VIII, 302; SPLC no. 537; SSNE no. 6541.
1766	Gordon, James (Jakub) (d. c.1775)	Capt.	Polish Scot	Son of Władysław Gordon and Sophie Ross of Ankerville, and the grandson of Major George Gordon, naturalised in 1673. Captain of dragoons in 1766: Łuszczzyński, "Herbarz," 127.
1749–83	Gordon, John (Jan) (d. 1779)	Lieut.	Polish Scot	Listed as lieutenant since 1749. His noble status, he descended from Peter Gordon, was confirmed in 1768. J.G. most likely served in the private army of the Radziwiłł family. He was married to Aniela Gertruda Brunnow. They baptised several children at Kiejdany: "LB 1749, 1755, 1757," "LM 1779," LVIA Fond 606, B 144–145, fols 56, 60, 78, 214; AARP, no. 1616; Konarski, <i>Szlachta kałwińska</i> , 91.
1683–99	Gordon, John James	Capt.	Polish Scot	As a <i>towarzysz</i> of hussars he took part in the Siege of Vienna in 1683. According to the constitution of 1699, J.G. was proclaimed the only legitimate descendant of Gordons naturalised in 1650 (Henry), and 1676 (George). According to Uruski, J.G. was the son of Michał, and the grandson of Major George Gordon naturalised in 1673. In 1699 he was listed as <i>referendarz koronny</i> (referendary of the

Table (cont.)

<i>Years of Service</i>	<i>Name</i>	<i>Rank</i>	<i>Origin</i>	<i>Notes</i>
				Crown) and <i>marszałek sejmu</i> (the <i>Sejm</i> marshal). He reportedly held also an office of <i>podczaszy żytomierski</i> (cupbearer of Żytomierz). J.G. was married twice. His second wife was Ms Gordon (her first name is unknown): VL VI, 66; Biegańska, "Żołnierze," 98; Brzeziński, "British Mercenaries," 21; Frost, "Scottish soldiers," 211; SSNE no. 6543; Uruski, <i>Rodzina</i> , vol. IV, 270.
1730	Gordon, Joseph (Józef)	Maj.	Polish Scot	Son of Władysław Gordon and Sophie Ross of Ankerville, and the grandson of Major George Gordon, naturalised in 1673. Listed as lieutenant (1730), capitan (1735), and major of horse guards (1739–52). He also held the office of <i>wielkorządca krakowski</i> (governor of Cracow) (1752). His noble status was confirmed in 1768. Married twice. His first wife was Elisabeth Livingston (d. bef. 1752): AGAD par. p. doc. no. 8829; KK 45/46, f. 3v; VL VII, 371–372, no. 798; AARP, no. 1617; Biegańska, "Żołnierze," 104; Boniecki, <i>Herbarz</i> , vol. VI, 238–240; Łuszczzyński, "Herbarz," 127; "Regesty indygenatu," 54; SSKP, 65; Uruski, <i>Rodzina</i> , vol. IV, 269–270; Wajs, <i>Materiały</i> , 47.
1768	Gordon, Joseph (Józef)	Lt.-Col.	Polish Scot	His noble status was confirmed in 1768: AGAD par. p. doc. no. 8829; KK 45/46, f. 3v; VL VII, 371–372, no. 798; AARP, no. 1618; Biegańska, "Żołnierze," 104; Boniecki, <i>Herbarz</i> , vol. VI, 238–240; "Regesty indygenatu," 54; Uruski, <i>Rodzina</i> , vol. IV, 269–270; SSKP, 65; Wajs, <i>Materiały</i> , 47.
1626	Gordon, Patrick		Scot	Commanded a dragoon unit (300–432 men) against the Swedes during the campaign in Prussia: Biegańska, "Żołnierze," 94; Brzeziński, "British Mercenaries," 22; Frost, "Scottish soldiers," 207; SSNE no. 6534.
c.1656–c.1663	Gordon (nicknamed 'Steelhand,' 'Steil-hand,' or 'of the Steelhand'), Patrick	Col.	Scot	P.G. was an officer of the northern royalist forces. In June 1647, he was excommunicated by the commission of the General Assembly of the Kirk of Scotland for rising in arms with the Marquis of Huntly. Later, he repented and the excommunication was released, but P.G. migrated onto the Continent nonetheless. In 1656, he was recorded as captain of the Polish cavalry. Elevated to the rank of colonel (1657), he commanded German reiter regiment. He was wounded in the battle

Table (cont.)

<i>Years of Service</i>	<i>Name</i>	<i>Rank</i>	<i>Origin</i>	<i>Notes</i>
				of Cudnów (14 September 1660), fighting against the Muscovites. His further whereabouts are unknown. He is most probably the same as Patrick Gordon S. [erenissimae] R. [egiae] <i>Maiestatis regis Poloniarvm legionariivs praefectvs</i> and father of Robert who died in Ilża in 1663 and was buried there. Robert's epitaph can be found in St Mary of the Snows, Catholic church in Ilża: Gordon, "Diary 1635–1659," fols 146v, 241v; Borowy, <i>Scots in Old Poland</i> , 25; Biegańska, "Żołnierze," 97, 103; Brzeziński, "British Mercenaries," 20; Gordon and Gordon, <i>A genealogical history</i> , 474; <i>Corpus Inscriptionum Poloniae</i> , no. 12; Bulloch and Skelton, <i>Gordons Under Arms</i> , 453; SPLC no. 536.
1658–60	Gordon of Auchleuchries, Patrick	Capt.-Lieut.	Scot	Between July and December 1655, P.G. was in the Swedish army, and fought against Poland. Captured by the Poles in December 1655, he was taken to Nowy Sącz. After seventeen weeks in captivity, P.G. entered the Polish army, in the dragoons unit under the command of Konstanty Lubomirski. He took part in the siege of Warsaw (1656). In July 1656, he was captured near Warsaw by the Brandenburg army. Along with the other POWs, he was taken to Gdańsk, near which he was wounded. Between January 1657 and November 1658, he was re-captured by the Poles, and later captured by the Imperial troops. After escaping from the captivity, he was an ensign in the Swedish regiment of Col. Anderson. Soon after P.G. was captured by the Poles at the battle of Sztum. In January 1659, first as an ensign, and later as a quartermaster, he was a commander of company of dragoons. His advice resulted in the capture of Grudziądz. As a capt.-lt. of Jerzy Lubomirski's bodyguard, P.G. took part in the campaign in Volhynia. He fought at Cudnów (14 September 1660), where the Poles and Crimean Tartars defeated the Cossacks and the Muscovites, and in the battle of Słobodycze (7 October 1660). During the latter battle, with 200 dragoons, he successfully attacked Cossacks's camp, but was wounded. Together with Gordon 'Steelhand' P.G. agreed to raise two foot companies for the Emperor, but he failed to keep to the arrangement. In 1661 he joined the Russian service: Gordon, "Diary 1635–1659"; Biegańska, "Żołnierze," 96–97, 103, 110; Brzeziński, "British Mercenaries," 20; PRSP, xxiii–xxvii; SSNE no. 3903.

Table (cont.)

<i>Years of Service</i>	<i>Name</i>	<i>Rank</i>	<i>Origin</i>	<i>Notes</i>
1660–68	Gordon, Thomas	Capt.	Scot	Served in the private army of the Radziwiłł family. In 1668 he was listed in Kiejdany as <i>kapitan</i> (captain): “LB 1668,” LVIA Fond 606, B 144–145, fol. 23v; Eriksonas, “The lost colony of Scots,” 179; Konarski, <i>Szlachta kalwińska</i> , 90; SSNE no. 5694.
1768–83	Gordon, Vincent (Wincenty)	Capt.	Polish Scot	Descendant of Peter Gordon and captain of a dragoon unit (1768): AGAD par. p. doc. no. 8829; AARP, 1620; Wajs, <i>Materiały</i> , 47 (KK 45/46, f. 3v).
1577–78	Gourlay, Robert (d. 1578)	Capt.	Scot	In service of the city of Gdańsk. Served under command of William Stewart, commanding c.106 Scots: Borowy, “Anglicy,” 293; Brzeziński, “British Mercenaries,” 22.
1616	Guthrie (Gutry, Gutrey), Alexander	Stand. bearer	Scot	A.G. fought against the Muscovites: Biegańska, “Żołnierze,” 92; Frost, “Scottish soldiers,” 200; SSNE no. 5771.
c.1654–83	Guthrie (Guttry, Guttri, Gitri), George (b. c.1635)	Lt.-Col.	Scot	Son of James and Isabel Leslie, and grandson of Alexander and Isabel Innes. First mentioned in Polish service in 1654, when a complaint was lodged against him. According to that document, troops of Lt. G.G. committed acts of violence against the Jewish population in, or near Przemyśl. In 1673, G.G. then major, was naturalised as an nobleman on the recommendation of Jan Sobieski, then marshal and great hetman of the Crown, and Michał Radziwiłł, field-hetman of the Grand Duchy of Lithuania. This G.G. was most likely the same as Lt.-Col. Guthrie who in 1679 in Toruń, baptised his son George Leo (G.G. was listed as <i>JKM Polen . . . oberstleutenant</i>). The letter patent issued to him on 3 June 1681 lists him as Guttri, royal <i>Vice-Colonellus</i> . According to this document, Lt.-Col. G.G. rendered service to his adopted country for more than 20 years, fighting against the Turks, Tartars, Cossacks, Swedes and Muscovites. He is probably the same as G.G. who in 1683 took part in the relief of Vienna, in Frederick Gröben's infantry regiment: VL V, 78, no. 87; “LB 1679,” APBTor. sig. D-100051, f. 10; AARP, no. 1074; Biegańska, “Żołnierze,” 98, 103; Brzeziński, “British Mercenaries,” 21; Frost, “Scottish soldiers,” 211; Konarski, “Guttry arms Guttry,” 1–2; Łoziński, <i>Prawem i lewem</i> , I, 175; “Regesty indygenatu,” 38; SSNE no. 6458.

Table (cont.)

<i>Years of Service</i>	<i>Name</i>	<i>Rank</i>	<i>Origin</i>	<i>Notes</i>
1749	Guthrie (Gutry), George Leon (b. 1679)	Capt.	Polish Scot	G.L.G. was the son of Lieutenant-Colonnel George Guthrie and Anna Cambier. G.L.G. was baptised in 1679 in Toruń. In 1749, he was listed as a captain of the Crown army: "LB 1679," APBTor., sig. D-100051, fol. 10; Konarski, "Guttry arms Guttry," 1–2.
1793	Haliburton-Stuart (Haliborton-Stuart), Anthony	Lieut.	Polish Scot	VL X, 341, no. 42; VL X, 338, no. 42; AARP, no. 2559; 2560.
1665– c.1668	Haliburton (Halleburston), David (d. bef. 1668)	Lieut.	Scot	D.H. most likely served in the private army of the Radziwiłł family. In 1665 he was listed in Kiejdany as <i>porucznik dragoński</i> . Married to Margaret Simson. D.H. must have died before 1668, as in this year his former wife, then widow, wed Alexander Kuncewicz: "LB 1665," LVIA Fond 606, B 144–145, LC 1666, fol. 68.
1610	Hamilton, Peter		Scot	P.H. served with the Polish army unit that occupied Kreml in 1610: Biegańska, "Żołnierze," 92, 102.
1656	Henderson, John	Col.	Scot	Commanded a regiment of infantry. Defeated at Wirschau in 1656: SSNE no. 53
1741	Hewison (Hujusson), Alexander	Capt.	Scot	Captain A.H. was mentioned as godfather of Alexander Hewison, son of Andrew, baptised in Toruń in 1741: "LB 1741," APBTor. sig. D-100051, f. 39.
1599, 1602–05, 1610–11	Hill, John	Capt.	British	Commander of British troops in Riga. J.H. took part in the battle of Klushino (4 July 1610) and in besieging Smoleńsk (1610–11): Biegańska, "Żołnierze," 91–92; Brzeziński, "British Mercenaries," 22; Frost, "Scottish soldiers," 199; SSNE no. 6523.
1577–78	Holland, Martin		Scot	M.H. commanded a corsair ship (galleon) in service of Poland: Biegańska, "Żołnierze," 91; Borowy, "Anglicy," 294.
1657	Inglis, William (de Ingliss, Wilhelm) (b. c.1619–1658)	Maj.	Scot	Recorded in Słuck in 1657, and listed as major <i>/KM</i> : "LB 1657," Fond 606, AP.1, B 151–152 f. 155; Konarski, <i>Szlachta kalwińska</i> , 114.

Table (cont.)

<i>Years of Service</i>	<i>Name</i>	<i>Rank</i>	<i>Origin</i>	<i>Notes</i>
1662	Innes (Hinnés), Andrew	Rtm.	Scot	A.I. was listed as a rota-meister of a reiter regiment: VL IV, 411, no. 96; AARP, no.958; Biegańska, "Żołnierze," 103; Boniecki, <i>Herbarz</i> , vol. VII, 283 (Hinnés), vol. VIII, 53–54 (Innes); "Regesty nobilitacji," 86 (Hinnés); Uruski, <i>Rodzina</i> , vol. V, 149 (Hinnés), 262–263 (Innes); SEWP, 213, 223.
1617	Innes, Andrew	Capt.	Scot	Borowy, "Anglicy," 298; Brzeziński, "British Mercenaries," 22.
1650, 1661–65	Jaspers, James (Jakub)	Col.	Scot	J.J. was recorded in Wilno in 1650 as 'Capt. Jaspers' He most likely enlisted in the private army of Bogusław Radziwiłł. Promoted to <i>Oberszter</i> (colonel) between 1661–1665, J.J. was listed among Bogusław's officials (starosta dubiński): "LB 1650," LVIA, Fond 606, Ap. 1, bb. 8, 102–104, fol. 13; M. Miłunski, "Zarząd dóbr Bogusława Radziwiłła w latach 1636–1669," in U. Augustyniak (ed.), <i>Administracja i życie codzienne w dobrach Radziwiłłów XVI–XVIII wieku</i> (Warszawa: 2009), 273.
1676	Jeffereys (Dzianfry), James	Capt.	Scot	Returned to Scotland. The College of Arms, Howard I, 22/33; Heymowski, "Udostojnienie herbu," 241–244.
1590	Johnson, James		British	In 1590, J.J. received a permission to enlist into Polish army: Borowy, "Anglicy," 294.
1617–18, 1621, 1626–27, 1648	Keith (Keitz, Kyth), William Gilbert	Capt.	Scot	W.K. took part in campaign against Muscovy 1617–18. In 1621, W.K. was commissioned to levy a regiment of 900 Scottish infantry from the community living in Poland-Lithuania (*). He served under Col. Peter Learmonth. W.K. also commanded a footguard unit (300–432 men), during the campaign in Prussia against the Swedes (1626–27). Later he joined the Muscovites: Biegańska, "Żołnierze," 93–94, 103; Brzeziński, "British Mercenaries," 22; Borowy, "Anglicy," 308; Frost, "Scottish soldiers," 204, 206, 210; PRSP, xx–xxi; SSNE no. 5223.
1587– 1614, 1626	Keith (Keytt), Andrew		Scot	Commanded a dragoon unit (300–432 men), during the campaign in Prussia against the Swedes: Biegańska, "Żołnierze," 91, 94; Brzeziński, "British Mercenaries," 22; Frost, "Scottish soldiers," 207; SSNE no. 6533.

Table (*cont.*)

<i>Years of Service</i>	<i>Name</i>	<i>Rank</i>	<i>Origin</i>	<i>Notes</i>
1608	King of Ratcliff	Capt.	English	Commander of a corsair ship (galleon) in service of Poland: Borowy, "Anglicy," 295; Brzeziński, "British Mercenaries," 22.
1633	Kirkpatrick, John	Capt.	Scot? Irish?	Commanded a dragoon unit during the Smoleńsk campaign: Biegańska, "Żołnierze," 94; Brzeziński, "British Mercenaries," 22; Frost, "Scottish soldiers," 210; SSNE no. 6536.
1622	Kloch (Koch, Kock, Kook), Michael	Capt.	Scot	Served in the Polish Navy: SEWP, 17, 36; SSNE no. 5062.
1685	Lawson of Hymbie (Lausson), James	Capt.	Scot	Originally of Forfar in Angus. J.L. served in an artillery regiment. Brother of John: VL V, 355, no. 62; AARP, no. 1336; Boniecki, <i>Herbarz</i> , vol. XIV, 47; Frost, "Scottish soldiers," 211; "Regesty indygenatu," 45; SSNE no. 6542; Uruski, <i>Rodzina</i> , vol. VIII, 309; Wajs, <i>Materiały</i> , 72.
1685	Lawson of Hymbie (Lausson), John	Lieut.	Scot	Originally of Forfar in Angus. J.L. served in an artillery regiment. Brother of John: VL V, 355, no. 62; AARP, no. 1337; Boniecki, <i>Herbarz</i> , vol. XIV, 47; Frost, "Scottish soldiers," 211; "Regesty indygenatu," 45; SSNE no. 6462; Uruski, <i>Rodzina</i> , vol. VIII, 309; Wajs, <i>Materiały</i> , 72.
1617–21, 1648	Learmonth (Lermunt), Peter	Col.	Scot	Commanded troops (200 men) in Livonian campaign and at Smoleńsk and Viazma. In 1621 he was commissioned to levy a regiment of 900 infantry of Scots living in Poland (*). This unit was to be made of vagabonds and unpropertied men. The infantry under his command took part in the battle of Chocim: Biegańska, "Żołnierze," 92–93, 103; Borowy, "Anglicy," 298, 308; Brzeziński, "British Mercenaries," 19, 22; Frost, "Scottish soldiers," 199, 204, 210; PRSP xx–xxi; SSNE no. 5222.
1613	Learmonth, George		Scot	G.L. served in the Polish garrison at Belaya fortress. In 1613 he joined the Muscovites: Borowy, "Anglicy," 298; Brzeziński, "British Mercenaries," 22; SSNE no. 3968.
1618	Leslie of Auchintoul, Alexander (1590–1663)		Scot	A.L. was the son of William Leslie, third laird of Crichtie (a branch of the Balquhain Leslies). In 1618, as an officer of the Polish army, he was captured by the Muscovites, but later released. At a later date he served in Sweden. Sent with a mission to Moscow, he subsequently entered Tsar's service. A.L. was elevated there to the rank of General: Borowy, "Anglicy," 298; SSNE no. 2916.

Table (*cont.*)

<i>Years of Service</i>	<i>Name</i>	<i>Rank</i>	<i>Origin</i>	<i>Notes</i>
1768	Lindsay (Lindsay of Balcarres), Alexander	Capt.	Polish Scot	Captain of infantry. Ennobled in 1764; VL II, 166, no. 99; AARP, no. 1451; "Regesty nobilitacji," 111.
1768	Lindsay (Lindsay of Balcarres), John	Maj.	Polish Scot	Major of infantry. Ennobled in 1764. Brother of the above: VL II, 166, no. 99; AARP, no. 1452; "Regesty nobilitacji," 111.
1768	Livingston (Lewingston), John	Lieut.	Scot	VL VII, 372, no. 800; AARP, no. 1673; "Regesty indygenatu," 52.
1775–76	Low (Lowe, Lowow), Robert	Lieut.	Scot	He served in the Saxon army: VL VIII, 166, no. 296; MK, ks. 293, k. 88v–89; AARP, no. 1945; "Regesty indygenatu," 58 (mistakenly listed as the same as William).
1775–76	Low (Lowe, Lowow), William	Lieut.	Scot	He served in the Saxon army: VL VIII, 166, no. 296; MK, ks. 293, k. 88v–89; AARP, no. 1946; "Regesty indygenatu," 58 (mistakenly listed as the same as Robert).
1627	MacKay (Macky)	Capt.	Scot	In command of a galleon <i>Panna Wodna</i> (Water Maiden): Biegańska, "James Murray," 5; idem, "Żołnierze," 94.
1619	MacLean (Makalinus), Peter		Scot	P.M. was possibly an envoy of James VI (I). In July 1619, he arrived at the court of Władysław IV to discuss possibilities of levying troops for Poland: Borowy, "Anglicy," 301.
1637–65	Maine, James (Meyne, Mein, Mejn)	Capt.	Scot	J.M. was recoded in the parish register of the Protestant assembly in Kiejdany. He was a father of several children, the first baptised in 1652. Last time recorded there in 1663: "LB 1652, 1653," LVIA Fond 606, B 144–145, fols 11, 12, 13, 20v; SPLC no. 4181; cf. Žirgulis, "The Scottish community in Kėdainiai," 235; <i>Collecta</i> , 37, 81, 82, 90, 94, 97, 99, 95.
1660–69	Maitland (Metland, Meyfland), John	Capt.	Scot	Served in the private army of the Radziwiłł family: VL V, 88, no. 28; AARP, no. 1105; Eriksonas, "The lost colony of Scots," 179; "LB 1662," LVIA, Fond 606, B 144–145, fol. 19; "Regesty indygenatu," 38; SSNE nos. 5495 and 6463.
1768	Manget, John	Lieut.- Col.	Polish English	Lieutenant-colonel of an infantry regiment: VL VII, 372; AARP, no. 1682.
1768	Manget, Stanisław	Lieut.- Col.	Polish English	Lieutenant-colonel of a horse regiment under the command of Gen. Skórzewski: VL VII, 372; AARP, no. 1683.

Table (cont.)

<i>Years of Service</i>	<i>Name</i>	<i>Rank</i>	<i>Origin</i>	<i>Notes</i>
1590	Medcalf, James		British	In 1590, received a permission to enlist into the Polish army: Borowy, "Anglicy," 294.
1660	Menzies of Pitffodels, Paul (1637–1694)		Scot	Paul Menzies was the forth son of Sir Gilbert of Pitfoddels, a staunch Roman Catholic. Educated at Douai (France). In 1660 captain in the Polish army. In 1661 left Polish service and with Patrick Gordon enlisted in the Tsar's army: Gordon, "Diary 1659–1667," RSAMH, Fond 846, Op. 15, vol. II, fol. 128v; Barnhill and Dukes, "North-east Scots," 49–63; Fedosov, <i>The Caledonian Connection</i> ; MSC 352–353; SPLC no. 1474; SSNE no. 4015.
1768	Middleton, Patrick	Capt.	Polish Scot	Served in an infantry regiment: VL VII, 373, no. 800; AARP, no. 1689; "Regesty indygenatu," 54.
1775	Mitchell (de Mitchel), John	Maj.	Scot?	VL VIII, 166, no. 296; AARP, no. 1971; Biegańska, "Żołnierze," 103; "Regesty indygenatu," 58; Uruski, <i>Rodzina</i> , vol. XI, 134.
1581–82	Molleson, William	Capt.	Scot	W.M. took part in the Pskov campaign (September 1581–February 1582), commanding a 32 men strong unit: Biegańska, "Żołnierze," 91; Brzeziński, "British Mercenaries," 22.
1577–78	Moncrieff, William	Capt.	Scot	W.M. was in service of the city of Gdańsk. He served under William Stewart, commanding 88 Scots: Brzeziński, "British Mercenaries," 22.
1650	Montgomery, (Mintgomer)	Capt.	Scot	Recorded in Wilno in 1650: "LB 1650," LVIA, Fond 606, Ap. 1, bb. 8, 102–104, fol. 13.
1659–61	Montgomery, Hugh (Montgamer, Hugo)	Rtm.	Scot	H.M. was recorded <i>asrotmistrz rajtarski, komendant kiejdański</i> (commander of a reiter regiment and commandant of Kiejdany): "LB 1659–1661," LVIA Fond 606, B 144–145, fols 15v–17.
1676	Morrison (Morrison), Alexander	Capt.	Scot	A.M. was naturalised for his outstanding service in the Polish army. He was recommended by Hetman Dymitr Jerzy Wiśniowiecki: VL V, 198, no. 167; AARP, no. 1244; "Regesty indygenatu," 41; SSNE no. 6464.
1676	Morrison (Morrison), William	Capt.	Scot	W.M. was naturalised for his outstanding service in the Polish army. He was recommended by several hetmans of the Crown army: VL V, 198, no. 167; AARP, no. 1245; "Regesty indygenatu," 41; SSNE no. 6465.

Table (cont.)

<i>Years of Service</i>	<i>Name</i>	<i>Rank</i>	<i>Origin</i>	<i>Notes</i>
1647–49	Morton, John (d. 1649)	Quarter-master	Scot	J. M. was a trader based in Tarnów, who was conducting commercial transactions in Lwów and Rzeszów. Around 1647 he got into financial difficulties—problems with repaying loans. It appears that he abandoned his merchandise and girded on his sword. He enlisted into Polish army and served as quartermaster to Captain Thomas Stirling. J.M. was killed along Stirling, during a battle against Cossacks and Tartars near Zborów: Brzeziński, “British Mercenaries,” part I, 22; Guldón, “Żydzi i Szkoci,” 19, 20–21; Kowalski I 101; SPLC no. 1424 (Morton), no. 1422 (Stirling).
1664–72	Muir (Moer) [George?]	Capt.	Scot	Most likely served in the private army of the Radziwiłł family. From 1664 to 1672 he appears in the baptismal records in Kiejdany as <i>kapitan JKM</i> . Married to Ewa Kutorowicz with whom he had three children, all baptised in Kiejdany in 1669: “LB 1664, 1669, 1672” LVIA Fond 606, B 144–145, fols 21, 23v, 24v.
1622	Muir, Alexander	Capt.	Scot	Served in the Polish Navy: SSNE no. 5061.
1706–58	Mier (Mure of Rowallan, Moir), William (Gwilhelm, Wilhelm) (b. c.1680–1758)	Gen.-Maj.	Pol.-Scot.	W.M. son of John Mier of Rowallan, Mjr.-Gen. of the Austrian army, and Anna Ross of Thornton. W.M. first served in the Saxon army. In 1706, as a colonel, W.M. took part in the Northern War (1700–21). He served under the command of Hetman Adam Mikołaj Sianiawski. In 1720 W.M. organised a regiment of horse guards and was elevated to the rank of Maj.-Gen. Later he held an office of <i>starosta</i> of Wilków and Tyszowiec districts. W.M. was married twice, first to Zofia Monroe, and later to Anna Geschaw: KT AparEA 1650, f. 107; MK 413, f. 227v; ML dz. XI Genealogie no. 53; VL VI, 232, no. 24; AARP, no. 1399; Konarski, <i>Szlachta kalwińska</i> , 193; “Regesty indygenatu,” 48.
1601, 1609, 1620–34	Murray (Moravius, Mora, Mori, Mory, Murraye, Murey, Murray), James	Capt.	Scot	J.M. entered Polish service in 1601. He was appointed as a courtier to Zygmunt III Waza with a salary of 420 zł. He returned to England a few years later, only to come back to Poland in 1609 as James VI (I)’s envoy. In 1620, Zygmunt III appointed J.M. as his senior Naval architect. J.M. launched his first ship in 1622 (a two masted pink which carried some 14 guns). In 1623 J.M. was instructed to build another 10 ships of up to 400 tons. The ships

Table (cont.)

<i>Years of Service</i>	<i>Name</i>	<i>Rank</i>	<i>Origin</i>	<i>Notes</i>
				were used in the naval battle against the Swedes at Oliva in 1627. During the battle J.M., who was in charge of 'Król Dawid' (King David) galleon (60 sailors, 100 soldiers), refused to take part in the combat because, apparently, he was passed over for the position of admiral. He managed to escape major punishment. In 1633, he was listed as a captain of the Polish army. He took part in the relief of the fortress of Smoleńsk (1633–34). During this campaign, J.M. commanded two units of infantry (1000 men), which in February 1634 achieved a significant tactical victory by capturing Dziewiczka Góra (a hill near Smoleńsk). His bravery and skills were duly rewarded. He was made mayor of Puck. Earlier, in October 1633, J.M. was given authority to raise a regiment of 200 dragoons and 800 foot-guard. The Muscovites capitulated before the regiment was formed: Biegańska, "James Murray," 1–9; idem, "Żołnierze," 94; PSB XX, 278–279; Borowy, "Anglicy," 295; Brzeziński, "British Mercenaries," 22; Frost, "Scottish soldiers," 209; PRSP, 10–11; SEWP 56; SSNE no. 1046.
1782	Murray, Nicholas Emmanuel	Capt.	Scot	N.E.M. was listed as a captain of Massalski's regiment. He was married to Katarzyna Borowska. <i>Miesięcznik Heraldyczny</i> 4 (1911): 165.
1647	Nairn, Alexander	Lieut.	Scot	In 1647 A.N. was married in St Elizabeth church, Gdańsk. He was listed as <i>Einen Schottischen Leuttenant</i> : APGd, sig. 351/6, LC 1664, fol. 31.
1608	Naucler, Werner (?)		English?	W.N. was a commander of a corsair ship (galleon) in service of Poland: Borowy, "Anglicy," 295; Brzeziński, "British Mercenaries," 22.
1728–33	North?, John (Nort Jan)	Lt.-Col.	British?	Recorded as <i>obersterleutnant JKM</i> in the baptismal register in Wilno: "LB 1728," LVIA, Fond 606, Ap. 1, bb. 8, 102–104, fol. 80.
1766	O'Byrne (de Obyrn), George	Lt.-Col.	Irish	G.O. served in an infantry regiment: VL VII, 185, no. 54. AARP, no. 1467.
1775	O'Donnell (de Odonnel), Henry	Col.	Irish	VL VII, 165; AARP, no. 1982; Uruski, <i>Rodzina</i> , vol. XII, 248.
1775	O'Donnell, James (de Odonnel, Jakób)	Lt.-Col.	Irish	In 1775, J.O. was listed as lieutenant-colonel of the Crown army: Uruski, <i>Rodzina</i> , vol. XII, 248.

Table (*cont.*)

<i>Years of Service</i>	<i>Name</i>	<i>Rank</i>	<i>Origin</i>	<i>Notes</i>
1790	Ogilvie (Ogilvy), John	Capt.	Polish Scot	In 1784, J.O. was listed as lieutenant, and in 1790, as captain of the Crown army: VL IX, 198, no. 226; VL X, 339, no. 42; AARP, no. 2411; "Regesty nobilitacji", 175; Uruski, <i>Rodzina</i> , vol. XII, 260.
1707–10	Ogilvie, George Benedict	FM	Scot	Field-Marshal G.O. commanded the Polish-Saxon army: SSNE no. 4032.
1661	Ogilvie, Wilhelm	Lieut.	Scot	W.O. most likely served in the private army of the Radziwiłł family. In 1661, he was listed in Kiejdany as <i>porucznik raytarski</i> (lieutenant of a reiter regiment): "LB 1661," LVIA Fond 606, B 144–145, fol. 17.
c. 1611	Ogorelle, Connor (Connor-og-Orelli)		Irish	Reportedly sent to Poland to command Irish troops residing there: Borowy, "Anglicy," 299.
1673	O'Kelly (Okelli), Hugo	Col.	Irish	Colonel of the Crown army: VL V, 88, no. 28; AARP, no. 1110; SSNE no. 6459; Uruski, <i>Rodzina</i> , vol. XII, 275.
1650, 1653–67	Paterson, William (Wilhelm Paterson)	Capt. later Col.	Pol.-Scot.	Listed as captain on the communicants list of Wielkanoc in 1650. Perhaps the same as W.P. who was baptised in 1612 in Lucianowice, as son of William Paterson (1573–1645), merchant and citizen of Cracow. Perhaps the same as Colonel W.P. who in Gdańsk, in 1664, married the daughter of Adrian van der Linde. Perhaps also the same as Colonel W. P. in the service of Poland-Lithuania (Śluczk garrison). This W.P. may have remained in the Polish service throughout the war with Russia(1654–67): "LB 1612," KT AparEA, fol. 14; Dobson 126 (Col. William Patterson); SSNE no. 6758.
1676	Ramsay (Ramza)	Maj.	Scot	VL V, 219, no. 83; AARP, no. 1264; SSNE no. 6470.
1695	Ramsay, David (Dawid Ramza)	Maj.	Scot	Recorded in 1695 in Żuprany as major of <i>JKM</i> : Żuprany LB 1695.
1654	Ramsay, James (Jacob)	Capt.	Scot	J.R. was married in St Elizabeth church, Gdańsk, in 1654. He was listed as <i>Schottisch Capitain</i> : APGD, sig. 351/6, LC 1664, f. 41.
1577–78	Renton, William	Capt.	Scot	In service of the city of Gdańsk. Served under the command of William Stewart, commanding 138 Scots: Brzeziński, "British Mercenaries," 22.

Table (cont.)

<i>Years of Service</i>	<i>Name</i>	<i>Rank</i>	<i>Origin</i>	<i>Notes</i>
1648–60	Rokeby (Rockeby, Rokby, Rokiebey, Roklby, Rodzki), Thomas	Maj.-Gen.	English	T.R. was a Roman Catholic. As major-general, he commanded <i>autorament cudzoziemski</i> (regiment of foreigners) in the Polish army. T.R. fought without pay in the war against the Swedes (the Deluge), commanding a unit made out of volunteers. According to Frost, along with Gen. John Middleton, Col. Alex Durhame and Mr Davisone, T.R. tried to persuade Cranstoun's Scottish officers in the Swedish service to hand over the city of Toruń to the Poles. He was captured by the Swedes at the battle of Tyniec in August 1656. T.R. was held captive for the next year and a half. He died from exhaustion after being released from captivity: Biegańska, "Żołnierze," 96–97, 111; Frost, "Scottish soldiers," 211; SSNE no. 6541.
1577–78	Ross, Alexander	Capt.	Scot	In service of the city of Gdańsk. Served under the command of William Stewart, commanding 75 Scots: Brzeziński, "British Mercenaries," 22.
1593	Russel, Martin		Scot	M.R. was an officer of the Polish army. He was ennobled in 1593. AARP, no. 586; "Regesty nobilitacji," 47.
1600–01	Ruthven (Rutvan, Rutwan), Alexander (d. 18 Dec 1601)	Capt.	Scot	A.R. commanded an infantry unit (300 men) which took part in the Livonian campaign. Later, he collected troops in Greater Poland. A.R. died during the siege of Wolmar in 1601: Biegańska, "Żołnierze," 92; Brzeziński, "British Mercenaries," 19, 22; Borowy, "Anglicy," 294; Frost, "Scottish soldiers," 198; PRSP, xix; SEWP, 129–130; SSNE no. 1169.
1610–11	Sanderson, Alexander	Capt.	Scot	Took part in the battle of Klushino (4 July 1610) and in besieging Smoleńsk (1610–11): Biegańska, "Żołnierze," 92; Brzeziński, "British Mercenaries," 22; Frost, "Scottish soldiers," 200; SSNE no. 6524.
1612	Scott, James		Scot	J.S. served in the Polish garrison at Belaya fortress. In 1613, he joined the Muscovites: SSNE no. 4056.
1628–36	Seton (Sitton, Sithonius), Alexander	Vice-admiral	Scot	A.S. was employed in 1635 by King Władysław IV to organise the Polish navy. Seton, a Scottish Catholic, was nominated to the rank of <i>viceprefectus</i> (viceadmiral), and as such commanded a fleet of at first 10, and later, 12 warships. Viceadmiral Seton was also involved in negotiations with the Swedes, and a mission to King Christian IV of

Table (cont.)

<i>Years of Service</i>	<i>Name</i>	<i>Rank</i>	<i>Origin</i>	<i>Notes</i>
				Denmark to secure permission to leave troops and to acquire provisions. At this time he was paid c.1200 zł per month (July–August 1635). It is likely that this A.S. is the same as mentioned by Murdoch, Col. Alexander Seton (Seaton, Seton, Seiton, Setone, Sehekan, Zeaton), who served the Danes during the Thirty Years' War. This Seton was appointed Capt. of a company of 500 British foot raised by order of the Scottish Privy Council (1625) and confirmed in Denmark (1626). Later the same year Seton was authorised to levy another 500 men in Scotland and soon after was promoted to Lieutenant-Colonel (February, 1627). Seaton left this regiment in 1628. It was then that he probably enlisted his services with the Poles, and moved with his wife to Gdańsk. He was still in the Polish service in April 1636, when he accompanied Jan Zawadzki to Lübeck. After that, Seton probably left the command in Poland and returned to the Danish–Norwegian service: PSB XXXVI/3, 342–3; Biegańska, "Żołnierze," 96; Czapliński, <i>Polska a Bałtyk</i> , 50, 66–68; idem, <i>Władysław IV</i> , 194; Koczowski, <i>Zarys dziejów</i> , 160; Pertek, <i>Polacy</i> , 167, 237, 238; SSNE no. 91.
1612	Shaw, James	Capt.	Scot	J.S. served in the Polish garrison at Belaya fortress. In 1613 he joined the Muscovites: SSNE no. 4066.
1698–1731	Sinclair	Maj.	Scot	Commanded Gdańsk's forces. Elevated to the rank of colonel (1704), later major-general: SSNE no. 1165.
1664–66	Sinclair, Ludovick		Scot	PRSP, xxxiii; SSNE no. 1313
1582	Spens, Robert		Scot	R.S. offered to King Stefan Batory the services of 300 Scots whom he claimed to have led out of Scotland: Frost, "Scottish soldiers," 197; SSNE no. 6518.
1577–78	Stewart (Stiwart, Stewardth), William	Col.	Scot	In service of the city of Gdańsk. Commanded seven companies of Scots (c.750 Scots): Borowy, "Anglicy," 293; Biegańska, "Żołnierze," 90; Brzeziński, "British Mercenaries," 17, 22.

Table (cont.)

<i>Years of Service</i>	<i>Name</i>	<i>Rank</i>	<i>Origin</i>	<i>Notes</i>
1649	Stirling (Sterling), Thomas (d. 1649)	Capt.	Scot	Recorded as skin merchant in Tarnów in 1639–52. Later, served in the Polish army as captain and commander of a company raised from Scottish traders settled in Poland. His company was wiped out by the Cossacks and the Tartars near Zborów: Biegańska, “Żołnierze,” 96; Brzeziński, “British Mercenaries,” 22; Guldón, Żydzi i Szkoci, 19, 21; Kowalski I 101; Frost, “Scottish soldiers,” 210; SSNE no. 6538.
1791	Szott, James	Capt.	Polish Scot	Captain of dragoons: VL IX, 190, no. 202; VL X, 338, no. 42; AARP, no. 2488; “Regesty nobilitacji,” 190.
1722–43	Taylor (Tayler, Theiler), William (Wilhelm)	Capt.	Scot	Between 1722 and 1732 Taylor was listed as quartermaster of Colonel Wenichgern's (?) regiment. W.T. was recorded as captain (<i>Capitain von Littoinischen Regiment</i>) in 1732, and a <i>Kapitan</i> JKM, a year later. W.T. was married to Konstancja Sztrunk, with whom he had several children: “LB 1722, 1728, 1730, 1733, 1743,” LVIA, Fond 606, Ap. 1, bb. 8, 102–104, fols 79v, 80, 2, 3v 5.
1775–90?	Taylor, Joseph (Józef) (c.1734–c.1790)	Capt.	Polish Scot	Captain of the Polish and later of the Saxon army. Son of Capt. Robert Taylor (1694–c.1754). J.T. converted to Roman Catholicism c.1775. He received naturalisation in 1775: VL VIII, 167; AARP, no. 2071.
1747–54	Taylor, Robert (Tailer) (1694–c.1754)	Capt.	Polish Scot	Captain of infantry (Polish army). Son of John Taylor (1649–1716), merchant and citizen of Cracow. Baptised in Wielkanoc 21 January 1694. He received communion for the first time in 1709. Between 1709–16, R.T. attended communion at Wielkanoc and Wiatowice: Taylor, <i>Historia rodziny</i> , 9–13, 15–39, 119–120.
1775–82	Taylor, Robert Jan (c.1728–1792)	Maj.-Gen.	Polish Scot	Son of Capt. Robert Taylor. R.J.T. converted to Roman Catholicism c.1775. In the same year he was naturalised as a nobleman. In 1791, R.J.T. received Order of St Stanisław. He was the owner of Prusim and Zielona Chojna estates in 1790: VL VIII, 167; AARP, no. 2070.
1656–60	Thomson, Jacob	Maj.	Scot	Listed as major in church records of St Peter and St Paul, Gdańsk: “LB 1656,” APGd, sig. 356/3, fols 155, 173, 179, 195, 200.

Table (*cont.*)

<i>Years of Service</i>	<i>Name</i>	<i>Rank</i>	<i>Origin</i>	<i>Notes</i>
1581–82	Thomson, John	Capt.	Scot	J.T. took part in the Pskov campaign (Sep 1581/ Feb 1582), commanding 98 men: Biegańska, “Żołnierze,” 90; Brzeziński, “British Mercenaries,” 22.
1577–78	Thomson, John	Capt.	Scot	In service of the city of Gdańsk. Served under the command of William Stewart, commanding 140 Scots: Brzeziński, “British Mercenaries,” 22.
1577–78	Trotter, John	Capt.	Scot	In service of the city of Gdańsk. Served under the command of William Stewart, commanding 104 Scots: Brzeziński, “British Mercenaries,” 22.
1632	von Johnston	Maj-Gen.	Scot	Commanded a regiment of cuirassiers: PRSP, xxi, 10–11; SSNE no. 5226.
1675	Watson, John (Johan Waston)	Lt.-Col.	Scot	Listed as <i>Herr Oberst-Leutenant</i> in church records of St Peter and St Paul, Gdańsk: “LB 1675,” APGd, sig. 356/3, fol. 326.
1624	Weir (Woier, Weijer), John	Col.	Scot	J.W. conspired with Zygmund III in a proposed invasion of Sweden in 1624: SSNE no. 5929.
1633	Wilson? (Wallison, Welsone, Wolson), James	Col.	British	J.W. commanded a regiment of infantry (800 men) under Field Hetman Marcin Kazanowski during the Smoleńsk campaign: Brzeziński, “British Mercenaries,” 22; Frost, “Scottish soldiers,” 209; SSNE no. 6535.
1666	Winter, Jan	Ensign	Scot	Most likely served in the private army of the Radziwiłł family. In 1666, he was listed in Kiejdany as <i>Szkot chorąży rajtarski</i> (Scot, ensign of reiter regiment): LVIA Fond 606, B 144–145, LC 1666, fol. 67.
1612	Wood, Andrew		Scot	A.W. served in the Polish garrison at Belaya fortress. In 1613 he joined the Muscovites: SSNE no. 4111.
1612	Wood, John		Scot	J.W. served in the Polish garrison at Belaya fortress. In 1613 he joined the Muscovites: SSNE no. 4110.

Table (cont.)

<i>Years of Service</i>	<i>Name</i>	<i>Rank</i>	<i>Origin</i>	<i>Notes</i>
1600–32	Young (Junga, Jounga), Abraham (d. c.1632)	Capt.	Scot	A.Y. was the son of Daniel, courtier of Mary Queen of Scots, who had settled in Gdańsk in 1586, and Judyta von Watzenrode. A.Y. accompanied the King on his trip to Sweden in 1598 and took part in the Polish campaign in Livonia between 1600–02. A.Y. commanded an infantry unit (300 men). He took part in the siege of Wolmar in 1601. Later, A.Y. was in charge of Zygmunt III Waza's bodyguard. For his outstanding service, in 1603, the King made him the commander, with the power of jurisdiction and tax collection of all Scots, and later on the chief of all Scotch merchants living in Poland-Lithuania (20 March 1604). This appointment, along with the privileges, was terminated in 1607: VL II, 438, no. 26; <i>Akta sejmikowe woj. poznańskiego</i> , vol. I, part 1, no. 91. par 25 (page 279). Biegańska, "Wielka emigracja Szkotów," 139; idem, "Żołnierze," 107–108; Borowy, "Anglicy," 294; Brzeziński, "British Mercenaries," 19, 22; Frost, "Scottish soldiers," 198; Herbst, <i>Wojna inflancka 1600–1602</i> , (Warsaw: 1938), 106; PRSP, 5–7, 76–79; Tomkowicz, "Przyczynek do historii Szkotów," 163.
1648–49	Young, James	Lieut.	Polish Scot	J.Y. was the son of Capitan Abraham Young and Marianna Wolska. He fought in wars against the Cossacks. J.Y. served in Gen. Krzysztof Houwald's infantry regiment. He took part in the heroic defence of Zbaraż (from 10 July to 22 August 1649), where, because of the wounds, he lost his sight: Boniecki, <i>Herbarz polski</i> , vol. IX, 89, 90 (Joung); Uruski, <i>Rodzina</i> , vol. VI, 115–7; Żychliński, <i>Złota księga</i> , vol. XVIII, 83–85; SIP, 5–7.
1599	<i>Złota Gołębica</i> (Golden Dove)			Corsair ship (galleon) in service of Poland (largely Scottish crew): Brzeziński, "British Mercenaries," 22.

APPENDIX XIV

POLISH NOBILITY OF BRITISH ORIGIN 16TH–18TH CENTURIES

<i>Name</i>	<i>Naturalisation</i>	<i>Ennoblement</i>	<i>Other</i>	<i>Date of Grant</i>	<i>Registration Date</i>	<i>Occupation</i>	<i>Source</i>
SCOTSMEN							
Anderson, Peter Benedict	x			1673		army officer	VL V, 88 no. 28; AARP, no. 103; "Regesty indygenatu," 39; SSNE no. 6448.
Bazalski a Bozuel (Boswell), Kazimierz		x		1662		army officer	MK 203 f. 68v; Sig. 5 f. 79; VL IV, 411, no. 96 (instructed to convert to Catholicism); AARP, no. 929; <i>Regesty nobilitacji</i> , 84; Boniecki, <i>Herbarz</i> , vol. I, 134, annex 89; Uruski, <i>Rodzina</i> , vol. I, 12; Wajs, <i>Materiały</i> , 18.
Bennet (Benet), George	x			1673 1676	1823 1848	army officer	VL V, 88 no. 28; VL V, 216 no. 60 (presented genealogy and took an oath); AARP, no. 1036; "Regesty indygenatu," 38.
Buck (Bock, Boczk, Bogk, Bucke), Thomas		x		1600		army officer	VL VIII 171; AARP, no. 649; "Regesty nobilitacji," 51.
Chambers, James	x			1673		army officer	VL V, 77, no. 84; VL V, 78, no. 87; AARP, nos. a1044, 1045; Uruski, <i>Rodzina</i> , vol. II, 145; "Regesty indygenatu," 37; Wittyg, <i>Nieznana szlachta</i> , 54; Boniecki, <i>Herbarz</i> , vol. II, 339; Biegańska, "Żołnierze," 103; Urban, "Nieznana szlachta," 155 (CC 462, f. 343).
Chambers, William	x					army officer	

Table (cont.)

<i>Name</i>	<i>Naturalisation</i>	<i>Ennoblement</i>	<i>Other</i>	<i>Date of Grant</i>	<i>Registration Date</i>	<i>Occupation</i>	<i>Source</i>
Cook (Koch), George	x			1658	1848	not known	VL IV, 265, no. 115; AARP, no. 803; "Regesty indygenatu," 33; Boniecki, <i>Herbarz</i> , vol. X, 268, annex 98; Uruski, <i>Rodzina</i> , vol. VII, 68; SSKP, 103.
Fergus-on-Tepper, Peter	x			1790		banker	AGAD par. p. doc. #3323, #2145; MK 404, fols 112–113; MK 404, fols 113v–115; KK 45/46 fols 17–17v; KK 100 s. 33; ML 220, s. 382; Sig. 37 f. 97v; VL IX, 189, no. 196; AARP, no. 2500; Boniecki, <i>Herbarz</i> , vol. IV, 57 (Tepper); "Regesty indygenatu," 64; Wajs, <i>Materiały</i> , 40–1, 118–9.
Forseyth (Forsyth), Joseph	x			1793		army officer	KK 42a s. 318–323; Sig. w tzw. ML nr 33, fols 5; VL VIII, 167; AARP, nos. 1847, 1848; "Regesty indygenatu," 66; Boniecki, <i>Herbarz</i> , vol. V, 304–305, annex 48 (Forseyt, Forsyt); Konarski, <i>Szlachta kalwińska</i> , 78; Uruski, <i>Rodzina</i> , vol. IV, 48; Wajs, 42; Taylor, <i>Historia rodziny Taylorów</i> , 11–12.
Forseyth (Forsyth), Rev. John Kanty	x					clergy	
Freier (Frier) John Gotlieb		x		1790		army officer	VL X, 339, no. 42; AARP, no. 2240; Biegańska, "Żołnierze," 104; Boniecki, <i>Herbarz</i> , vol. V, 322; "Regesty nobilitacji," 167; Uruski, <i>Rodzina</i> , vol. IV, 60.
Fribes (Forbes), Peter Gotard		x		1790 1791 1793	1842	banker	KK 98 s. 185–189; ML 220, s. 462; Sig. 37, f. 135v; Sig. 39, f. 20; VL IX, 189, no. 197; VL X, 340, no. 42; AARP, nos. 2240, 2241, 2243, 2245; Boniecki, <i>Herbarz</i> , vol. V, 323–324; Uruski, <i>Rodzina</i> , vol. IV, 62; Wajs, 43; Borowy, 31; PSB, vol. VII, 137 (Franciszek Marcin Friebs); "Regesty nobilitacji," 167, 195.
Fribes (Forbes), John Charles,		x			1842	banker	
Fribes (Forbes), Philip Thomas		x			1842	banker	
Fribes (Forbes), Francis Martin		x			1842	banker	

Table (cont.)

<i>Name</i>	<i>Naturalisation</i>	<i>Ennoblement</i>	<i>Other</i>	<i>Date of Grant</i>	<i>Registration Date</i>	<i>Occupation</i>	<i>Source</i>
Gardiner (Cordner, Gardener, Gordinier, Kordoner, Kordynier, Kordymer), James	x			1673		army officer	VL V, 88, no. 28 (grant); VL V, 219, no. 81 (submitted genealogy and took an oath); AARP, no. 1088.
Glower (Glover of Gleyden), Archibald	x			1726	1782	army officer	VL VI, 232, no. 25; AARP, no. 1390; Niesiecki, <i>Herbarz</i> , vol. IV, 142–143; “Regesty indygenatu,” 47–48; Uruski, <i>Rodzina</i> , vol. IV, 186; Wajs, <i>Materiały</i> , 46.
Gordon of Huntly, Henry	x			1658	returned to Scotland	army officer	VL IV, 263, no. 101; AARP, no. 796; Nagielski, 99; “Regesty indygenatu,” 33; Bulloch, <i>The Gay Gordons</i> , 44–45; Bulloch and Skelton, <i>Gordons Under Arms</i> , 429–430, 433; Boniecki, <i>Herbarz</i> , vol. V, 323–324; Uruski, <i>Rodzina</i> , vol. IV, 62; PRSP, xxvii–xxix; Biegańska, “Żołnierze,” 103.
Gordon, George	x			1673 1676		army officer	SML X f. 68v; VL V, 88, no. 28 (presented genealogy and took an oath); AARP, no. 1070; Biegańska, “Żołnierze,” 103; Konarski, <i>Szlachta kalwińska</i> , 90; “Regesty indygenatu,” 41.
Gordon, John	x			1768 1783	1848	army officer	AGAD par. p. doc. no. 8829; KK 45/46, f. 3v; VL VI, 36, no. 31; VL VII, 371–372, no. 798; AARP, no. 1616; Biegańska, “Żołnierze,” 104; Boniecki, <i>Herbarz</i> , vol. VI, 238–240; “Regesty indygenatu,” 54; SSKP, 65; Uruski, <i>Rodzina</i> , vol. IV, 269–70; Wajs, <i>Materiały</i> , 47.

Table (cont.)

<i>Name</i>	<i>Naturalisation</i>	<i>Ennoblement</i>	<i>Other</i>	<i>Date of Grant</i>	<i>Registration Date</i>	<i>Occupation</i>	<i>Source</i>
Gordon, Joseph (Józef)	x			1768 1783	1848	army officer	AGAD par. p. doc. no. 8829; KK 45/46, f. 3v; VL VII, 371–372, no. 798; AARP, nos. 1616, 1618; Biegańska, “Żołnierze,” 104; Boniecki, <i>Herbarz</i> , vol. VI, 238–240; “Regesty indygenatu,” 54; SSKP, 65; Uruski, <i>Rodzina</i> , vol. IV, 269–70; Wajs, <i>Materiały</i> , 47.
Gordon, Joseph (Józef)	x				1848	army officer	
Gordon, Charles (Karol)	x			1780		army officer	AGAD par. p. doc. no. 8829; AARP, nos. 1619, 1620; Wajs, <i>Materiały</i> , 47 (KK 45/46, f. 3v)
Gordon, Vincent (Wincenty)	x					army officer	
Gordon of Coldwells, Fabian	x			1768 1783 1789	1848	army officer	AGAD par. p. doc. nos. 8829, 9028; KK 45/46, f. 3v; KK. 45/46, f. 3; KK 100, fols 24–28; Sig. 37, f. 47v; VL VII, 371–372, no. 798; AARP, no. 1615; Biegańska, “Żołnierze,” 104; Boniecki, <i>Herbarz</i> , vol. VI, 238–240; “Regesty indygenatu,” 54; SSKP, 65; Uruski, <i>Rodzina</i> , vol. IV, 269–270; Wajs, <i>Materiały</i> , 47.
Guthrie (Guttry, Guttri, Gitri), George	x			1673		army officer	“The Letters Patent granting naturalisation to Georgius Guttri, document issued in Warsaw, on the 3rd of June, 1681”; VL V, 78 no. 87; AARP, no. 1074; “Regesty indygenatu,” 38.
Haliburton-Stuart (Haliborton-Stuart), Anthony		x		1793		army officer	VL X, 341, no. 42; VL X, 338, no. 42; AARP, nos. 2559; 2560; Boniecki, <i>Herbarz</i> , vol. VII, 231, 232; “Regesty nobilitacji,” 205.
Haliborton-Stuart, Rev. Thomas		x		1793		clergy	

Table (cont.)

<i>Name</i>	<i>Naturalisation</i>	<i>Ennoblement</i>	<i>Other</i>	<i>Date of Grant</i>	<i>Registration Date</i>	<i>Occupation</i>	<i>Source</i>
Innes (Hinnes), Andrew		x		1662	1799 1819 1839	army officer	VL IV, 411, no. 96; AARP, no. 958; Biegańska, "Żołnierze," 103; Boniecki, <i>Herbarz</i> , vol. VII, 283 (Hinnes), vol. VIII, 53–54 (Innes); "Regesty nobilitacji," 86 (Hinnes); Uruski, <i>Rodzina</i> , vol. V, 149 (Hinnes), 262–263 (Innes); SEWP, 213, 223.
Jeffereys (Dziafry), James	x			1676	returned to Scotland	army officer	Howard I, 22/33; Heymowski, "Udostojnienie herbu," 241–244.
John, Jeffry		x		1790 1793		counsel	VL IX, 192, no. 209; VL X, 341, no. 42; AARP, no. 2304; "Regesty nobilitacji," 170.
Lawson of Hymbie (de Lausson), Ian	x			1685		army officer	MK, 215, fols 356–361; VL V, 355, no. 62; AARP, nos. 1336, 1337; Boniecki, <i>Herbarz</i> , vol. XIV, 47; "Regesty indygenatu," 45; Uruski, <i>Rodzina</i> , vol. VIII, 309; Wajs, <i>Materiały</i> , 72.
de Lausson (Lawson of Hymbie), James	x			1685		army officer	
Lindsay (Lindsay of Balcarres), Alexander		x		1764	1819 1836	army officer	VL II, 166, no. 99; AARP, no. 1451, 1452; Boniecki, <i>Herbarz</i> , vol. XIV, 265; "Regesty nobilitacji," 111; Uruski, <i>Rodzina</i> , vol. IX, 55–56; Wajs, <i>Materiały</i> , 74.
Lindsay (Lindsay of Balcarres), John		x			1819 1836	army officer	
Livingston (Lewigston), John	x			1768		army officer	VL VII, 372; AARP, no. 1673; Boniecki, <i>Herbarz</i> , vol. XIV, 203 (Lewigston); "Regesty indygenatu," 52; Uruski, <i>Rodzina</i> , vol. IX, 15; Wittyg, <i>Nieznana szlachta</i> , 178.

Table (cont.)

<i>Name</i>	<i>Naturalisation</i>	<i>Ennoblement</i>	<i>Other</i>	<i>Date of Grant</i>	<i>Registration Date</i>	<i>Occupation</i>	<i>Source</i>
Low (Lowe), James	x			1775		not known	MK, 293, fols 88v–89; VL VIII, 166, no. 296; AARP, nos. 1943, 1944, 1945, 1946 Biegańska, “Żołnierze,” 104 (Low); “Regesty indygenatu,” 58 (Robert and Wilhelm Lowow were mistakenly listed as one person); SSKP, 65; Uruski, <i>Rodzina</i> , vol. IX, 146 (Low <i>vel</i> Louw); Wajs, <i>Materiały</i> , 45 (Lowe).
Low (Lowe), George	x			1775		not known	
Low (Lowe), Robert	x			1775 1776		army officer	
Low (Lowe), William	x			1775 1776		army officer	
MacFarlane of Ballyglass, Mayo (MacPharlan, Maqueparlan), Peter	x			1768		counsel/ doctor	VL VII, 372, no. 800; AARP, no. 1678; Boniecki, <i>Herbarz</i> , vol. XI, 183, XIV, 271, XVI, 234; “Regesty indygenatu,” 52; Uruski, <i>Rodzina</i> , vol. X, 207.
Maitland (Meyfland), John	x			1673		army officer	VL V, 88, no. 28; AARP, no. 1105; “Regesty indygenatu,” 38; Uruski, <i>Rodzina</i> , vol. X, 303 (Mejfland).
Middleton, Patrick	x			1768		army officer	VL VII, 373, no. 800; AARP, no. 1689; Konarski, <i>Szlachta kalwińska</i> , 191; “Regesty indygenatu,” 54; Uruski, <i>Rodzina</i> , vol. X, 384.
Mier (Mure of Rowallan), William	x		count 1777	1726	1777, 1885	army officer	MK 413, f. 227v; ML dz. XI Genealogie no. 53; VL VI, 232, no. 24; AARP, no. 1399; Konarski, <i>Szlachta kalwińska</i> , 193; “Regesty indygenatu,” 48; Uruski, <i>Rodzina</i> , vol. XI, 17.

Table (cont.)

<i>Name</i>	<i>Naturalisation</i>	<i>Ennoblement</i>	<i>Other</i>	<i>Date of Grant</i>	<i>Registration Date</i>	<i>Occupation</i>	<i>Source</i>
Morrison (Mirrison), Alexander	x			1676	1778	army officer	VL V, 198, no. 167; AARP, nos. 1244, 1245; A. Heymowski, "Herbarz szlachty Inflant polskich z 1778 roku," in <i>Materiały do biografii, genealogii i heraldyki polskiej</i> , vol. 2, Buenos Aires-Paris, 1964, 35; Niesiecki, <i>Herbarz Polski</i> , vol. 6, 429 (Muryson); "Regesty indygenatu," 41; Uruski, <i>Rodzina</i> , vol. XI, 126, 281 (Moryson), 345 (Murysson).
Morrison (Mirrison), William	x			1676	1778	army officer	
Mitchel (de Mitchel), John	x			1775		army officer	VL VIII, 166, no. 296; AARP, no. 1971; "Regesty indygenatu," 58; Uruski, <i>Rodzina</i> , vol. XI, 134.
Ogilvie (Ogilvy), John		x		1790 1793		army officer	VL IX, 198, no. 226; VL X, 339, no. 42; AARP, 2411; "Regesty indygenatu," 175; Uruski, <i>Rodzina</i> , vol. XII, 260.
Ramsay (Ramza), NN		x		1676	19th C.	army officer	VL V, 219, no. 83; AARP, 1264; "Regesty indygenatu," 104; Uruski, <i>Rodzina</i> , vol. XV, 167, 246 (Ramza or Ramze or Romsay).
Russel, Martin		x		1593		army officer	AARP, no. 586; "Regesty nobilitacji," 47; Uruski, <i>Rodzina</i> , vol. XV, 312 (Rusel, Ruszel).
Szott, James		x		1791		army officer	VL IX, 190, no. 202; VL X, 338, no. 42; AARP, no. 2488; "Regesty nobilitacji," 190.
Taylor, Robert John	x			1775 1782	1837–1850	army officer	VL VIII, 167; AARP, nos. 2070, 2071; "Regesty indygenatu," 62; Taylor, <i>Historia rodziny</i> , passim.
Taylor, Joseph	x			1775 1782	1837–1850	army officer	

Table (cont.)

Name	Naturalisation	Ennoblement	Other	Date of Grant	Registration Date	Occupation	Source
Watson of Priestfield, John Robert	x			1791		banker	VL IX, 192; X, 342. no. 46; AARP, no. 2511; S. Łoza, <i>Rodziny polskie pochodzenia cudzoziemskiego osiadłe w Warszawie i okolicach</i> , vol. 2 (Warszawa: Galewski i Dau, 1934), 99–104; “Regesty indygenatu,” 66; Wajs, <i>Materiały</i> , 123.
Number of grants:	37	17					
ENGLISHMEN							
Donoway (Donowaj), John William	x			1654		army officer	VL IV, 219, no. 18; AARP, no. 765; Augustyniak, <i>W służbie hetmana i Rzeczypospolitej</i> , 61–62, 363; “Regesty indygenatu,” 31.
Corry, Trevor			baron	1773		envoy	KK 24, fols 223–231; Sig. 32, f. 232; “The Letters Patent granting the title of Baron and naturalisation to Trevor Corry” (Warsaw, 20th of Oct, 1773), Collection of T. Niewodniczański, Bitburg. Document No. 438, sygn. D 30; <i>Katalog dokumentów pergaminowych</i> , 224; Wdowiszewski, “Tytuły polskie,” 24 (listed as Frevort, Corry); Wajs, <i>Materiały</i> , 31 (listed as Corry, Frevot); Uruski, <i>Rodzina</i> , vol. IV, 61 (listed as Frevort v. Frevot, Corry).
Manget, John		x		1768		army officer	KK 24, fols 76–80; VL VII, 372; AARP, no. 1682, 1683; “Regesty nobilitacji,” 122.
Manget, Stanisław		x		1768		army officer	
Number of grants:	1	2	1				

Table (cont.)

<i>Name</i>	<i>Naturalisation</i>	<i>Ennoblement</i>	<i>Other</i>	<i>Date of Grant</i>	<i>Registration Date</i>	<i>Occupation</i>	<i>Source</i>
IRISHMEN							
Butler (Buttler), James	x			1627		army officer	VL III, 265, no. 552; AARP, no. 705; Boniecki, <i>Herbarz</i> , vol. II, 263–265; Dachnowski, <i>Herbarz szlachty</i> , 429; Nagielski, “Skład narodowościowy,” 68, 74; “Regesty indygenatu,” 28; Uruski, <i>Rodzina</i> , vol. I, 207.
O’Byrne (de Obyrn), George	x			1766		army officer	ML 190, f. 162; VL VII, 185, no. 54. AARP, nos. 1466, 1467; “Regesty indygenatu,” 49; Uruski, <i>Rodzina</i> , vol. XII, 235.
O’Byrne (de Obyrn), James	x			1766		clergyman	
O’Donnell (de Odonnel), Henry	x			1775		army officer	VL VII, 165; AARP, no. 1982; “Regesty indygenatu,” 58.
O’Kelly (Okelli), Hugo	x			1673		army officer	VL V, 88, no. 28; AARP, no. 110; “Regesty indygenatu,” 38; Uruski, <i>Rodzina</i> , vol. XII, 275.
O’Rourke, John			count	1771		chamberlain	Leitgeber, <i>Nowy almanach</i> , 110.
Number of grants:	5	–	1				
Overall number of grants:	43	19	3				
POSSIBLE BRITISH ORIGIN							
Antony (Anthony?), Jan		x		1791		army officer	VL IX, 198; VL X, 339; AARP, no. 2166; “Regesty nobilitacji,” 188.
Betty (Beatty?), Józef		x		1790		army officer	VL IX, 191; VL X, 339; AARP, no. 2182; “Regesty nobilitacji,” 164.
Breyss (sometimes Bretiss or Pretis), Ian	x			1662		army officer	VL IV, 874; AARP, no. 99; “Regesty nobilitacji,” 80.

Table (cont.)

<i>Name</i>	<i>Naturalisation</i>	<i>Ennoblement</i>	<i>Other</i>	<i>Date of Grant</i>	<i>Registration Date</i>	<i>Occupation</i>	<i>Source</i>
de Chene (Cheyne ?), Casper	x			1768		army officer	VL VII, 373; AARP, no. 1562.
de Chene (Cheyne ?), Stanisław	x			1775		army officer	VL VIII, 166; AARP, no. 1823.
Clamorow (name unknown)	x			1768		army officer	VL VII, 372; AARP, no. 1569; "Regesty indygenatu," 55.
Gress, Martin		x		1663		army officer	AARP, no. 1012; "Regesty nobilitacji," 87.
Gryn (Green ?), (name unknown)		x		1698		army officer	"Regesty nobilitacji," 216.
Guldyn (Goulding ?), Jan		x		1662		army officer	VL IV, 874; AARP, no. 954; "Regesty nobilitacji," 80.
Hoffman, Waran		x		1662		army officer	VL IV, 874; AARP, no. 960; "Regesty nobilitacji," 85.
Lauri, Laure, Laury (Lawrie ?), Jan		x		1676		not known	VL V, 395; Boniecki, Herbarz, Vol. XIV, 47; "Regesty nobilitacji," 215.
Lewes (Lewis ?), Krzysztof		x		1676		army officer	VL V, 403; AARP, no. 1230; "Regesty nobilitacji," 101.
Mokin (MacKean or MacKeon), John		x		1792		army officer	VL IX, 199, no. 226; VL X, 340, no. 42; AARP, no. 2399, 2400.
Mokin (MacKean or MacKeon), Tadeusz		x		1792		army officer	
Pelkyn, Mikołaj		x		1663		army officer	VL IV, 876; AARP, no. 1015; "Regesty nobilitacji," 85.

Table (cont.)

<i>Name</i>	<i>Naturalisation</i>	<i>Ennoblement</i>	<i>Other</i>	<i>Date of Grant</i>	<i>Registration Date</i>	<i>Occupation</i>	<i>Source</i>
Philipson, Gerard		x		1676		not known	VL V, 403; AARP, no. 1258; "Regesty nobilitacji," 100.
Poleman, Jozue	x			1673		army officer	VL V, 356, no. 62; AARP, no. 1354; "Regesty indygenatu," 46.
Rokiey (Rokby?, Rockeby?, Roklby?), Konstanty	x			1662		army officer	VL IV, 873; AARP, no. 994; "Regesty nobilitacji," 86.
Rycz (Rich?, Reach ?), Wilhelm		x		1775		not known	VL VIII, 168; AARP, no. 2019; "Regesty nobilitacji," 136.
Rohland (Rowland, Roland ?), Paweł		x		1776		teller/ banker	VL VIII, 169; AARP, no. 2012; "Regesty nobilitacji," 151.
Shirer, Maciej		x		1775		army officer	VL VIII, 168; AARP, no. 2029; "Regesty nobilitacji," 147.
Stading, Clamor Teodor	x			1786		army officer	VL VII, 372; AARP, no. 1746; "Regesty indygenatu," 55.
Torri (Torrie), August		x		1792		army officer	VL IX, 198, no. 226; VL X, 340, no. 42; AARP, no. 2504; "Regesty nobilitacji," 204.
Virgin, Karol	x			1775		army officer	VL VIII, 166; AARP, no. 2083; "Regesty indygenatu," 60; Wajs, <i>Materiały</i> , 122.
Wret (Wreth?, Wraith?), Paweł	x			1685		retainer	VL V, 356, no. 62 AARP, no. 1367; "Regesty indygenatu," 46.
Overall number of men included in these grants/ number of grants:	9	16					

Table (*cont.*)

NAMES OF FAMILIES OF SCOTTISH ORIGIN REGISTERED AS NOBILITY IN THE NINETEENTH CENTURY			
<i>Name</i>	<i>Date of Registration</i>	<i>Earlier Registration/-s</i>	<i>Source</i>
Balfour	18th–19th C.		Biegańska, “Wielka emigracja,” 209.
Cochrane (Czochron)	1844		Boniecki, <i>Herbarz</i> , vol. IV, 15–16; Uruski, <i>Rodzina</i> , vol. III, 33.
Davidson (Dawidson, Dawson)	1846		Biegańska, “Wielka emigracja,” 208–209; Boniecki, <i>Herbarz</i> , vol. IV, 115; Uruski, <i>Rodzina</i> , vol. III, 80.
Fayff (Fyffe)			Urban, “Nieznana szlachta,” 155 (CC 1211, f. 514).
Gibson	18th–19th C.	1777 (Baron)	Biegańska, “Wielka emigracja,” 44–45; Konarski, <i>Szlachta kalwińska</i> , 78; Boniecki, <i>Herbarz</i> , annex, 37; SEWP, 207, plate 3; SIG 270–274.
Hewison (Huison, Huisson)		1782	Boniecki, <i>Herbarz</i> , vol. VII, 392; 113.
Johnson	18th–19th C.		Biegańska, “Wielka emigracja,” 209.
Leslie (Lesli)	19th C.		Dumin and Górzyński, <i>Spis szlachty</i> , 54.
Lewis (Lowis of Mener)	19th C.		Dumin and Górzyński, <i>Spis szlachty</i> , 56.
MacLean	18th–19th C.		Biegańska, “Wielka emigracja,” 209.
Paton	19th C.		Dumin and Górzyński, <i>Spis szlachty</i> , 74.
Read	19th C.		Dumin and Górzyński, <i>Spis szlachty</i> , 83.
Roberston (Roberson)	1852		Dumin and Górzyński, <i>Spis szlachty</i> , 83.
Ross		1721	Biegańska, “Wielka emigracja,” 209.
Smidt (Smith)		16th C.	Urban, “Nieznana szlachta,” 162 (CC 459, s. 16).
Smith		16th C.	Urban, “Nieznana szlachta,” 162 (CC 459, s. 77).
Turner (Tarnier)	19th C.		Dumin and Górzyński, <i>Spis szlachty</i> , 105.
Taylor (Tayler)	1837–1850		Urban, “Nieznana szlachta,” 164 (PESz. Dop. 1775; CC 460, s. 277).
Williamson (Wielemson)		1778	Wdowiszewski, “Herbarz Inflant,” 53.

Table (cont.)

<i>Name</i>	<i>Date of Registration</i>	<i>Earlier Registration/-s</i>	<i>Source</i>
Young a Lenie (Jounga, Jung, Junga)	1839–1871	1668	Boniecki, <i>Herbarz polski</i> , vol. IX, 89, 90 (Joung); Dumin and Górzyński, <i>Spis szlachty</i> , 39; Korwin Kruczkowski, <i>Poczet Polaków</i> , 55; Sęczys, <i>Szlachta wylegitymowana</i> , 263; Urban, “Nieznana szlachta,” 157 (Teut. 94, s.127–128); Uruski, <i>Rodzina</i> , vol. VI, 115–117; Żychliński, <i>Złota księga</i> , vol. XVIII, 83–85; SIP, 5–7.

APPENDIX XV

FAMILIES OF POLISH NOBILITY OF BRITISH ORIGIN
16TH–18TH CENTURIES

Notes
Benet (Bennet) *Jerzy* children of ennobled or naturalised person are indicated
in italics
NN unknown

<i>No.</i>	<i>Name</i>	<i>Gen.</i>	<i>Wife</i>	<i>Religion</i>
1.	Anderson, Peter Benedict (1673)	?	unknown	unknown
2.	Bennet (Benet), George (1673)	1	iv. Arnott, Zofia zv. NN, Anna of Elbląg	Presbyterian
	<i>Benet (Bennet), George</i>	2	unknown	Presbyterian
	<i>Benet (Bennet), William</i>	2	unknown	Presbyterian
	<i>Benet (Bennet), Hugo Benjamin</i>	2	Ostrejko, Marianna	Presbyterian
	<i>Benet (Bennet), John</i>	2	unknown	Presbyterian
3.	Boswell (Bazalski a Bozuel), Kazimierz (1662)	?	unknown	Presbyterian
4.	Chambers, James (1673)	1	NN, Zofia	unknown
5.	Chambers, William (1673)	1	unknown	unknown
6.	Cook (Koch), George (1658)	?	unknown	unknown
7.	Fergus-on-Teppe, Peter (1790)	2	Valentin Hautervie, Maria Filipina	Presbyterian
8.	Forbes (Fribes), Peter Gotard (1790)	2+	Meisner, Róża	Presbyterian
9.	Forbes (Fribes), John Charles (1790)	2+	Gieryng, Florentyna	Presbyterian
10.	Forbes (Fribes), Philip Thomas (1790)	2+	unknown	Presbyterian
11.	Forbes (Fribes), Francis Martin (1791)	2+	Przegalińska, Wiktoria	Presbyterian
12.	Forsyth (Forseyth), Joseph (1793)	3	Korytowska, Barbara	Catholic
13.	Forsyth (Forseyth), Rev. John Kanty (1793)	3	never married	Catholic

Table (cont.)

No.	Name	Gen.	Wife	Religion
14.	Frier (Frejer), John Bogumił (1790)	?	unknown	unknown
15.	Gardiner (Kordymier), James (1673)	1?	Arnott, Małgorzata	Presbyterian
16.	Glower, Archibald Andrew (1726)	?	Gruszecka, Elżbieta	unknown (his children were Catholic)
17.	Gordon of Huntly, Henry (1658)	1	never married	Catholic
18.	Gordon, George (1676)	1?	Ferguson née Plummert, Zofia	Presbyterian
	<i>Gordon, Michael Ernest</i>	2?	unknown	unknown
	<i>Gordon, Władysław</i>	2?	Ross of Ankerville, Zofia	Presbyterian
19.	Gordon, John James (1699)	3+	1 v. Rzeplińska, NN 2 v. Gordon, NN	Catholic ?
20.	Gordon, Joseph (1768/1783)	3+	unknown	Catholic
21.	Gordon, Joseph (1768/1783)	3+	unknown	Catholic
22.	Gordon, Vincent (1768/1783)	3+	unknown	Catholic
23.	Gordon, Charles (1768/1783)	3+	unknown	Catholic
24.	Gordon, Fabian (1789)	3+	unknown	unknown
25.	Guthrie (Guttry), George (1673)	1?	Cambier, Anna	Presbyterian
	<i>Guthrie (Guttry), Christopher Nicholas</i>	2	Czapska, Marianna	Catholic
	<i>Guthrie (Guttry), George Leon</i>	2	unknown	Catholic
26.	Haliburton-Stuart, Rev. Tomasz (1793)	2+	never married	Catholic
27.	Haliburton-Stuart, Anthony (1793)	2+	unknown	Catholic
28.	Innes (Hinnes), Andrew (1662)	?	unknown	unknown
29.	Jeffereys (Dziafry), James (1676)	1	Drokenhellem, Katherine	Presbyterian
30.	John, Godfryd (1790)	?	unknown	unknown
31.	Lawson of Hymbie (Lausson), John (1685)	1	NN, Elżbieta	unknown
32.	Lawson of Hymbie (Lausson), James (1685)	1	unknown	unknown
33.	Livingston (Lewingston), John (1768)	1	unknown	unknown

Table (*cont.*)

<i>No.</i>	<i>Name</i>	<i>Gen.</i>	<i>Wife</i>	<i>Religion</i>
34.	Lindsay (Lindsay of Balcarres), Jan (1764)	3+	unknown	Catholic
35.	Lindsay (Lindsay of Balcarres), Alexander (1764)	3+	Jakubicka, Aniela	Catholic
36.	Low, Robert (1775)	?	unknown	Presbyterian ?
37.	Low, Wilhelm (1775)	?	unknown	Presbyterian ?
38.	Low, James (1775)	?	unknown	Presbyterian ?
39.	Low, George (1775)	?	unknown	Presbyterian ?
40.	MacFarlane of Ballyglass (MacPharlan), Peter (1768)	1	Seewald, Ludwika	unknown
41.	Maitland (Meyfland), John (1673)	?	unknown	Presbyterian
42.	Middleton, Patrick (1768)	2+	De Seher, Janet	Presbyterian
	<i>Middleton, Bogusław</i>	3+	unknown	Presbyterian
	<i>Middleton, Alexander</i>	3+	Nieszkowska, Anna	Presbyterian
43.	Mier (Mure of Rowallan), William (1726)	1	Geschau, Barbara	Presbyterian from 1726 Catholic
	<i>Mier (Mure of Rowallan), Joseph</i>	2	iv. Morska, NN zv. Sapieha, Anna	Catholic
	<i>Mier (Mure of Rowallan), John</i>	2	Tarnowska, Marianna	Catholic
44.	Morrison (Mirrison), William (1676)	2	unknown	unknown
45.	Morrison (Mirrison), Alexander (1676)	2	Zabokrzycka, Aleksandra	unknown
46.	Mitchel (de Mitchel), John (1775)	?	unknown	unknown
47.	Ogilvie (Ogilvy), John (1790, 1793)	?	unknown	unknown
48.	Ramsay (Ramza), NN (1676)	?	unknown	unknown
49.	Russel, Martin (1593)	?	unknown	unknown
50.	Scott (Szott), James (1791)	?	unknown	unknown
51.	Taylor, Robert John (1775)	3	Unrug, Anna Zofia	Presbyterian from c.1770 Catholic

Table (cont.)

No.	Name	Gen.	Wife	Religion
52.	Taylor, Joseph (1775)	3	Moraczewska, Zofia	Presbyterian, from c.1770 Catholic
53.	Watson of Priestfield, John Robert (1793)	3	Keene, Marianna	Presbyterian
	<i>Watson of Priestfield, Charles</i>	4	unknown	Presbyterian
	<i>Watson of Priestfield, George</i>	4	unknown	Presbyterian
	<i>Watson of Priestfield, Edward</i>	4	never married	Presbyterian
	<i>Watson of Priestfield, Alfred</i>	4	never married	Presbyterian
	<i>Watson of Priestfield, Theodore</i>	4	never married	Presbyterian

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